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CHAPTER 3



The Podolian Shtetl as Architectural Phenomenon

Alla Sokolova

The look of many urban settlements in the central part of the historic region of Podolia (Fig. 1), which includes the western part of the Vinnitsa province of Ukraine, has preserved numerous features reminiscent of the patriarchal lifestyle of their once thriving Jewish communities. Thanks to the mercies of history, Jews in many shtetlekh of Eastern Podolia, which during World War II was occupied by Romanian rather than German troops, escaped total extermination. In Shargorod, Chernevtsi, Bershad, Tomashpol and some other Podolian towns and townlets, one can find elderly people still living in the houses built by their grandfathers or even great-grandfathers. It is still possible to hear living memories about shtetl life from the last representatives of that traditional culture and see the imprint left by its customs and festivals on architecture. Well-preserved Jewish houses, streets and quarters, as well as the synagogue buildings of historic Podolian towns, offer us one of the last remaining opportunities to study the phenomenon of the architecture of the shtetl in connection with the lifestyle of its inhabitants.¹

Until the early twentieth century traditions of folk architecture were largely alive in Podolian towns. A nineteenth-century Russian ethnographer noted the differences between the houses of Jews and Christians and concluded that they 'were dictated by the peculiarities of occupation and everyday life' of their inhabitants.² Another observation, that 'the Jew keeps to the character of a town-dweller even in areas where there are no towns at all',³ can be taken as a distinctive feature of the traditional Jewish lifestyle. This remark can have implications for the architectural image of the shtetl as well.

Jewish areas always constituted a compact urban unit regardless of whether it contained the entire shtetl or occupied only a part of the larger town territory. The shtetl stood out as a distinctive structure because it possessed virtually none of the rural features that were so characteristic of the architectural structure and lifestyle of small Podolian settlements. The inherent conservatism of traditional Ashkenazic culture and its essentially urban character enabled the shtetl not only to survive the long period of urban depopulation in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but also to reproduce architectural structures with the pronounced formal patterns of the medieval European town. In the early nineteenth century, when Podolia was already part of the Russian Empire, only a very compact arrangement of houses could provide enough living space in overpopulated shtetlekh.

The settlement of Jews in fortified towns in medieval Europe revitalized the Biblical concept of the town encircled by defensive walls as the space with a special status.⁴ This concept, in combination with European town planning methods, definitively influenced the image of the secluded Jewish quarter in the medieval town, which became a model for arrangement of the Jewish living space in the shtetl. The religious status of that space was reflected in a number of legislative acts. For example, the Krakow community records for the year 1595 specified that rabbis, community representatives and the members of the *kahal* should be elected only in the Jewish street.⁵ Artistic representations of the town, encircled by high walls, in paintings in the interior of wooden synagogues of the eighteenth century testify to the fact that the fortified urban settlement remained an important symbol of traditional Ashkenazic culture and a distinctive model of the comfortable living space.⁶ In fact, the high spatial density of the fortified town was an important characteristic feature of this model from ancient times.⁷

The orientation of the Ashkenazic culture towards the traditional values of the past determined the character of its artistic creativity. It followed in the footsteps of European urban civilization, permanently renewing its architectural vocabulary in accordance with changing European artistic styles. Thus the methods of organization of the living environment, from the arrangement of buildings in the quarter to the typical features of house design, were adopted from medieval European urban architecture and incorporated into the context of traditional

Ashkenazic culture. The parallel development of the architectural style of Christian churches and Jewish synagogues in Europe could create the illusion that Ashkenazic culture was indifferent to the formal aspect of art. Yet contemporary studies of East European synagogue architecture demonstrate that its style was formed through the active incorporation of diverse contemporary formal elements, which sometimes underwent hypertrophied transformations. Thus, the sixteenth-century Renaissance fire-prevention attics of town houses and fortifications were transformed into luxurious multi-tiered crowns on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century synagogue buildings; the polychrome carpet paintings of wooden synagogues and the overburdened multi-layered compositions of eighteenth-century carved Jewish tombstones have their roots in medieval illuminated manuscripts.

Jews began to settle in the ancient Podolian towns of Medzhibozh, Vinnitsa and Bratslav as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century. In many of the newly founded towns and townlets Jews from Poland, Galicia and Volhynia were among the first invited settlers. The sole exception was Kamenets-Podolskii, the former capital of the region, where Jews were forbidden to settle within the town walls from 1547.⁸ The process of urbanization of Eastern Podolia in the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries resulted in the foundation of new fortified towns, while the existing settlements were considerably renovated. The construction of fortifications in the developing urban settlements went on simultaneously with the erection of a castle in close proximity to the fortified area, which had to serve as the last stronghold for the protection of town-dwellers from attacks by the Tartars. Stone fortress synagogues were also constructed as part of the town's defensive complex. The synagogue building made of stone or wood became, along with the castle, a significant structural pole of architectural layout in many urban settlements of the region.

Typically for medieval urban architecture, the semantics of the architectural structure of Podolian multi-ethnic towns and settlements was determined by the meaningful arrangement of their dominant elements, such as the castle, the Roman Catholic cathedral and the synagogue. The castle usually towered over the settlement, symbolizing the power of the Polish magnate. The walls of its fortress, being usually more impressive than the town walls, embodied its protective strength. The positional contrast between the Roman Catholic church in the upper part of town and the synagogue, situated

in the lower area close to the town boundary, signified the confrontation of two religions. This layout, typical of all the multi-ethnic towns in Podolia, indicated the supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion and implied the predominance of the Polish part of the population, even though at the founding of the town all its residents may have been promised equal rights and privileges. The Roman Catholic church and the synagogue were, as a rule, not incorporated into rows of buildings facing the market place, but formed their own knots in the spatial grid of the town. The location of the surviving synagogue building in Shargorod (1589), constructed immediately after the founding of the town, suggests that it was originally situated outside the old town fortifications and played the role of a barbican defending the entrance into town (Fig. 2).

The upheavals of the mid- and late seventeenth century, such as the Cossack uprisings and the Turkish invasion, resulted in the urban depopulation of the region. In the eighteenth century the towns and townships of Podolia had to be practically built anew from the ruins. The urban way of life and the urban character of architecture in many previously multi-ethnic private towns were preserved only thanks to the ebullient activity of Jewish traders and craftsmen. During the eighteenth century Jews settled densely around the marketplace and thinly as they settled farther away from it,⁹ successfully competing with the Christian population. By the end of the century many town centres within the limits of the old defensive walls were populated exclusively by Jews. They built their new houses following the patterns worked out in medieval European towns, in the same way as Polish, German and Jewish settlers used to build theirs before the mid-seventeenth century. However, these patterns now received a new meaning within the cultural framework of the developing shtetl.

The following observation of a late-nineteenth-century Russian traveller was true for every small town in Podolia: 'it was full of Jews who brought energy to the life of the town and enlivened its trade and industry.'¹⁰ There were many 'Jewish taverns and inns', and 'big and small shops, where it was possible to find even luxury goods', located at the market place and 'in all the town's best streets'.¹¹ And yet, already in 1797 the regional administration regarded many Jewish houses as 'ugly'; according to its view, they were built 'wilfully', in 'extraordinary proximity to one another' and 'without paying attention to the model plan and façade'.¹² The owners usually directly

participated in the construction process, and, as a result, their houses reflected their tastes, needs and financial status. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Podolian regional administration undertook a revision of the town plans of the *uyezd* (district) centres. In some of them, for example in Vinnitsa, it decided to form new administrative and trading centres, where the houses had to comply with 'exemplary projects' developed in accordance with the building regulations. And yet every attempt by the regional administration to reorganize and space out blocks of buildings around the market place was unsuccessful. By the end of the nineteenth century the old trading centre of Vinnitsa, with its dense, irregular structure, had become an area heavily populated by the Jewish poor and had received its nickname, Yerusalimka (Little Jerusalem).

Having lost its attractiveness for the majority of emancipated, prosperous Jews, the old Jewish quarter could no longer function as the centre of community life in the town. With the air of stagnation about them, its traditional houses now looked old-fashioned and primitive; their layout was not in keeping with current fashion. More prestigious modern districts in the centre of Vinnitsa, also predominantly Jewish, lacked that specific 'medieval' character of the genuine shtetl, because they had been built according to the official aesthetic norms of the late nineteenth century. The same tendency, to a lesser extent, was characteristic of new districts in other main Podolian towns as well. However, the 'straightening out' of streets and other innovations did not affect smaller towns. Even their plans, made at the request of the regional administration, were often declared to be 'not true to reality, having been made by eye' rather than by careful surveying.¹³

The nineteenth-century shtetl usually inherited the spatial grid of the old sixteenth- or seventeenth-century fortified town, which had survived many demolitions and restorations. This accounts for the diversity and irregularity of the town-planning schemes of Podolian shtetls (Figs. 3 and 4). The initial spatial organization, dictated by the location of the castle, the Roman Catholic church and the synagogue, remained, as a rule, unchanged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These structures, built out of stone, usually belonged to the small number of buildings that had survived the upheavals of the second part of the seventeenth century; even when destroyed, they were often rebuilt on their old locations. The traditional site of the

synagogue near the river in the lower part of town gave rise to the belief that it was the oldest building in town, and had once been exhumed. This also 'explained' why the synagogue was always situated on lower ground than the Roman Catholic or the Russian Orthodox church.

Legends about exhumed synagogue buildings also have to do with the fact that in the synagogues, built between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the floor in the main prayer hall was lower than ground level. This allowed the height of the interior to be increased without violating regulations that restricted the height of the synagogue building as a whole. In the eighteenth century, lowering the floor became a special device for imitating the 'ancient' synagogue. Religious tradition perceived this architectural feature as a realization of the verse from Psalm 130: 'Out of the depths I call You, O Lord!'¹⁴ The author heard this legend from residents of Satanov, even though the synagogue there is located at a rather high place. The monumental cubic structure of the synagogue's main prayer hall was a prominent feature of the skyline of seventeenth-century Satanov, and in the nineteenth century the old synagogue became the compositional centre of the Jewish district (Fig. 5). The Roman Catholic church, located near the opposite boundary of the town, was now outside the confines of the Jewish area.

The 'ancient' synagogue served as evidence that Jews had lived in the town from time immemorial. In the eighteenth century this was a decisive argument for getting permission to build a new synagogue near the old one or in its place.¹⁵ In the nineteenth century a *besmedresh* or *kloyz* was usually located near the big synagogue. These buildings had to be constructed according to projects approved by the regional administration. The choice of a different position for a new synagogue was limited by building regulations, which required that a synagogue should be situated at some distance from the Russian Orthodox church, by that time an important element in the spatial organization of the town. Small synagogue buildings, even if their façades did have specific architectural decoration, were not imposing enough to compete with the big synagogue, and were usually located among ordinary houses in second-rate streets.

Two towns, Shargorod and Chervenetsi, where fragments of the historic town structure have been well preserved, have a similar spatial layout, except for the location of the castle: in Shargorod it is situated within the shtetl borders, on the high bank of the river, whereas in

Chernevtsi the castle stands some distance from the shtetl. The massive Shargorod fortress synagogue is located in the south-eastern part of the settlement, at the bottom of the valley near the bridge. The Roman Catholic cathedral, which was built in 1595, almost at the same time as the synagogue, is located on the opposite side of the town, on the main street running along the crest of the hill. The Roman Catholic cathedral in Chernevtsi (1640) occupies a similar position, forming the western pole of the shtetl structure. In the lower part of Chernevtsi, in the road leading down to the bridge, stood a cluster of three synagogue buildings, constructed at different times (see Figs. 2 and 3). Two parallel market streets form the compositional axis of the layout of both towns. In Shargorod the central market place is bounded by these two parallel streets, which later part company and lead to two bridges across the rivers in the southern part of the shtetl. In the centre of the market place there once stood an old stone storehouse with deep cellars, surrounded by smaller shops. In Chernevtsi similar buildings were located on a small central square, where the main market street turned towards the river bridge.

The historic borders of shtetl Tomashpol were demarcated by a small stream on the west and by the river Rusava on the south (Fig. 4). Three old streets fan out from a small square near the bridge, outlining the structure of the modern town. In the midst of ordinary houses, to the east of this small square, stood the big synagogue, which, according to descriptions by old residents of the town, must have been built in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. A bath with a *mikva* (a pool for ritual immersions) was built by the stream near the synagogue. The three other Tomashpol synagogues, built in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, were, like the modest twentieth-century synagogue buildings which survive in Shargorod and Chernevtsi, located in terraces of common houses, and did not affect the look of the shtetl (Figs. 2, 3 and 4). All the Tomashpol synagogues were destroyed during the last war. The Roman Catholic church was erected in the usual fashion on the high plateau in the opposite part of old Tomashpol. Only fragments of the traditional shtetl architecture of the second half of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century have survived in the historic area of the old shtetl. Most of these surviving Jewish houses are now inhabited by Ukrainians. A new owner often rebuilds the old house, buys a neighbouring one only to demolish it, and then combines both lots into one in order to create a kitchen garden. As a result, the once

densely built town blocks become sparser, but one can still feel the special shtetl character of former Jewish streets and quarters.

All the dominant features which determined the semantic poles of the settlement are still present in Ozarintsi. The shtetl was situated on the low plateau, which the river flows round from the west. The ruins of the castle (completed in 1657) stand on the top of the steep hill on the opposite side of the river. A road winds down the hill, crosses the river, and turns into the middle of the plateau, on which the market square used to be (Fig. 6). Only a few isolated early nineteenth-century Jewish houses, and no complete shtetl town blocks, have survived. At the bend in the road, north of the market square, two Russian Orthodox churches stand close by each other; a little higher up is the Roman Catholic church. On the opposite side of the shtetl, near its eastern boundary, stands the ruined building of the early nineteenth-century stone synagogue. This was a modest structure with simple stone columns supporting the gallery and a high-hipped roof with a canopy in the style of wooden synagogues. Today this once unprepossessing synagogue makes quite a different impression. Stripped of plaster, its massive yellow limestone walls look like the ruins of an ancient citadel. Towering over the road which runs along the border of the shtetl, the synagogue suddenly comes into view as it is approached, heightening the experience of entering the shtetl.

Very picturesque, and at the same time traditional, is the location of the synagogue in the small town of Verbovets (Fig. 7). This stone building, apparently constructed in the mid-nineteenth century, stands not far away from the river that used to serve as the eastern boundary of the town. A road runs down from a high hill, crosses the river by a low bridge, and turns up right near the synagogue. The edifice fits well with the stylistic norms of its time. The fluted pilasters and plastered window frames are now lost, but the characteristic proportions of the building easily allow it to be identified as a synagogue. This simple white structure stands out on the road that goes round the synagogue and further up to the market place on the hill. The Jewish quarter used to occupy the entire town centre, forming the compositional core of the settlement. The Roman Catholic church stood across the river in the northern part, on a tongue formed by the river and its tributary. The Russian Orthodox church was situated in the opposite direction, close to the town's southern boundary.

Until the middle of nineteenth century, synagogue architecture in Podolia remained dominated by the architectural solutions of previous epochs. This continuity manifested itself, for example, in adherence to the square-shaped plan of the prayer hall, which was once important for the defence of the building, and in the style of façade decorations. The frieze ornament with the row of arches on the main façade of the synagogue in Chechelnik (Fig. 8), and the attic floor of the Verbovets synagogue, resemble the luxurious crowns of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fortress synagogues. The archaic character of architectural forms, and the exaggeration of a synagogue's age through legendary 'evidence', reflected attachment to the past, which was an essential element of shtetl culture. The image of the synagogue as a 'fortress citadel' symbolized the unity of the Jewish community, as well as belief in the protective power and reliability of shtetl borders.

Unlike the monumental stone synagogues, none of the wooden ones have survived in Podolia; these are known only from early twentieth-century photographs. The choice of timber for the trimming of the walls of wooden synagogues and churches was not accidental. Against the backdrop of typical Ukrainian plastered and whitewashed buildings, the timber trimming emphasized the special status of a synagogue or church. This may explain the fact that Podolian wooden synagogues were not as voluminous as the synagogues of Belorussia and the central Polish provinces, where timber was used in all kinds of buildings. Podolian wooden synagogues, with their windows placed high on virtually undecorated façades, looked strikingly similar to the monumental stone ones. The eighteenth-century wooden synagogues in Minkovtsi, Smotrich, Lanckorun, Snitkov, Mikhalpol and Kitaygorod had a layout of the most archaic type, while those in Yaryshev and Yarmolinty represented the next step in architectural development. Buildings of the first type consisted mainly of a quadrangular prayer hall with a low vestibule annex attached to the western façade. The main innovation of the second group was the unification under one roof of the prayer hall and a two-storeyed annex with a vestibule on the ground floor and the women's section on the first. The ceiling structure of the prayer hall was almost identical in both groups. An octagonal cupola, positioned in the middle of the ceiling, accentuated the centre of the inner space of the prayer hall.

As time went by, more one- and two-storeyed annexes were attached to western, southern and northern façades of a synagogue

building, partly destroying its formal unity. However, the expressive character of the high roof over the prayer hall gave integrity to the whole structure despite the irregularity of various annexes, and emphasized the importance of the main room. The synagogues in Smotrich, Minkovtsi, Lanckorun and Mikhalpol had a big circular window on the western façade over the entrance. This architectural element was borrowed from stone synagogues and looked rather pretentious on a wooden building, but it had its own special function. One can easily imagine the impressive appearance of the Ark of the Covenant, *Aron-ha-Kodesh*, in the light of the setting sun coming through this window.

Stone synagogues were constructed under the supervision of professional architects, who were also in charge of building castles, Roman Catholic churches and the palaces of magnates, but the majority of famous wooden synagogues were apparently built by teams of carpenters and decorated by amateur artists, who sometimes left their names in special inscriptions that announced the date of completion of their work.¹⁶ Given the medieval tradition of active co-operation between craftsman and patron, we can treat wooden synagogues and traditional shtetl houses as monuments of Jewish folk architecture, regardless of whether they were built by Ukrainian or Jewish carpenters. Unfortunately, there are no surviving records of any teams who erected wooden synagogues or of professional architects and builders of stone synagogues in Podolia.

A number of ethnographers and art critics at the beginning of the twentieth century recognized the originality of these monuments and left brief descriptions.¹⁷ Judging by the similarity in spatial arrangement of the synagogue buildings and the identical character of architectural elements used for finishing façades, one can assume that a developed tradition of wooden synagogue architecture already existed in Podolia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Another argument in favour of this assumption are the evident similarities of the programmes and stylistic features of the interior design: for example, the gracefully shaped roof of the synagogue in Smotrich, built at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, served as a model for the later constructions in Lanckorun and Snitkov. The façade finishing and window frames of the synagogues in Snitkov and Yaryshev are very similar.

The painting of synagogues in Smotrich, Mikhalpol, Minkovtsi and Yaryshev demonstrates close stylistic similarity. In Yaryshev the artist

who did the later fragments of painting left his name, Yehuda, together with the date—1779/1780—in an inscription enclosed in one of the cartouches.¹⁸ He also painted the octagonal cupola and some parts of the interior of the synagogue of Smotrich, where he restored the previous, extraordinarily interesting painting, probably early eighteenth-century, which contained some original scenes of an almost genre character, and added cartouches as new decorative elements. One scene depicted a six-horse wagon with a coachman on the coach-box, which was heading to a building resembling the synagogue in Yanov-Trembovsky.¹⁹ Only a giant peacock, the symbol of Paradise, standing near that building indicated that this scene depicted not mundane reality but an eschatological future.

The original paintings in the Mikhalpol, Minkovtsi, Smotrich and Yaryshev synagogues depicted Leviathan, whose serpentine body encircled a town. This image is known from the cupola painting in the Gvozdetz (Gwozdz) synagogue in Galicia, one of the best-studied wooden synagogues in the region.²⁰ This iconography of Leviathan might be connected with the famous motif of a dragon under the walls of Worms in the synagogue of Mogilev, in Belorussia, but the Podolian version had the rather different meaning of the eschatological Jerusalem encircled by Leviathan's body. The paintings' representation of the high density of buildings and the lack of open space in the city, enclosed by Leviathan in a tight embrace, would have reminded shtetl inhabitants of the familiar pattern of territorial arrangement.

As noted earlier, the architectural image of the shtetl has its roots in the traditional Jewish concept of the special status of the urban space encircled by town walls.²¹ After the destruction of town fortifications, it was the river that began to play the role of shtetl border. The idea of partition between the town and what was not the town, inherent in the mythology of walls, was now to be expressed by the natural borders that separated Jewish town space from the Gentile rural environment. The rich landscape of Podolia, with its hills, ravines, brooks and rivers, offered a variety of means for imaginative structuring of space. Thus, a river flowing around the shtetl would stress its isolation and separateness from the rest of the world and make the moment of crossing the border psychologically meaningful.

The compact arrangement of buildings around the market place and along the main market streets in the shtetl was caused by the economic

role of the shtetl as a regional trade centre. In the nineteenth century the ground rent (*czynsz*) for houses in the shtetl centre was calculated according to the width of the façade facing the market street.²² The rent was considerably lower for houses located further away from the centre, but this did not reduce the density of buildings in the outlying districts.

The method of dividing land into lots for construction of town houses was adopted in Poland under the Magdeburg Law and had also been introduced in Podolia by the beginning of the sixteenth century. This determined the character of shtetl quarters, which reflected some of the medieval European principles concerning the arrangement of the urban environment. Houses normally took up practically the whole lot, stretching perpendicularly to the direction of the street, with roof-ridge beams arranged in the same way; side lanes between houses were very narrow (about one metre), and the façades gave onto the street. The size of the building was determined by the width of its façade, i.e. by the width of the street segment of the building lot. The high density of shtetl buildings helped to implement the provision of the *eruv*, which demarcated the limits of the inhabited area by means of a rope stretched along the shtetl boundaries. The *eruv* was completed with symbolic doors made of two wooden pillars and a cross-beam over them, which were set up at the entrances to the shtetl. These measures for facilitating the observance of the Shabbat rest were in full use as late as the early twentieth century. Even today older residents clearly remember the place of 'the first Jewish house', that is, the location of the shtetl boundaries, even when the traditional shtetl town blocks are no longer there. For both Jews and Christians the shtetl borders were more important than the administrative boundaries of the settlement, which sometimes included nearby villages.

Although older people in Podolian towns still clearly remember where Jewish and non-Jewish parts of the town used to be, they are vaguer about even approximate dates—'before the war' or 'before the revolution'.²³ It seems that our informants, perhaps unconsciously, replace the real picture with symbolic generalizations reflecting their traditional ideas about a comfortable living space. In fact, some nineteenth-century woodcuts of Shargorod²⁴ and Satanov²⁵ show peasant houses and small farmsteads located within town walls, but this reality apparently did not fit the ideal image of the exclusively Jewish shtetl and has disappeared from people's memories. The notion

of the shtetl as a self-contained, homogeneously Jewish space is held by some contemporary anthropologists as well.²⁶

Suburban districts populated by Christians had a clearly rural character. An eyewitness who visited Mogilev-Podolskii in the late nineteenth century stated that 'some outlying streets, or better, areas, which looked rather like villages, were populated by Ukrainians, who were engaged in gardening and farming'.²⁷ A farmstead complex corresponded to the usual way of life of Ukrainian and Polish peasants, who were town-dwellers only on paper. A highly visual distinction between the street-type, compact layout of the shtetl and the farmstead-type, sparse layout of its suburbs added significance to the border between the urban Jewish and rural Christian parts of the settlement. This border had an administrative significance: the May Laws of 1882 prohibited Jews from settling in villages and even in suburbs and thus contributed to the overcrowded condition of the shtetl. After Soviet power was established in 1920, there was no need to expand shtetl borders because of the losses caused by the Civil War, pogroms and emigration.²⁸

The secluded architectural space of the shtetl implied the idea of a common home for one extended family, which created the impression that streets and squares were parts of the interior of this communal dwelling. This provocative image was deliberately supported by the uninterrupted front of house façades and such distinctive features of house architecture as wide roof eaves, external ladders leading from the street up to galleries and down to cellars, closely spaced windows and wide-open shop doors. The houses were literally opened up to the street. Galleries functioned as transitional space between the exterior of the street and the interior of the house, connecting both into a single unit. In the eyes of Podolians, a gallery on the façade is a clear sign of an urban, that is Jewish, house, since peasant houses do not possess this feature. Perhaps the gallery, being a long-standing obligatory element of town-market rows, became an indispensable part of the Jewish house precisely because trade was the primary activity of shtetl Jews. However, the galleries on façades of Podolian shtetl houses looked different and were used in a different way from the wide Renaissance ground-floor galleries which united shops and stores into trade rows in European towns.

Galleries in Podolian shtetls were located at different levels from house to house and united the space of the street only visually,

without actually connecting houses. A gallery often served as a porch, an obligatory feature of each house. (The Yiddish word *ganek*, a borrowing from Polish—*gonek* in Podolian pronunciation—can mean 'gallery', 'balcony' or 'porch'.) When the gallery was located on ground level, the small gates and low balustrade with shaped balusters or planks merely imitated a fence in front of the house. This was clearly influenced by the architecture of nearby villages, where a fence with a wicket-door was located in front of each house. But, given the density of shtetl buildings, it was difficult to separate the space belonging to each house from the surrounding area. Moreover, shtetl buildings often had a composite structure, combining two or three adjacent but functionally unconnected houses into one unit. Thus, the architectural image of a shtetl house corresponded to a certain way of arranging space rather than to a particular architectural form.

The high density of shtetl buildings gave concrete meaning to the Talmudic formula 'this house is sold from the underworld to the height of the heavens', which commonly appeared in deeds.²⁹ This formula could be relevant, for example, if there was an old cellar under the house with an entrance from a neighbouring building. Another example of this specific perception of the living environment was the fictive arrangement for 'buying space' from the few Gentiles who lived within the shtetl borders in order to convert the whole shtetl territory into a 'private possession' from the point of view of Sabbath observance. Thus, the architectural image of the Jewish house was determined by the specific arrangement of space rather than by building practice, which was based predominantly on the character of the building materials used.

One-storey shtetl houses, often with high basement floors, were clustered around the market square and along adjacent market streets. Constructed in a simple way from local building materials, these houses were well built for trade and cottage industry. Apart from living rooms, such a house would also have storage and other functional space. Local limestone was widely used for constructing house foundations, cellar walls and basement floors; occasionally foundation structures were made of timber. Multi-celled basements often had stone-vaulted ceilings, with a height of 2.5–3 m and a bay length of approximately 4 m. House walls were usually of timber frame construction, filled with either unbaked mud-and-thatch cylinders or wood chips and reed placed in long slots gouged out in

the vertical beams. The walls were then covered with clay and whitewashed. This method of wall finishing was adopted from traditional Ukrainian building technique. The roof structure was considerably simplified by the middle of the nineteenth century: simple hipped roofs were often modernized by the erection of small triangular half-gables, which permitted the use of shorter diagonal rafters. Two-pitch gable roofs were widespread in shtetls at the end of the nineteenth century. The most common roofing material in the early eighteenth century was thatch; in the nineteenth century tiles and shingles became more popular.

The original design of the medieval European burgher house was carried over into the isolated world of the shtetl, where it was preserved by the traditional lifestyle of the Jewish community. After the erection of the walls and the roof, a suite of rooms was walled off on the side facing the street. The most archaic way of arranging such a house was an enfilade of rooms. The first, square-shaped room was usually the largest in the house.³⁰ The simplest building structure consisted of a core of three or four interconnected rooms and an adjacent covered inner courtyard, also connected to rooms through door openings (Figs. 9a and b). The courtyard also had a service exit to the side lane. Loaded horse-drawn wagons could enter the courtyard through the gate, located on the rear façade of the house. In the courtyard storage rooms were also built, as well as additional living rooms when one of the children started a family, or a small flat with a separate entrance for tenants. If the size of the lot was big enough, an additional house could be built adjoining the back façade. Sometimes a part of the main building along with the courtyard would be pulled down in order to clear enough space for construction.

The layout of many houses can be traced back to the Gothic type. This expressed itself in the widespread practice of connecting the front and the back houses, which were built on the same lot at different times, into one unit. A narrow passage or small open courtyard between the two buildings was then covered by a new common roof. By the end of the nineteenth century it had become common to enlarge the size of buildings. An owner of a small house would buy the building on an adjacent lot and then unite both houses under one large new roof.³¹ A narrow lane between the houses would become a corridor, but without a finished floor or a ceiling (Figs. 10a and b). The addition of little shops to the front façade created an impression of the whole house taking a 'step forward' and taking over

the street space. Numerous new extensions, built from different materials at different times, were combined with fragments of the original construction in accordance with the 'open system' principle which underlies this type of building. As a result, the house plan became increasingly complex, and this allowed the arrangement of small, inconspicuous windowless rooms for the storage of contraband goods. Often such a secret room was made in the narrow passage between two houses after they had been united under one roof. In case of danger, this room or the cellar could also serve as a hiding place. Usually such a hiding place had a small door about 30 cm wide.

If a house stood on a slope, the floor of its basement was usually at the lower ground level. In this case, a space functioning as the inner courtyard would be situated in the basement (Figs. 11a, b and c). At the end of the nineteenth century, when shtetlekh were generally overcrowded, rooms for lodgers were often arranged on the ground floor, especially in houses located in the outlying streets. In the main street ground-floor rooms often served as taverns, while cellars were used for storing wine and spirits. The examination of cellars of old shtetl houses confirms the notion that occasionally 'a house of a prosperous Jew would have secret passages used in case of pogroms'.³² A multi-celled basement is often much larger than can be inferred from the appearance of the building over it, and therefore must be much older. The basement, as the house proper, usually has several entrances. Traces of secret tunnels, connected in complete systems of underground passages, can be found in many of the shtetlekh of Podolia. The author examined and measured stone-vaulted cellars in Shargorod, Tomashpol, Chernevtsi, Yaruga, Bershada and Dzigovka. According to the local residents, there existed underground tunnels that connected the cellars into one system. The chief architect of Bershada told us that in 1995 he examined underground passages in his town and managed to move forward along one tunnel for about 200 m. During World War II, before the arrival of German troops in Shargorod, residents had cleared the entrance into a large underground room with a stone vault and deep niches in its walls, and hid there until the Romanians took over the town. The existence of these 'underground streets' is reflected in the legends about deep tunnels leading from the shtetl straight to Jerusalem.³³

The design of the traditional Jewish house corresponded to the high-density conditions of the shtetl. Often a house actually consisted of

two houses, which had a common longer wall, but belonged to different owners. The structure of this two-axis construction could either be initially formed by two suites of rooms or emerge as a result of the extension of one part of the building, which in this case would be older than the other. One of the variants of this layout is the combination of a simple suite of rooms with a through passage leading from the main street to the back lane, with the front gate facing the back gate. The gate in the main façade indicated the existence of a through passage in the building, which was an important architectural feature. The Yiddish term for passage, *aynsfor* (*ansfur* in Podolian pronunciation); which also means 'delivery', became the name of this particular architectural construction. It reflects the functional purpose of the passage as a place for unloading goods. The *ansfur* was especially useful if the house was used as an inn.

Buildings with the most complicated layout—three axes—were constructed frequently in the nineteenth century. Sometimes a building would belong to more than one owner.³⁴ The through passage or a hallway was located along the central axis, and two enfilades of rooms flanked it on both sides. If a building was used for an inn, the owner's accommodation would be located on one side of the passage, rooms for lodgers on the other, and compartments for coaches and stalls in the inner courtyard, further away from the gate on the main street. The passage and the inner courtyard compartments usually had an earthen floor but no ceiling, and included the inner space of the garret.³⁵ In the nineteenth century the layout of the town inn (also called by its Polish name, *zajazd*) became more complicated. In the eighteenth century the entrance to the heated part of a building of this type was from the inner passage, but in the nineteenth century it was moved to the main façade. Now a door led straight from the street to a tavern or a shop, behind which the owner's flat was located. A country tavern, where one could also stay overnight, had a different layout from the town *ansfur*. In the nineteenth century, galleries and loggias on the façades of houses of well-to-do merchants were decorated with elegant balusters and carved pillars. Even though houses became more spacious, their layout still reflected the principles of inner organization of the previous epoch. Methods of house planning remained unchanged until the beginning of the twentieth century, when new buildings, made of brick produced at the local factory, began to appear in the main streets of the shtetlekh. Characteristically, many of these houses were built on

the old foundations. The location of the main entrance on the façade facing the street was common to all types of shtetl houses, because they usually also included a shop, a workshop, a barber's shop or a pharmacy.

The stylistic features of the façades of ordinary shtetl houses followed the spirit of the time. Renaissance and Baroque influences were replaced by the light touch of the Neo-Classical style. The orientation towards local tradition, which is characteristic of folk architecture, intermingled with a pluralistic attitude to architectural forms, typical of urban culture. As a consequence, shtetl architecture developed an amazing degree of heterogeneity. A certain indifference to the decoration of houses, rooted probably in the medieval mentality, found its expression in the distinctive 'anti-aestheticism' of shtetl architecture. Architectural elements that contributed to the appearance of the house often clashed stylistically; for example, Neo-Classical galleries with balusters and solid stone columns coexisted with high-hipped lath-covered roofs echoing Renaissance forms. Up to the end of the nineteenth century balance and regularity had not been characteristic features of house façades; alteration of apertures and piers was purely functional. By the late nineteenth century some owners of 'respectable' brick buildings made attempts to indicate their ethnic and religious identity through façade decorations on houses, such as small twin windows on the pediment evoking the stone tablets of the law.

Since the folding outer doors of ground-floor shops remained wide open through the warmer months, only their inner surfaces were decorated. As a form of business advertisement, the upper parts of the inner doors were glazed to enable passers-by to see from the street what was going on in the front room. At the turn of the twentieth century the outer doors began to be glazed as well (Fig. 12). If a shop or workshop was located on the ground floor and the living accommodation was on the first floor, then the main entrance would be from the gallery, which served as a porch. Houses, used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries exclusively for dwelling purposes, still preserved the traditional layout and location of the main entrance. Folding doors with richly decorated inner and outer surfaces led straight to the drawing room, which had a formal function. Even now the two Yiddish names for this room, the more traditional *shtibl* (which can also mean a small house and denotes the

front room regardless of whether it functions as a shop or drawing room), and the more modern *zol* (*zal* in literary Yiddish, meaning a hall or a parlour), are used in Podolia.

In the second half of the nineteenth century door panels were decorated with geometrical ornaments. A widely used motif was that of 'gates' in the form of semi-circular arcs resting on horizontal mouldings (Fig. 12), which often occurs in Jewish art.³⁶ Less common are doors decorated with floral ornament, which could also include a bas-relief of a beast head or a bizarre mask. These compositions apparently go back to eighteenth-century patterns and were not so popular in the late nineteenth century. Door and window decorations in Jewish houses were modest in comparison with the rich ornamentation of entrances and exits in Slavonic architectural tradition, in which the ornaments often functioned as protection against evil spirits.³⁷ Jews used these ornaments for purely decorative purposes and delegated the protection of the household to *mezuzoth* on doorposts and amulets on window jambs. Such window amulets, for protection of house owners from evil spirits, still can be found in many houses. Various superstitions and prejudices concerning the arrangement of buildings, widespread in Podolia, were elevated to the rank of local customs. Some of the customs are of Hasidic origin, e.g. the number of ceiling beams inside the room must not be even.³⁸

The *zol*, the front room with its entrance from the 'Jewish street',³⁹ was often used for public occasions, such as the reading of popular Yiddish books. Normally, if there were enough rooms in the house, the *zol* was used only on the Sabbath, when the whole family gathered around the festive table.⁴⁰ The eastern wall was decorated with a *mizrah* of local production.⁴¹ A mirror hung between the two windows, whose frames were painted dark brown, and a massive table with chairs occupied the middle of the room. A large cupboard with festive table-service added to the formal aspect of the *zol*. It is interesting to compare two cupboards produced in Podolia in the latter part of the nineteenth century, one made by a Jewish craftsman in Krivoe Ozero, the other bought by a Jewish merchant in Litin for his daughter's wedding. These types of cupboards were used in wealthy houses with high ceilings. The height of each cupboard, including the now-lost crowning cornices, would be approximately 2.7 m. The abundance of small, elegant architectural details in the cupboard from Krivoe Ozero does not seem to fit its rather bulky appearance. The proportions of the Litin cupboard are more

harmonious. Of particular interest are the bas-reliefs on the doors of the top and lower drawers and the carvings of lions between the base and the upper part of the cupboard. The bas-reliefs, representing jumping lions and birds flying free from cages, are strikingly dynamic. While making the furniture, the craftsman apparently experimented with representations of the animals and birds that were common in compositions on carved *Aron-ha-kodesh*. The bas-reliefs on the top side drawers represent the tree of life with a bird singing in its branches (Fig. 13). A mournful variation of this rather optimistic motif, a tree with broken top branches and a forsaken nestling, often appears on Jewish tombstones. The decoration of the Litin cupboard fits the taste of a Jewish customer, and it was probably made in a Jewish workshop. Another important piece of furniture in the *zol* was a wooden hard-seated sofa with low legs (called a *sopke*), which also served as a roomy trunk. The lockable trunk served as a storage container for formal dress, and its top had enough room to seat four persons. A *sopke* was often decorated with carvings on its sides and with shaped elbow-rests.

Alker (Yiddish for 'alcove', 'closet') can also mean bedroom. A wooden ceiling decorated with paintings, preserved in one of the rich households in Shargorod, testifies to the special attention given to the decoration of this room. The centre of the ceiling is occupied by an ornamental rosette of silvery leaves, dark-green curly stems, and dark-blue scrolls. The style of this painting resembles ceiling decorations used in wooden synagogues. The traditional furniture of the bedroom consisted of two obligatory units, a set of beds with feather-mattresses and pillows, and a wardrobe. The latter piece of furniture could be found even in poor households.⁴² The wardrobe and the backs of the beds could be decorated with carvings, as some of the examples from Litin demonstrate. One of them, a bas-relief with a bear's head surrounded by floral ornament, as if the beast were looking out of a deep forest (Fig. 14), alludes to the representation of the bear with flowering shoots in its paws, a well-known motif in Jewish art.⁴³ The combination of a mascaron with an ornamental floral surround is rather archaic for the late nineteenth century. It goes back to compositions of curly stems, leaves, and flowers climbing round animals and birds, which were traditional in *Aron-ha-kodesh* decoration and in ceiling painting in wooden synagogues. Having lost their symbolic meaning, which was characteristic of the imagery of synagogue and tombstone decoration, the figures on doors and

furniture nevertheless continued to function as a sign indicating connections with Jewish tradition.

In more modest houses, instead of a wardrobe and a cupboard there were closets, with or without wooden doors. A closet was arranged near a stove (in Yiddish, *hrube*; pronounced *ribe* in Podolia) built into a wall between rooms. The small, flat (c. 45 cm deep) *hrube* was economical in its use of firewood, an indispensable device for heating a long house. Even a compact house had several *hrubes*, with a built-in piece of furniture near each of them. In the *mohel's* house in the settlement of Yaruga the author came across a well-preserved plastered armchair with high elbow-rests made of clay, which served as the *sandak's* seat (Fig. 15). This armchair had been attached to a *hrube* to prevent children from catching cold during circumcisions.

A small cooking stove (*oyvn* in Yiddish) was, as a rule, located in the kitchen. It was well suited for making traditional Jewish dishes such as *cholnt*, a stew of beans and meat. Food could be kept warm in the *oyvn* for a long time, which was especially important for the Sabbath observance. *Hrubes* and *oyvns* were made of clay or bricks covered with clay and then whitewashed. According to local custom, a *mezuzah* had to be put into the foundation of the *oyvn*, in order to protect the inhabitants of the house from misfortune in case it was necessary to demolish the oven during reconstruction of the house. Only twice (in Tulchin and Shargorod) did we hear about this almost forgotten custom,⁴⁴ but nobody could tell us what text should be written on the parchment of this *mezuzah*. Remarkably, this rule only applied to an *oyvn* and not to a *hrube*, as with the prohibition against demolishing ovens used for baking bread, which was formulated in the 'Testament' of the famous German rabbi Judah ben-Samuel he-Hasid (d. 1217) in his *Sefer Hasidim* (para. 49).⁴⁵

The kitchen oven, sometimes located in a narrow corner space, could be used for drying clothes or keeping kitchen utensils (in a special locker built over the oven for this purpose), but not as a sleeping place for family members. In the suburban and rural houses of Ukrainian peasants it was customary for the whole family to sleep on a large oven or on a *pripechek*—a special elevated place attached to it. This would not be permissible in Jewish houses, because Judaism requires a husband and wife to have separate beds. Moreover, from the viewpoint of shtetl dwellers only a peasant family could sleep in one room: 'they all slept together, and there was no shame about it'.⁴⁶ It seems that the widespread idea about crowded conditions in shtetl

houses has to do more with the insufficient number of rooms than with the size of the interior space of the house. In practice, a small house of about 40 square metres could be divided into three or four rooms, whereas the size of the *zol* in an average mid-nineteenth-century house was 16 to 18 square metres.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century it was customary in Podolia to construct small glazed verandas attached to houses, which were specifically meant for celebrating the festival of Sukkoth (Fig. 16). As one resident of Tomashpol told us, there was a tradition of celebrating the Sukkoth festival in the loggias on the pediments of houses with two-pitch gable roofs.⁴⁷ The origin of this *sukkah* veranda was connected with the high density of buildings in the shtetl as well as with the fashion for glazed verandas that developed in the nineteenth century. Apparently, in the main streets of the shtetl it was difficult to find free space near a house for construction of a separate cabin that would stand only during the eight festival days. The *sukkah* was usually erected every year in the same place close to a house wall. In many households in the second half of the nineteenth century, a permanent glazed veranda, made of wood, replaced the temporary *sukkah* cabin made of reed. During the next reconstruction of the house this annex could be incorporated into the building proper and converted into a *sukkah* room with removable timber ceiling.⁴⁸ Moisei Berlin, the pioneer of Russian Jewish ethnography, mentions this type of room in his description of the houses of wealthy Jews.⁴⁹ One special construction, a ceiling with a hatch which could be closed from the top by a removable wooden panel, aroused the curiosity of scholars. During the festival, the panel was taken off or secured in an upright position with special planks; the open space was then lightly covered with reed, and a few tiles were removed from the roof above the hatch, so that, in accordance with religious prescriptions, it would be possible to see the stars from the inside. Some scholars made curious mistakes when trying to explain the function of this sort of ceiling—for example, the hatch was taken to be an 'extended smoke opening'.⁵⁰

The verandas devoted to the celebration of Sukkoth have expressive architectural forms. Such a veranda was an important element of the composition of the façade, especially when it was located on a gallery-balcony and had a separate two-pitch gable roof, which emphasized the independent character of this structure. The veranda walls were

covered with planks, so that the veranda would contrast with the background of the plastered and whitewashed surfaces of the house walls. The absence of plastering and whitewashing on the walls of the *sukkah* veranda seemed to highlight its temporary character. The ceiling in the *sukkah* veranda in Shargorod was also covered with wooden panels decorated with carved imitations of reed stems. This traditional decoration of the ceiling panels must have reminded the household members of the special function of this room, because reed was traditionally used for constructing *sukkah* booths in Podolia. An interesting variation of the *sukkah* veranda is represented by the glazed gallery of a house in Bershadt (Fig. 17). Its central part is covered by a two-pitch gable roof. Two square-shaped panels in the centre of the ceiling were assembled from round timber poles, which were attached to the curved bars of the cross-pieces. These bars bear a resemblance to tangled tree branches, because the roofing of the *sukkah* had to be made of rough timber.

Evidence of the popularity of this kind of symbolic decoration is offered by the decoration of the caisson ceiling in a room in the upper floor of the private residence of the wealthy Kiev sugar manufacturer Simkha Liberman, which was built by the architect V. N. Nikolaev at the end of the nineteenth century (the building now belongs to the Union of Ukrainian Writers). The caisson's profiled battens and removable sunken ceiling panels are decorated with bamboo stalks and covered with transparent varnish that reveals the natural texture and colour of the timber. The 'temporary dwelling' of the *sukkah*, in which Jews had to spend only eight days a year, turned out to be symbolically more meaningful than the house proper, because the manner of its construction preserved elements of traditional building ritual, and its decoration retained features of traditional temporary dwelling-places.

Custom became the main force for conservation, encouraging the incorporation of essentially medieval building types and methods of house layout in shtetl quarters into the context of the traditional culture of the Podolian Jews, an incorporation that persisted until the mid-twentieth century. And yet, the stereotypical architectural form of the house did not represent the unshakable values of traditional culture, probably due to the specific feeling of the temporal character of the Diaspora condition and the daily expectation of the Exodus to the Promised Land, which was characteristic of the mentality of the

shtetl Jews. On the contrary, flexible principles of house arrangement implied the possibility of permanent reconstruction without affecting the key elements of the structure. The problem of formal completion, so important for an architectural composition, was resolved in favour of openness to further development.

The incomplete character of the architectural form of the shtetl house reflects the Halachic requirements for a Jewish house not to be fully completed, in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple. Symbolically this was manifested in the custom of leaving a small part of the eastern wall unplastered. This custom is mentioned by Berlin,⁵¹ but none of the old people we met in Podolia could remember it.

Some customs and beliefs which existed in Podolian shtetls until the early twentieth century are directly related to the practice of the permanent reconstruction of the house. For example, a hole had to be left in a walled-up door or window opening. A hollow stalk of reed was used as a lining for such a hole. This custom, which we also heard about in Chervenetsi, Murovannyie Kurilovtsi and Shargorod, apparently goes back to the twentieth paragraph of the aforementioned 'Testament' of rabbi Judah he-Hasid, which included two regulations: a prohibition against the complete blocking up of a window or a door opening, and an injunction to leave a hole for demons to pass through this opening, lest they cause harm to the house owners.⁵² The existence up to the mid-twentieth century of medieval customs connected with house reconstruction practices can be seen as one of the last traces left by the Hasidic movement of the eighteenth century, whose cradle was Podolia.

Jewish quarters in the cities and towns of Western and Central Europe, and East European shtetlekh, which developed within the limits of urban settlements on the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were the most pronounced urban expressions of Ashkenazic civilization. The traditional Jewish style of life prevailed within the socio-cultural space of a great number of small towns and townships scattered over the large territory of Eastern Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Podolia shtetlekh played a decisive role in the urbanization of the region as a whole. It was the Jewish shtetl which, being the main—and very often the only—urban core of a settlement, actively organized its living environment. That is why the shtetl developed into an architectural phenomenon with pronounced symbolic characteristics. In addition

to Podolia, the last traces of this architectural phenomenon can still be discovered in some regions of Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Belorussia, Moldova and Romania.

Translated from the Russian by Alexander Ivanov

Notes to Chapter 3

This chapter was prepared with the support of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

1. The data presented in this chapter are based on examination of shtetl houses in the Eastern Podolian towns of Murovannyie Kurilovtsi, Shargorod, Chervenetsi, Tomashpol, Chechelnyk, Yaruga, Bershad, Peschanka and several others, undertaken during the historical and ethnographic expeditions organized by St Petersburg Jewish University in 1993–8. House plans are drawn on the basis of field measurements by the author in 1993–8. All photographs are by the author.
2. P. P. Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii kraii: Evrei Iugo-Zapadnogo kraia*, vii (St Petersburg, 1872), instalment 1, pt. 1, p. 22.
3. Archiv Russkogo Geographicheskogo Obshchestva (ARGO), *fond 53, opis' 1*, no. 3.
4. According to J. P. Weinberg, a special Jewish attitude to urban space can be traced back to the Bible: *Chelovek v kul'ture drevnego Blizhnego Vostoka* (Moscow, 1986), 60.
5. M. J. Rosman, 'Ekonomicheskaiia i sotsial'naia deiatel'nost' pol'skogo evreistva', in *Glavy iz istorii i kul'tury evreev Vostochnoi Evropy*, pt. 3 (Tel Aviv, 1995), 87.
6. Such representations are known, for example, from the photographs of the interiors of wooden synagogues in Podolia. See the collection of photographs by S. A. Taranushenko at the Vernadskii Central Scientific Library in Kiev (VCSL), Department of Manuscripts, *fond 278*, nos. 580, 583, 598—the synagogue in Mikhalpol; nos. 602, 603—the synagogue in Minkovtsi; no. 1015—the synagogue in Yaryshev.
7. A. B. Kovelman, *Tolpa i mudretsy Talmuda* (Moscow, 1996), 15.
8. These restrictions were abolished only during Turkish rule in that region (1672–99). In 1762 Jews were granted the right to own property in Kamenets-Podolskii. As late as 1855 the president of the town council petitioned the military governor of Kamenets-Podolskii to prohibit Jews from living in the town and owning property there: Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA), St Petersburg, *fond 218, opis' 3*, no. 1671. Other documents in this file illustrate how the local administration viewed the role of Jews in the development of the region. The governor of Podolia reported back to the government that 'the prohibition of 1847 which forbade Jews to build new houses and to preserve old ones through capital improvements' had led to the stagnation of the building industry of the town. Count Aleksei Vasilchikov, a high official in the interior ministry, states in his conclusion to a survey of Podolian government that 'granting Jews the right to build and purchase houses as well as to own property

- in this town on equal terms [with the rest of the population] will help to bring the town up to standard [. . .] and there are no other measures [which can achieve this]'.
 9. Murray J. Rosman, *The Lord's Jew: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 42.
 10. A. S. Afanasiev [Chuzhbinskii], 'Poezdka v Iuzhnuu Rossiiu' in *Sobranie sochinenii*, viii. (St Petersburg, 1893), 255.
 11. *Ibid.* 120, 316.
 12. As reported by the governor of Podolia to the Governing Senate in 1797: RSHA, *fond 1374, opis' 1*, nos. 149, 188 (6); *fond 1263, opis' 1*, no. 1004. See also the dispatches by local land-surveyors in 1834–42 'concerning buildings constructed in an abnormal way in some settlements of the region': State Archive of Khmel'nitskii Region (SAKR), *fond 115, opis' 2*, no. 24.
 13. From the dispatch of the Yampol land-surveyor, 1888: SAKR, *fond 115, opis' 1*, no. 889.
 14. G. K. Loukanski, *Jewish Art in European Synagogues* (London, 1947), 28.
 15. *Regesty i nadpisi: Spod materialov dlia istorii evreev v Rossii*, ii (St Petersburg, 1910), p. 223, no. 1565.
 16. Z. Yargina, *Wooden Synagogues* (Moscow, 1987), 18.
 17. D. Sherbakivskii, 'Pamiatki mistetstva na Pravoberezhzhzi', in *Korotkie zvidomlennia za 1926 rok Vseukrains'koho archeologicheskoho komitetu* (Kiev, 1927), 204–6; see also *Etnograficheskii ekspeditsii 1924–1925 godov Gosudarstvennogo russkogo muzeia* (Leningrad, 1926), 34.
 18. The author is relying on Mikhail Nosonovskii's description of photograph no. 1017 in the collection of S. A. Taranushenko (see n. 6 above).
 19. Maria and Kazimierz Piechotkowie, *Bramy Nieba: Boznice drewniane* (Warsaw, 1996), 225–8.
 20. Thomas C. Hubka, 'Jewish Art and Architecture in the East European Context: The Gwozdziec-Chodorow Group of Wooden Synagogues', *Polin*, x (Oxford, 1998), 141–82.
 21. Alla Sokolova, 'Arkhitekturnyi obraz shtetla', *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve*, no. 2 (15) (1997), 147–84.
 22. ARGO, *fond 30, opis' 1*, no. 23, 'Way of Life of Peasants from Kamenetsk and Proskurov Districts', p. 96; RSHA, *fond 1350, opis' 312*, no. 216, 'Topographic Description of Podolia, 1799', pt. 3, pp. 292–4, 'Description of Nemirov'.
 23. Archive of St Petersburg Jewish University (ASPJU), 'Reports on the Expeditions to the Vinnitsa Region of Ukraine, 1996, 1997'; private archive of the author, records of interviews taken in Shargorod, Tomashpol, Bratslav and Peschanka, 1996, 1997, 1998.
 24. T. O. Tregubova, 'O urbanistyce i arkhitekturze Szarogrodu', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 57:3–4 (1995), 242.
 25. E. Sitsinskii, 'Oboronni zamki zakhidnogo Podillia', *Zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo otdela Vseukrainskoi Akademii Nauk* (Kiev, 1929), 105.
 26. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett criticizes this imaginary model of the shtetl in her introduction to the second edition of M. Zborowski and E. Herzog, *Life is with People: The Culture of the Shtetl* (New York, 1995): 'First, the team [of scholars]

- identified [the] shtetl with Jewish community. Second, they imagined its spatial organization in terms of isolation, self-containment, and homogeneity' (p. xiv). And yet, isolation (emphasized by the boundaries of the shtetl territory), self-containment (of the shtetl layout), and homogeneity (the unity of the inner space of houses and of the outer space of the shtetl street) are the key notions for describing and understanding the architectural arrangement of Jewish settlements in Podolia from the late 18th to the early 20th century.
27. Afanasiev [Chuzhbinskii], 'Poezdka v luzhniu Rossiiu', 255.
 28. See the introduction by G. Bakhmetiev to the statistical review *Naseleni mistsia Podillia* (Vinnitsa, 1925), 8.
 29. Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii kraii*, 152.
 30. Alla Sokolova, 'Architectural Space of the Shtetl-Street-House', *Trumah*, no. 7 (Berlin, 1998), 51-85.
 31. As Chubinskii notes, 'the Talmudic regulation concerning the advantage of the nearest neighbour over all other purchasers with respect to buying the house was in force' until the end of the 19th century. See *Trudy etnograficheskoi statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii kraii*, 151-2.
 32. Zborowski and Herzog, *Life is with People*, 152.
 33. See, for example, 'The Cave to the Holy Land', in Howard Schwartz, *Gabriel's Palace: Jewish Mystical Tales* (New York, 1993), 164.
 34. Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii kraii*, 22.
 35. See, for example, A. Glagolev, *Zapiski russkogo puteshestvennika*, i (St Petersburg, 1837), 130-1.
 36. S. Sivak, 'Ob odnom arkhitekturno-ornamentalnom motive v evreiskom iskusstve', in *Evrei i greki: Dialog cherez pokoleniia* (St Petersburg, 1999), 246-57.
 37. M. Rabinovich, 'Gorodskoe zhilishche vostochnykh slavian', in *Traditsionnoe zhilishche narodov Rossii: XIX-nachalo XX v.* (Moscow, 1997), 100.
 38. Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii kraii*, 22.
 39. Interestingly, the rebuilding of Jewish houses by their new owners, who come from nearby villages, usually begins with repainting the dark-brown door and window frames in blue, the traditional colour of Ukrainian folk architecture. The door on the main façade is not used and soon disappears under layers of brick, while the former service exit to the side lane becomes the main entrance to the house.
 40. Depictions of this sort of room can be seen in pictures by the Soviet Jewish artist Tanhum Kaplan: B. Surits, *A. L. Kaplan: Ocherk tvorchestva* (Leningrad, 1972); A. Kaplan, *Zhivopis', grafika, keramika: Katalog vystavki* (St Petersburg, 1995).
 41. Examples of this can be found in S. Ansky, *The Jewish Artistic Heritage* (Moscow, 1994), 83-6, and also the exhibition catalogue *Back to the Shtetl: Ansky and the Jewish Ethnographic Expeditions, 1912-1914* (Jerusalem, 1994), 106-7.
 42. Chubinskii, *Trudy etnograficheskoi statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-russkii kraii*, 23.
 43. According to Alois Breier, 'The effigy of the bear, which holds red shoots in his upper paws, can be identified as a motif of the "Tree of Life": A. Breier, M. Eisler and M. Grunwald, *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (Baden-bei-Wien, 1934), 56. Such depictions are known from synagogue paintings, for example in the shtetls of Khodorov and Gvozdets, and from decorations on Jewish tombstones, for example in Satanov.

44. ASPJU, 'Report on the Expedition to the Vinnitsa Region of Ukraine, September 1997'.
45. Judah he-Hasid, *Sefer hasidim* (Jerusalem, 1970), 25. The author is deeply grateful to rabbi Adin Steinsaltz for pointing out the connections between the Podolian customs for arranging Jewish houses, and the requirements of rabbi Judah he-Hasid.
46. Zborowski and Herzog, *Life is with People*, 253.
47. ASPJU, 'Report on the Expedition to the Vinnitsa region of Ukraine, September 1997', interview with K. N. Sapozhnik.
48. In the author's private archive there is a record of 1998 which contains a description of a room with a removable timber board on the ceiling. This room was located in a house in Peschanka (no longer standing) and was devoted to the celebration of Sukkoth. In the 1930s, when a traditional Jewish marriage was performed, it had to take place out in the open, because at that time it was dangerous to observe religious traditions publicly.
49. M. Berlin, 'Ocherk ob etnografii evreiskogo narodonaseleniia v Rossii', *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, i (St Petersburg, 1861), 11.
50. 'Synagogi v Malorossii', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, ii (Moscow, 1911), 381. The photographs in this anonymous article were taken by G. G. Pavlutskii.
51. M. Berlin, 'Ocherk ob etnografii evreiskogo narodonaseleniia v Rossii', 11.
52. he-Hasid, *Sefer hasidim*, 16. Photographs of this exist in the author's private archive.

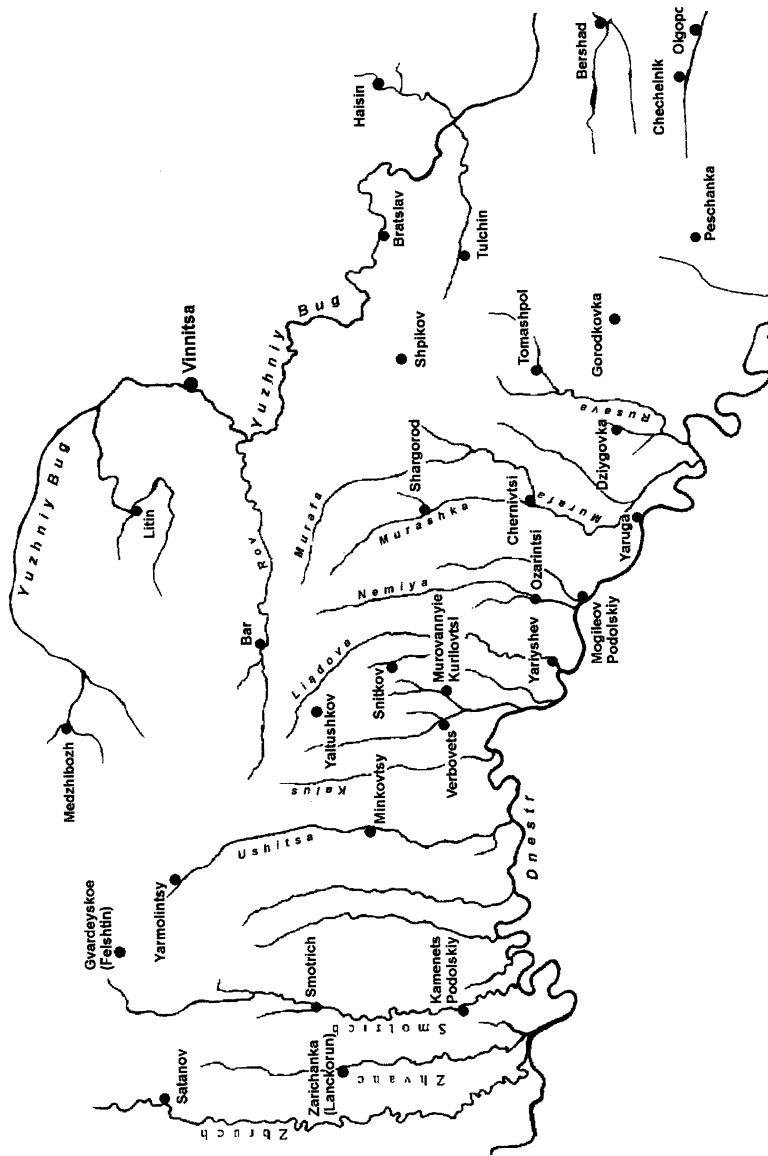


Figure 1. Schematic map of Podolia.

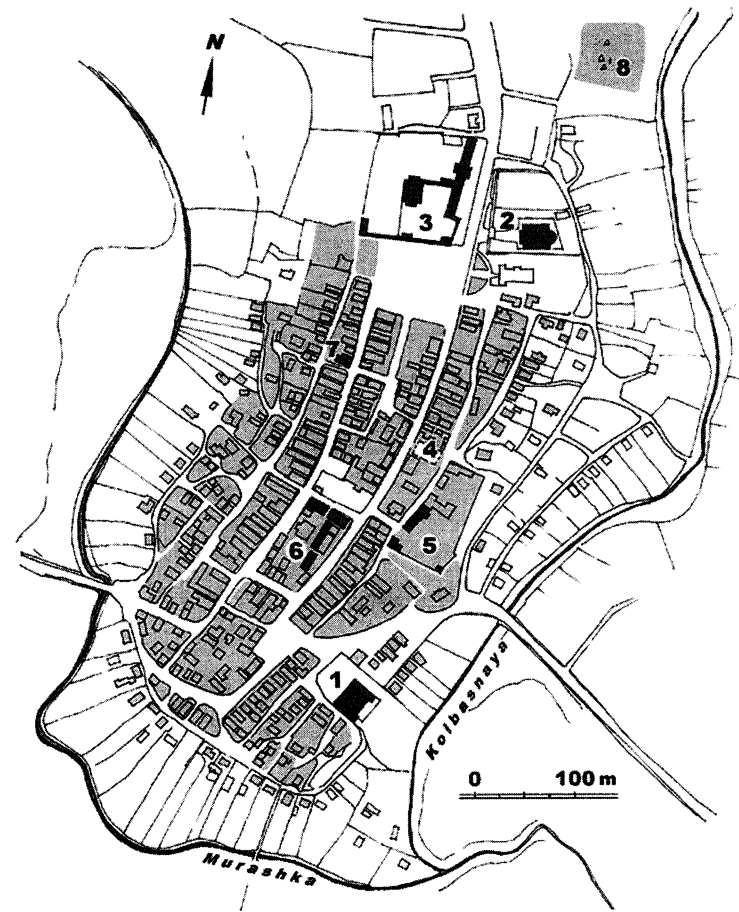


Figure 2. Schematic plan of Shargorod: 1—synagogue building of fortress type (1589); 2—St Florian's Church (Roman Catholic, 1595); 3—St Nicholas Monastery (founded 1782); 4—site of Russian Orthodox church; 5—stone palace within the castle walls (1585); 6—market warehouse and shops; 7—synagogue building (late 19th c.); 8—Jewish cemetery.



Figure 3. Schematic plan of Chernevtsi: 1—site of oldest stone synagogue; 2—site of another synagogue (remaining fragments of stone foundation); 3—St Nicholas Roman Catholic cathedral (1640); 4—site of Russian Orthodox church; 5—site of market storehouse; 6—synagogue building (late 19th c.).

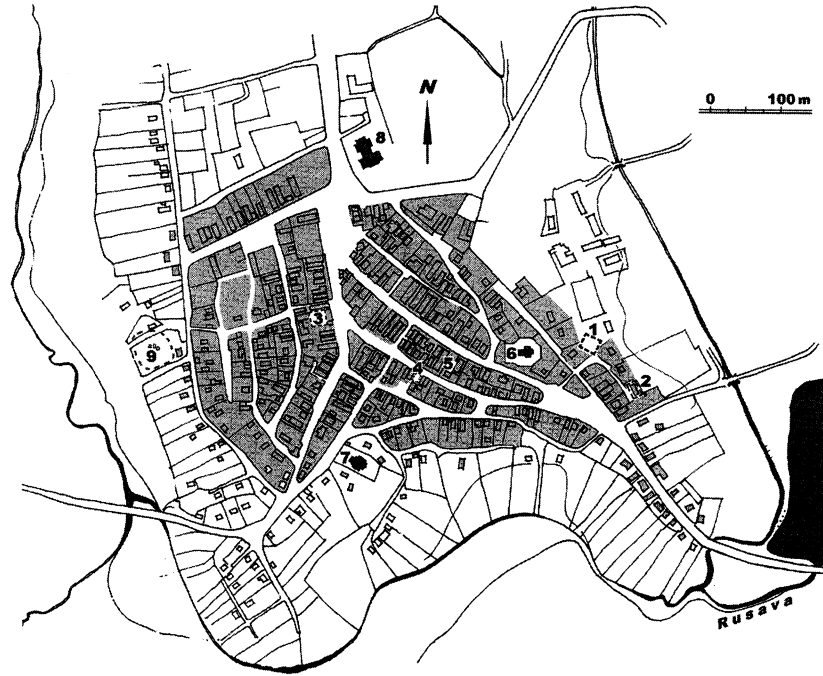


Figure 4. Schematic plan of Tomashpol: 1—site of oldest stone synagogue; 2—site of mikva; 3, 4, 5—sites of synagogues (late 19th—early 20th c.); 6, 7—Russian Orthodox churches; 8—Roman Catholic cathedral; 9—site of old Jewish cemetery.

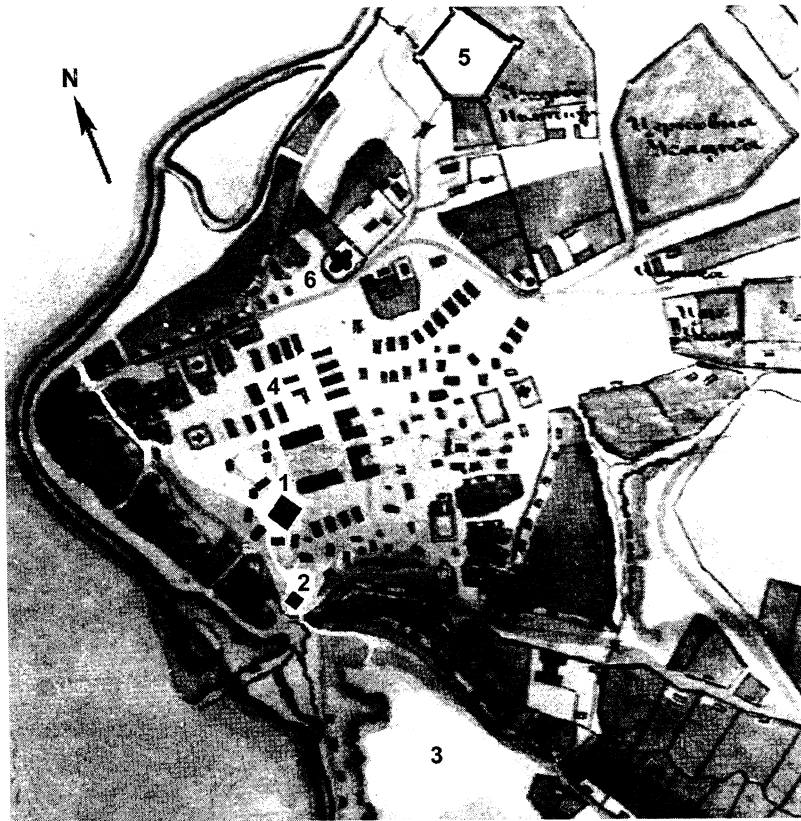


Figure 5. Plan of Satanov (based on the plan of 1832): 1—synagogue; 2—town gates; 3—market square; 4—castle; 5—Jewish cemetery; 6—Roman Catholic church.

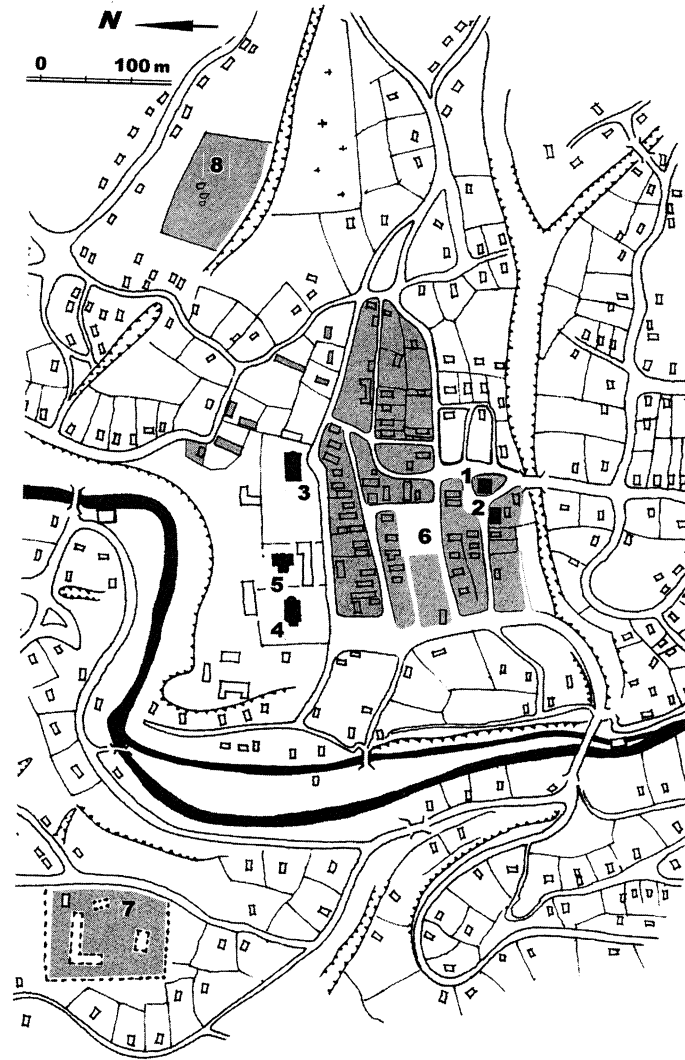


Figure 6. Schematic plan of Ozarintsi: 1—synagogue building (early 19th c.); 2—*besmedresh*; 3—Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Annunciation (1741); 4—Russian Orthodox Church of the Assumption (1865); 5—Russian Orthodox Church of the Assumption (1910); 6—market square; 7—castle ruins (castle founded in 1657); 8—Jewish cemetery.

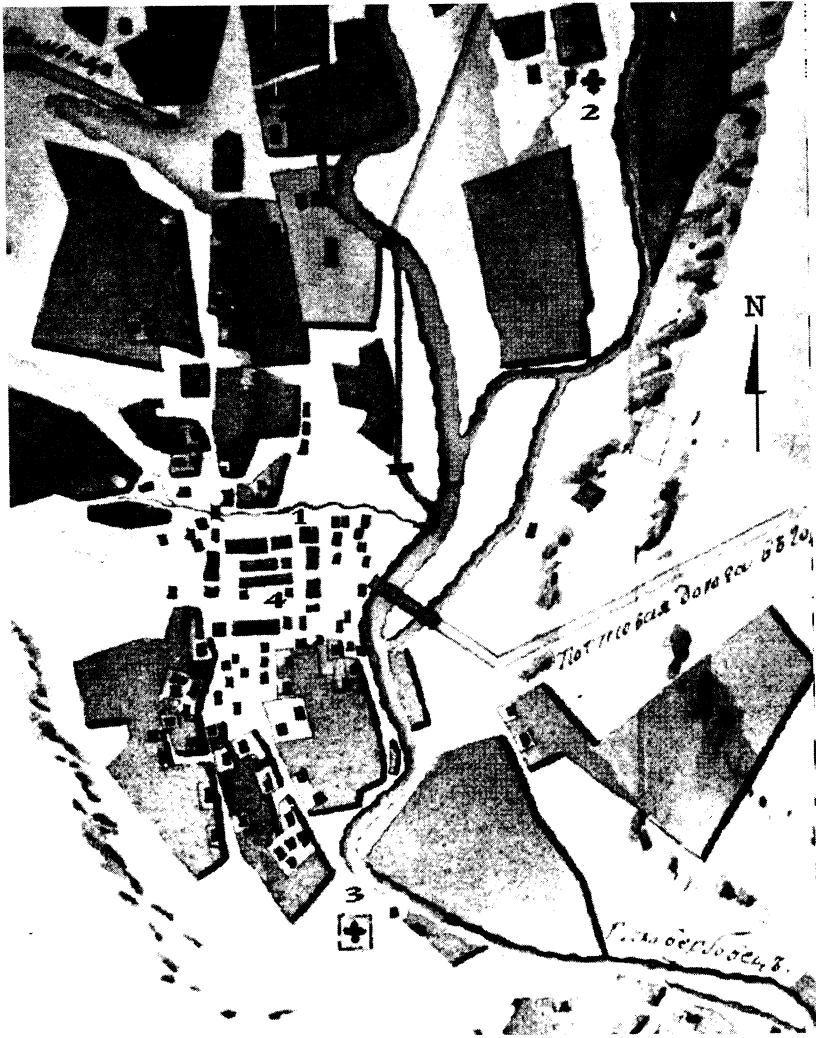


Figure 7. Plan of Verbovets (based on the plan of the first quarter of the 19th c.): 1—synagogue building (early 19th c.); 2—Roman Catholic church; 3—Russian Orthodox church; 4—market square.

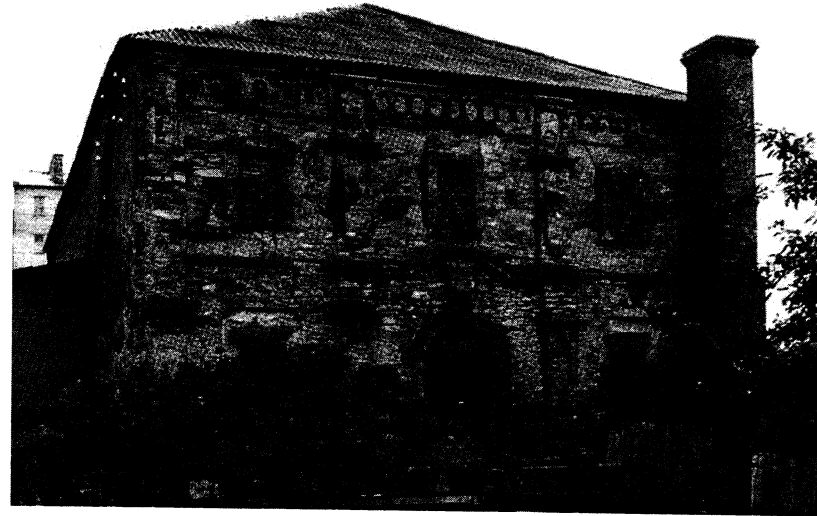


Figure 8. Western façade of the synagogue in Chechelnyk, with main entrance (photographed 1996).

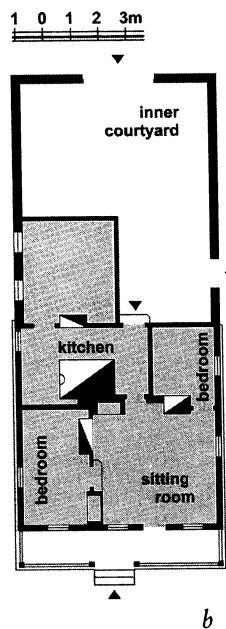


a

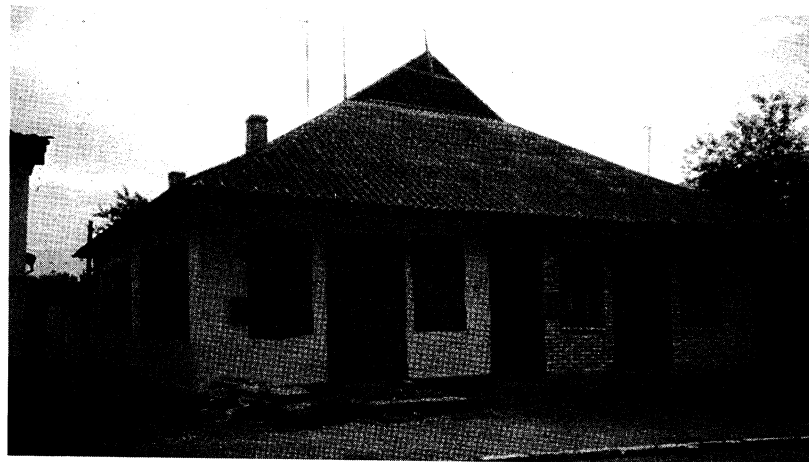
Figure 9. Shargorod. Frame house with stone basement and walls of mud-and-thatch cylinders (second half of 19th c.). The house had a single-axis layout with compact arrangement of rooms.

a. Main façade (photographed 1993).

b. House plan (inner courtyard has an earthen floor and no ceiling).



b

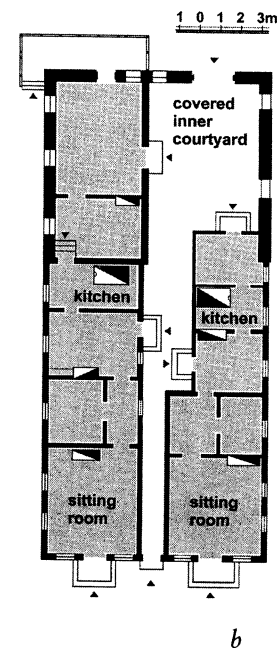


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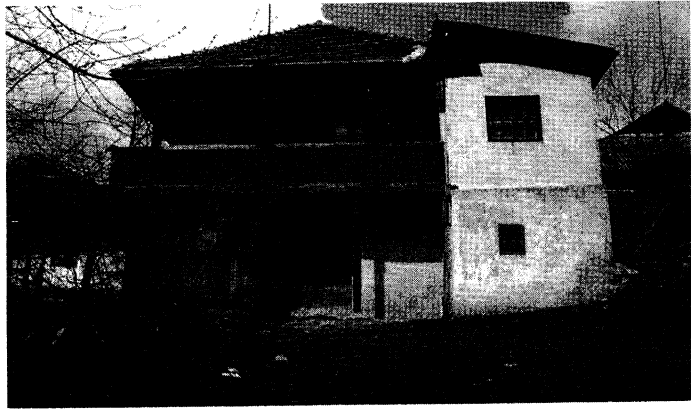
Figure 10. Shargorod. Early 19th-c. frame house with stone foundation and walls of mud-and-thatch cylinders. The main façade was covered with brick at the beginning of the 1970s. The house has a three-axis layout with enfilades of rooms on both sides.

a. Main façade (photographed 1993).

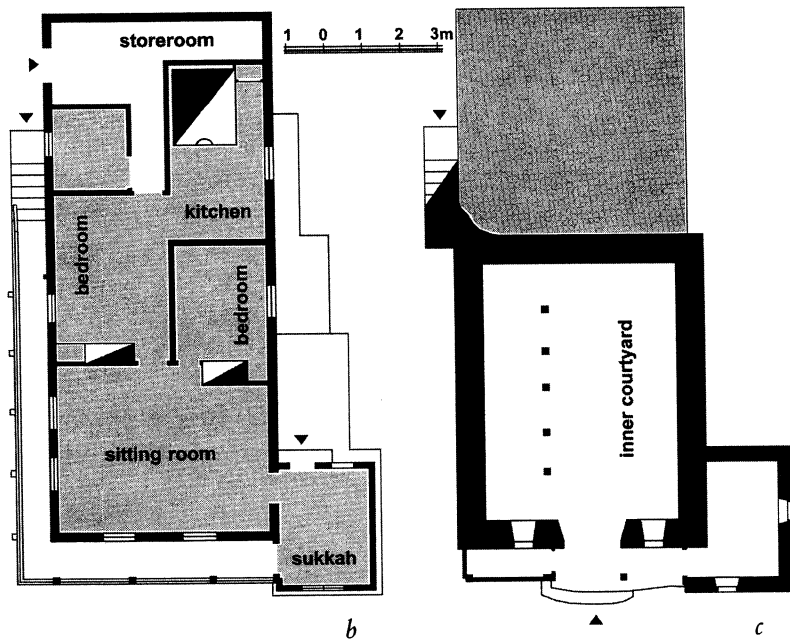
b. Ground floor plan.



b



a



b

c

Figure 11. Shargorod. Frame house with stone basement and walls of mud-and-thatch cylinders (second half of 18th c.). The house had a single-axis layout with compact arrangement of rooms. *a*. Main façade (photographed 1993). *b*. Plan of the ground floor (rooms with earthen floor and no ceiling are unshaded). *c*. Plan of the basement level.

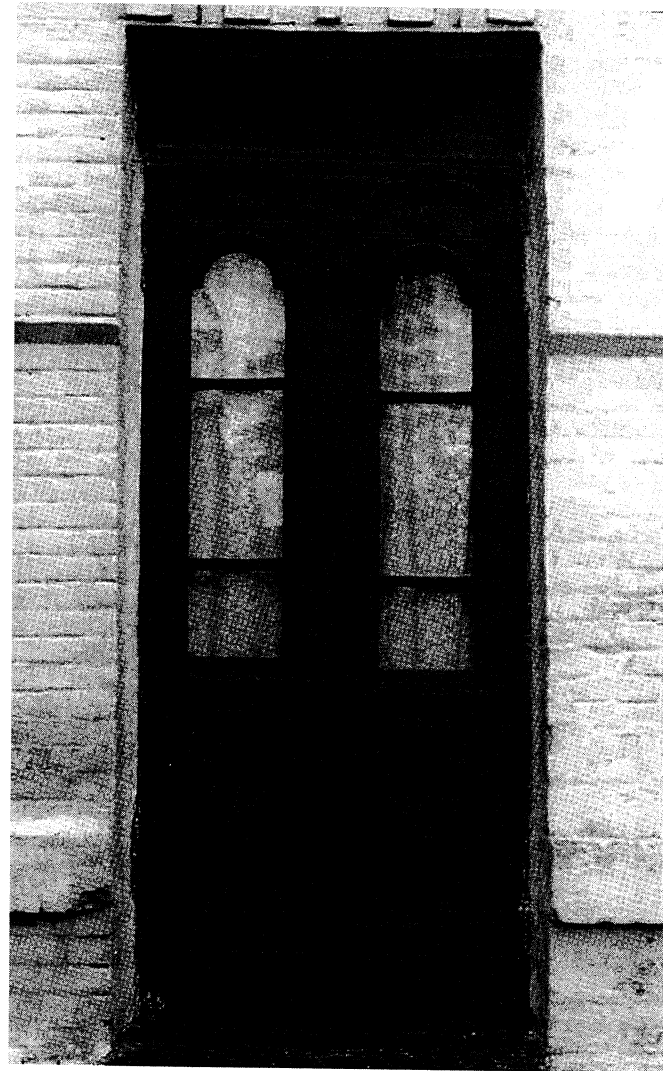


Figure 12. Haisin. Doors in the main façade of a house, decorated with *rimmonim* (pomegranates), early 20th c. (photographed 1998).

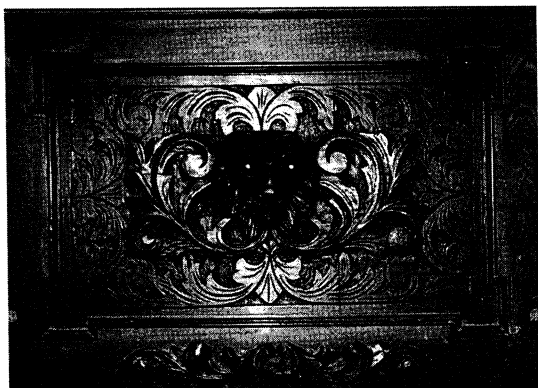


Figure 13 (top). Litin. Detail of cupboard door, late 19th c. (photographed 1997).

Figure 14 (above). Litin. Back of a bed of local production, decorated with a bas-relief of a bear with shoots in its mouth, end of 19th c. (photographed 1997).



Figure 15. Yaruga. Sandak's armchair in mohel's house, late 19th c. (photographed 1997).

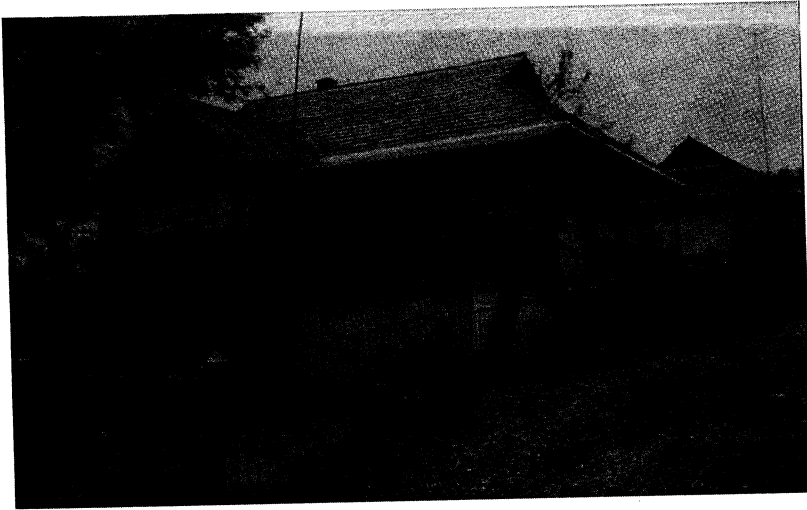


Figure 16. Shargorod. Frame house with stone basement and glazed *sukkah* verandah on its back façade, early 20th c. (photographed 1993).

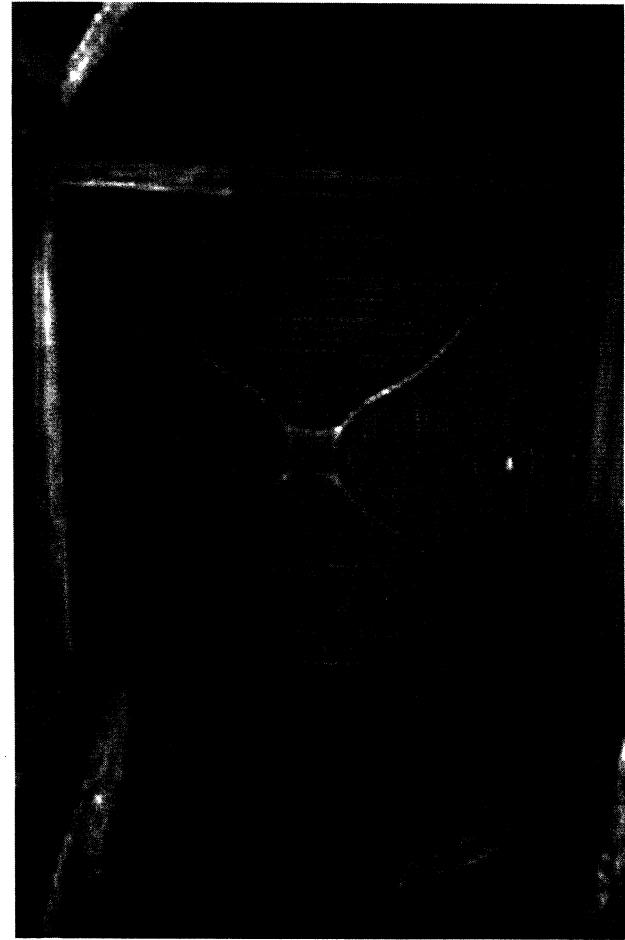


Figure 17. Bershad. *Sukkah* veranda ceiling panels with carved imitation of reed stems, late 19th c. (photographed 1997).

A KHEYDER IN TYSZOWCE (TISHEVITS)

By YEKHIEL SHTERN

Originally published in the author's *Kheyder un beys-medresh* (New York, Yivo, 1950)

THE APPEARANCE OF THE KHEYDER

My *rebbe's* elementary school (*dardeki kheyder*) was called "*Gershon melamed's dardeki kheyder*," after the name of my teacher, Gershon. It stood across the *beys-medresh* on the west, an old decrepit little house whose walls caved inward at the roof. The old kheyder building sloped up-hill from north to south and joined at the rotting and moss-covered shingled roof with another little house that stood entirely on the hill. The rain would pour down from the roof of this other house upon our kheyder and then descend with violent downpour from our roof, making a long ditch alongside the north wall of the kheyder. In this ditch the school children would dance around in the summer time and beat back with the palms of their hands the long streams of rain coming down from the roof top.

We also would throw pebbles on the roof of the adjoining house and wait tensely for them to roll down on the roof of our kheyder, while we stood with outstretched hands ready to catch them. On more than one occasion this prank would end with the breaking of a small pane in the windows on the north wall. We would then get our due from the teacher. The teacher's wife would stuff up the open space with a rag or a small pillow. The glazier of the town, Isaac the deaf, had plenty of work to do, patching up the broken panes with pieces of glass.

On the outside of the windows there were heavy shutters, painted blue. They were covered with various carved figures and flowers and other decorations in baroque style. The school children would also play with these shutters, particularly in the summer mornings when the teacher was still in the synagogue. We would open and close the shutters and often break a window pane in doing so. All the

panes in the windows, therefore, were full of patches of different pieces of glass and we used to get a thrill out of listening to their clatter and rattle during a thunder storm. They would provide a real concert when the teacher would rap on the window with his pointer summoning the children outside to come in to class. The din of their clatter would only increase the fear we had of the teacher.

Near the east and north sides of the kheyder was a sort of fence, made up of several tall posts set into the ground. Placed across them lengthwise were two round beams which were joined together at right angles. There were always children roosting on this fence. The school boys would seat themselves in a row one behind the other. They would kick their legs, as when riding a horse, clap their hands on the beam and shout "gee-up," calling out all sort of names of horses at the same time. The more the shirt tails beat around the sides, and the earlocks blew in the wind, the more we jogged up and down, shouted still louder and were sure we were really riding.

On the other end of the fence we would turn somersaults, twine ourselves around the beam and turn around and around several times. The fence was rarely quiet. More than once we would tussle for a place on the beam and the teacher would have to end the fight. He would start tapping his pointer on the window pane and the gang would scatter in all directions.

There were two doors to the kheyder. One on the north, made of panes, was boarded up all winter and stopped up with straw. It was opened up only in the summer. The second door, on the south, led to a hallway. This door was never at rest. It always closed with a bang, so the boys would always open and close it and enjoy the rattling of the patched-up window panes caused by the banging of the door. This was only a winter sport. During the summer we would stop in the hallway in the early morning and listen to the sounds of the birds nesting in the attic. Some of the boys had a secret desire to clamber up to the attic to the birds but they never dared do it in the presence of the rest of the children because we were all sure that these were not birds but disguised souls or angels singing praises to God.

There were two doors from the hall, one on the west off to the right and the other east off to the left. On the right there was only the opening for a door, which led to the ruins of a house, four walls minus a roof, joined by two of its walls to the west wall of the

kheyder. This was an unfinished house in which were stored stone and wooden tombstones. The teacher's son was a tomb-stone engraver and he would do his work here. The place was always full of youngsters who would follow the work of the engraver with curiosity and then try to imitate him by drawing with chalk on the walls either hands in the position of the priestly benediction or other figures found on tomb-stones. When the engraver was not present the boys would practice climbing on the stones.

The proximity of the tomb-stones to the kheyder gave rise to fantastic tales about ghosts and migrating souls. No one dared venture into the ruins at night. During the winter we had classes at night and we were afraid to go through the hall because of the tomb-stones. The reflection through the door of a white and snow-covered stone seemed certain to be a ghost in shrouds. The teacher, therefore, would lead the children out through the hall.

So much for the exterior of the kheyder.

The inside consisted of a large square room divided in two by a screen. Behind the screen was the teacher's bedroom and kitchen. We used to call it "the teacher's alcove." Over the opening of the alcove hung a red sheet covered with countless white dots. We would wrap ourselves in this sheet and play hide-and-peek. During the winter, at twilight, when the teacher and his helpers were in the synagogue and the schoolboys who studied at night were alone, this sheet was converted into a *tales* (praying shawl), and would-be magicians wrapped themselves around in it and imitated the cantor in the synagogue.

Through the second door-opening in the same screen one could see the dark kitchen with the rusty chimney-stove, full of dishes and kitchen furniture. There was also a big belly-front buffet on which the youngsters would clamber. The room was always full of curious children who watched the teacher's wife putter around in the kitchen.

At the west wall, between the opening to the kitchen and the hall door, stood a big, wooden, closed alcove. It was a sort of pantry and the teacher's wife was always either taking something out of it and carrying it to the kitchen or bringing something back to it from the kitchen. We always watched her open and close it and almost every school-boy knew every piece of kitchenware she owned.

On the alcove were piled up old torn prayer books and Bibles which the teacher and his helpers would take down for class. In

the corner near the same wall and not far from the door which led to the hall stood a large barrel of water and near it on a bench a big brass can. On the ground near the barrel stood a large wooden trough with two handles.

In this trough would be collected the left-overs of the children's meals, all kinds of paper which the children would throw into it, also the water from the brass can which the children used for drinking. This corner was always wet and slimy. Near the north wall stood a long wooden bench. During the winter the children would draw figures on it or play "*iks-miks-driks*." Behind the bench was a combination bench-bed, which served as a bench during the day and as a bed at night. The teacher would sit on a little pillow on this bench-bed, wearing a vest but no jacket and a skull cap on his head. He would set his twisted pointer into the prayer book or the Bible used by the children, who were seated near him on a long bench at the table along the east wall. At the other end of this table, which went all along the east wall, was a helper who taught another group of children. The east wall came to an end with the glass door which was used only during the summer.

The kheyder was as noisy as a fair, especially during the winter. The children ran around from one place to another; some would sit on the ground, clap their hands and sing: "*Joshe, Toshe, ben-telekh! Di name vet brengen kikbelekh, ab—aw!*" Others just brawled or fought with each other and made a racket. Near the teacher on the bench-bed there would always be a new "little infant," brought to school for the first day and crying bitterly. The din was made all the greater by the slamming of the door which the children would open and close with a bang. The bedlam was particularly great when a beggar would come in. (The kheyder also served as a sort of lodging-house for wandering beggars.) The youngsters would surround him, help him unpack his bundle, count the lumps of sugar which he had collected going from door to door in the town. From amidst the uproar one could hear several children's voices, repeating in a sweet, sorrowful chant their reading lesson or the Bible: "*Aw, Baw, Gaw*" or "*Vayoymer—and he said.*" When the noise became too great the helper would swish his rod in the air and the children, trembling and sobbing, would seat themselves on the floor and sit quietly for a few minutes, only to increase the uproar later. One can imagine what went on when one considers that there were 70-80 children in such a kheyder.

STAGES OF STUDY IN THE KHEYDER

The child's life became bound up with the kheyder from the day of his birth. The *Shir bamaalot* amulets, which were pasted up in the room of a mother in child-birth, were purchased from the teacher of the kheyder. On the seventh day after birth the helper would bring the school children, after class, to the home of the new-born and there read the *Shema* with them. For the ritual of circumcision a special kind of honey cake, called *reshete*, was prepared. This *reshete* was brought to the teacher before baking and the teacher would mark out on the dough the form of a little fish and the words *Mazl tov*. He also would make a lot of little holes over the whole cake. That is why it was called *reshete*, which means a sort of iron sieve. The little fish was supposed to indicate that Jews were to multiply like fish.*

When a boy became three years old, his parents would wrap him in a *tales* and bring him to the kheyder. The children in the kheyder would stand around, look at him and wait for candy or cookies that the parents would distribute. The teacher's wife would come in and wish the parents of the child "that he should be eager to learn." The teacher would then take the child to the table and show him the alphabet printed in large letters on the first page of the prayer book. The teacher would point out the letters *ש, ד, י, א, ב, ה*; then he would combine them in the words "שדי אמת" (the Lord is truth) and the child would repeat it after the teacher. After class the teacher would let a coin drop on the table from on high. The sound of the coin on the table would startle the new pupil and the teacher would say: "An angel threw this down for you so that you should be eager to learn."

The child would study the above-mentioned letters every day for two weeks. He would then proceed to the alphabet in regular order. He would learn first not the sounds of the letters but their names. Later he was taught to distinguish the letters with a dagesh from those without, like *ה, ה; ב, ב; ג, ג* etc.

In teaching the letters the *rebbe* would try to bring home each letter by comparing it to something already known to the child. The *א*, for example, was compared to a water-carrier with two buckets; a *ב* to a little hut with an open wall; a *ג* to a soldier putting left

* This allusion to fish is derived from *Gen. xlvi*, 17, where the words *וידגו לרוב* were traditionally translated "to multiply like fish".—Ed.

forward to march; a *ד* to a hammer with a handle; a *נ* to a man crippled on one leg etc. In pointing out the letter the teacher would outline the contours of each letter with his pointer. (This only refers to printed letters; writing was not taught in the elementary school.)

The second stage in the teaching of reading was the so-called "*komets-alef*." The alphabet was taught to each child individually. The "*komets-alef*" was taught to groups of two or more children. The teacher pointed to the prayer book and pronounced the names of the vowel points: *komets, pasakh, segl*, etc., and the children repeated after him. The vowel points were introduced in the same way as the letters. A *komets* (◌◌) was represented as a stick with a beard; a *segl* (◌◌◌) as three true friends always together; a *kholem* (◌◌◌◌) as a soldier looking down from a brick building, etc.

After the children learned to know the names of the vowel points, they were taught to combine them with the letters, *i.e.* to create simple syllables. The teacher, pointing into the prayer book, would call out first and the children would repeat after him: "*komets alef, aw; komets beyz, baw; etc.*"

The next step was the so-called half-syllable. This differed from the "*komets alef*" in that the children would read the simple syllables by themselves without first calling out the names of the letters and

ZOGT A YIN-GE-LE MIT KHEY-SHEK PA-SEKH SHIN V' MAKHT?
 SHA VAY-TER GI-KHER DA DA — YUD DAY
 MAKHT DOS IN EY-NEM SHA-DAY DE-RUN-TER MIT DEM E
 SE-GEL MEM ME ME-SOV MES MAKHT DOS IN EY-NEM E-MES
 IN EY-NEM MAKHT DOS? SHA-DAY E-MES SHA-DAY

CHANT USED IN TEACHING OF READING

vowel points. After this they proceeded to "complete syllables." Here they learned to pronounce the unvocalized letters at the end of a word, as for example the final letters in אמת or עבר. Next they were taught the "final letters," ג, ב, ה, ו, י, ק.

When the pupils became well-versed in the technique of reading, they would read without the help of the teacher. He would only follow the reading with his pointer and help them with a difficult word. The last stage in the teaching of mechanical reading was to pronounce the sheva in the middle of the word. We called it "pronouncing the *sheyvey*." The sheva in the middle of a word was pronounced as a *tseyre*. When we arrived at this final stage the teacher would always observe the following preliminaries:

When there is a '*sheyvey*' at the beginning of a word, what do you do with it?"

You have to catch it.

When there is a '*sheyvey*' in the middle of the word, what do you do with it?"

You have to jump over it!

Various parodies were invented on this, as for example, "When a gentile boy is standing at the beginning of the village, what do you do with him?" etc. This completed the process of learning mechanical reading and it lasted about three terms. After that the child studied the order of prayers and at the same time began the study of the Pentateuch. This was taught only to boys.

The girls, after mastering mechanical reading, would begin to study "*ivre taych*" from the "*Tsene urene*."* There were a few girls together with the boys in the kheyder. Most girls attended a special "girls' kheyder" with a woman teacher.

The commencement of the study of the Pentateuch took on a special ceremonial character. The teacher would appoint three older boys who had already begun to study the Pentateuch to act as "*benchers*" (blessers). These "*benchers*" were taught by the teacher the blessings they were to pronounce over the "beginner" at the ceremonial occasion. At the same time the child was coached in the first several verses of *Leviticus* (known as "*Torat Kobanim*," the law of the priests).

* The *Tsene urene* was the traditional Yiddish version of the Pentateuch which was used by Jewish women. The language was old Yiddish with a high percentage of German words. Hence the term "*ivre taych*," which originally meant a translation of the Hebrew into German—Ed.

Preparations for the ceremony lasted several weeks. The actual ritual was carried out in the following fashion: A table was set with honey cake, brandy, nuts and candles; here the teacher sat. To his right sat the father of the child and all around sat the other invited guests. The women, including the mother of the child, stood off at a distance and looked on with delight. In the very center of the table stood the guest of honor, clad in holiday clothes and adorned with watches and other jewelry borrowed for the occasion. Near the youngster stood the "*benchers*" and they placed their hands on his head. All the boys were covered by a *tales* (a symbol of "the Lord arched the mount over them like a tank," at the receiving the Torah at Mt. Sinai).

Teacher: Little boy, little boy, what are father and mother doing now?

Child: My father and mother are having a grand celebration now.

Teacher: Is it because you are beginning to study the Pentateuch that your father and mother are making the grand celebration?

Child: Yes, teacher, that is so, you guessed right.

Teacher: Would you first like to recite something of the Torah?

Child: Of course, that is what I was created for. Although I am not fit to recite any Torah, nevertheless I shall say a few words:

Teachers and friends: Why does the Torah start with a "Beyz", *Bereysbis*, and not with an Aleph? Because when the Lord created the world, he blessed it to have permanence. "*Beyz*" stands for *borukh* [blessed] and aleph stands for *orur* [cursed]. Had the Lord created the world with an aleph there would have been no people of Israel.

Teachers and friends! I would like to add a few words more. Why did God give the Torah to Moses and not to Abraham?

The "*benchers*": Because then there were few Jews and in the days of Moses there were many Jews.

Child: You gave the answer of the Torah. I will give you the answer for a child. There was no need to give the Torah in Abraham's time because then the generation was not bad.

There is another answer: If God had given the Torah through Abraham then the Jews would have forgotten it in Egypt.

First "*bencher*": Bend your head and I will bless you: "You shall have a wife with twelve curls and each curl shall contain the sanctity of the tribes."

Second "*bencher*": Even though when Jacob blessed Ephraim and Menasseh half of the blessing was realized and half was not, since Ephraim and Menasseh are not counted among the twelve tribes, yet you should have all your blessings come true. As you wear the watches on your heart and as we hold our hands on your head, so shall these blessings come true.

Third "*bencher*": May that which the first two wished you come true, but I will give you another blessing: May your life and the life of your family be as sweet as the fine fruits of a tree near a spring.

The assembled guests, silent until now, would then shout: "*Mazl Tov!*" The women would shower candy and nuts on the boys on the table. The "*benchers*" then would get down from the table and the youngster would seat himself near the teacher before an open Bible. The following dialogue would then ensue:

Teacher: What are you studying, little boy?

Child: The Pentateuch!

Teacher: What does Pentateuch mean?

Child: Five.

Teacher: Five what?

Child: Five books in the sacred Scriptures!

Teacher: What are their names?

Child: Genesis is one; Exodus, two; Leviticus, three; Numbers, four; Deuteronomy, five.

Teacher: Which do you study?

Child: I study the third.

Teacher: What is its name?

Child: "*Vayikro*" (*Leviticus*).

Teacher: What is the meaning of "*Vayikro*"?

Child: He called.

Teacher: Who called, the rooster on top of the stove?

Child: No, God called to Moses, to tell him the law of sacrifices.

Teacher: What is the law of sacrifices?

Child: A lamb that has a blemish is not to be sacrificed on the altar.

Teacher: What is a blemish?

Child: A lamb with a blind eye or a broken leg, is said to have a blemish.

Teacher: And a lamb with a blind foot or a broken eye, is that a blemish?

Child: No!

The child would then begin to read from the first chapter in *Leviticus* and translate word for word, from the beginning up to "*lirtsono*."

The dialogue of the "*benchers*" and also that between the teacher and the child all proceeded in a set chant. This would conclude the grand ceremony and the guests would then enjoy the brandy and special cookies prepared for the occasion.

After having gone through such a ceremony the pupil was called "*kbumesb yingl*" (Bible student), and every week he was taught the first section of the weekly portion of the Pentateuch. The translation was taught word for word as e.g. *vayeshuv* he sat, *Yaakob*—one who was called Jacob, *beerez*—in the land, etc.

Bible students were put together in groups of four or five. When the Bible student had become adept in translating words he was then initiated into translating phrases or sentences. During this stage he was also taught some of the legendary and homiletical comments on the verses he was studying. Most of these comments were derived from the commentary of Rashi. Here are a few such examples. "I will go down now and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it which has come until me." (*Gen. xviii, 10*) was first translated literally, then came the following interpretation: "The cry," whose cry is referred to? The cry of Lot's daughter. She had given a poor man a piece of bread, for which the men of Sodom stripped her naked, smeared her body with honey and laid her on the roof. Thereupon the bees came and stung her to death. This was done to her because it was forbidden in Sodom to help the poor. The Lord says here, therefore, "Like her cry that came up to me; what they did, thus will I annihilate them."*

* The traditional translation of the word "*Kalab*" in this verse was "to annihilate," instead of "altogether."—E.J.

Another example is the homily on *Gen. xlviii, 7*, "And as for me, when I came from Paddan Aram."

And I, even though I am instructing you to bear my remains for burial from Egypt to Palestine, I did not do this with your mother Rachel. I buried her in the middle of the road, even though there was still some distance to the city, as it is written in [*in Gen. xxxv, 16*] "And there was still some way to come to Ephrath." But I was told to do it this way. When Nebuzaradan will drive the Jews into exile, they will go by mother Rachel's grave and weep and wail. Then mother Rachel will emerge from her grave and cry and plead to God, as it is said: "Rachel weeps for her children." A voice will then come forth from heaven and cry: "Rachel, hold back thine voice from crying, there is reward for thy deeds. A day will come and your children will return to their borders. A day will come when the Jews will return to Eretz Yisroel." Therefore, I beg of thee, have no ill-will against me, and bear me and bury me in the land of Canaan, so that I shall not have to go through the ordeal of rolling from Egypt to Eretz Yisroel. For when the Messiah comes all the dead outside Eretz Yisroel will have to roll through the earth to Eretz Yisroel in order to be resurrected!

Of particular interest were the homilies on the *Song of Songs*, studied before Passover, and the *Akdamoht*, studied before Shabuoth. The love dialogues in the *Song of Songs* were interpreted as conversations between God, the beloved shepherd of the Jews, and the congregation of Israel, the beloved and chosen people. The obvious meaning of the words was completely ignored. We only studied the first two chapters in the elementary school. The following is an example of the interpretation of the first several verses:

Sbir—a song, *lashirim*—of all songs. The song that King Solomon sang was more beautiful, better and bigger than all other songs. Another song may be holy; this song is holy of holies. Another song was sung by a prophet; this was sung by a prophet, son of a prophet, king, son of a king, sage, son of a sage, singer, son of a singer, a righteous son of a righteous father. *Asher*—which, the song that King Solomon sang, *lischlomo*—to God blessed be He, who is called *Schlomo*, because Shlomo stands for *melekh shebashalom shelo*, the peace of the whole world is his. Then the congregation of Israel in *golus* (exile) says: *halvai yishakeni*, would that he would kiss me, *mineshikot*—from the kisses, *pibu*—of his mouth, let him talk to me mouth to mouth, as he spoke to me at the revelation at Mt. Sinai. *Ki*—because, *tobim*, are better, *dodekha*—your friendship, *miyayin*—from good wine, your friendship in giving us the Torah is much better than good wine. . . .

The last stage of study in the elementary school was the study

of Rashi's commentary. First one studied single letters and then entire words.* When the pupil mastered the reading of the Rashi type he was taught a few verses of Rashi at the beginning of each week's Biblical portion.

In addition the pupils in the kheyder were taught the blessings for different kinds of food and for natural phenomena. The helper would teach these to the children during the summer time, early every evening before the children were sent home from kheyder. He would gather them in a circle around him and order them around in the following manner:

Helper: What do you say for a thunder?

Children: Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe whose power and might fill the Universe!

Helper: What do you say for an apple?

Children: . . . who has created the fruit of the tree!

And so on for all other blessings.

Every Sabbath the helpers would take the children to the synagogue. They would seat them near the pulpit where the cantor was chanting the prayers on the steps before the holy ark. At every blessing the helpers would signal the children to say *Borukh hu, borukh shemoy* (Blessed be He, blessed be His name) and *Amen*. If you add to all this the *Moyde ani* which the helper would recite with each child every morning, you have the full program of the kheyder, the purpose of which was to prepare the Jewish child for the Jewish religious way of life.

HOLIDAYS AND THE SCHOOL CHILDREN

The kheyder pupils celebrated all the national and religious holidays together with the grown-ups. They were prepared for the holidays in the kheyder.

Before Passover they were taught the "Four Questions," with Yiddish translation and the mnemonic signs, given at the beginning of the Haggadah, which indicate the procedure of the *seder* service . . . The coming of Passover was in the air several weeks ahead of time because of the study of these things.

A few days before Passover the inter-session period began. It

* The Rashi commentary in the conventional Hebrew Bible is printed in a different kind of type from the Biblical text. It is cursive type, and hence has to be learned separately.—Ed.

lasted until the intermediate days of the holiday, when the new summer session began. The intermediate days of Passover and of Sukkoth were the days when new pupils were enrolled. A school term lasted half a year.

An important holiday in the kheyder was Lag Be-omer. We began to prepare for this day on Passover. The helpers and the older boys who could carve made bows out of elastic sticks, tying both ends with a string, and wooden arrows that looked like hooks. The children would buy the bows and arrows from the helpers. We had school only half a day on Lag Be-omer. In the afternoon we ran around through the town, shouting and vying with each other in shooting the arrows far or high.

Several days before Shabuoth the children began to cut rushes for the holiday. The day before Shabuoth there was no school and the entire day was taken up with this occupation. We carried the bundles of rushes home and decorated the floors. We arranged them into squares, triangles or stars of David.

For Simhat Torah we made flags in kheyder, for Hanukah, spinning tops, and for Purim, noise makers. Playing spinning tops went on during the entire winter.

Even the fast days were holidays for the children since there was no school on these days. Of special interest was the Fast of Ab. There was no school and we played the special game of throwing burrs at each other. For the Fast of Ab we made wooden pistols and swords in the kheyder. The pistols were shot off with caps.

GAMES IN AND AROUND THE KHEYDER

The kheyder pupil spent the greatest part of the day together with the other pupils without either the teacher or his helper. For every child was at the teacher's table only two or three times during the day and only for a few minutes each time. The rest of the time was taken up with play. All the child's vivacity and creative fantasy, which found little outlet during the studies and which was suppressed by the severe discipline of the kheyder, found free expression in these games.

All the walls, benches and everything in and around the kheyder that would take chalk were covered with all sorts of figures and images drawn by the children. The shell of a house that stood next to the kheyder swarmed with children in the summertime who

clambered over the walls, rode hobby-horse on the tombstones, kicked around, shouted, imitated the neighing of horses and filled the air with children's voices. The open space between the kheyder and the *beys-medresh* was also full of children playing. Here one would find a group playing the game *sbeli-shelokh* (mine and thine). They played it in this fashion. The children would line up in a row side by side and take each other's hand. One child would stand in front of the line and face the children. He was called the "prince." The children in line would say: "What does the prince want?" The prince: "The prince wants to go to the princess in the palace." The children: "We are the palace guards and let no one enter." The prince: "But I, the hero prince, unsheathe my sword and go in." The children: "We will fight to the last drop of blood." The prince, spitting into his hands and making ready to attack: "Here comes the prince for the first time." The children, to each other. "Stand firm, hold fast!" The prince then would rush at the row of children standing with locked hands, attempt to crash through, then go back to his palace. The children: "But we won!" The prince: "Here comes the prince again!" Both the children and the prince would repeat their previous lines. The prince: "Here comes the prince the third time!" This time the children would let him break through. The prince would run off, all the children chasing after him and whoever caught him became the prince for the next round of the game.

In another corner of the open space one could find children in groups of five playing "*beknbroyt*." Four children would stand in a square and one in the center would go from one child to the other and beg for "*beknbroyt*." Each child would answer: "In the next row," and point to another child in the other corner of the square. The one in the center would thus be sent around from one corner to the other, and at the same time the other children would change places with each other. The child in the center would then attempt to occupy one of the corner places before any of the others got to it and if he succeeded in doing so the child left out would then take his place in the center. The game, of course, depended on swiftness of movement . . . *

Some of the children would play *kichke-pale* (this game is

* This is like the game called "pussy wants a corner."—Ed.

called *chizbekes* in Polesie).^{*} The "*kichke*" was the name given to a small peg pointed at both ends, the "*pale*" was the longer stick. The "*kichke*" was placed on a higher spot, near a hole made in the ground. The player would hit the pointed end of the peg with the larger stick and send the peg flying into the air. He would run and try to hit the peg while it was in the air and send it farther away from the plate. The more times one hit the peg, the better player he was. The other player would run to get the peg and throw it to the plate. The peg was not to be struck on the return to the plate. But if it was not returned to the plate the first player then would strike the peg wherever it happened to fall, without changing its position. This continued on until the second player got the peg back to the plate, after which he became the batter and the other the catcher. The game went on until one of the players scored a given number of hits of the peg, decided on in the beginning. The number was usually twenty or thirty. The loser would then have to give the winner what was called a "*yarsh*." This meant that the winner would have the right to strike the peg even when it was being returned to the plate. He would, therefore, keep his stick over the plate and hit it back if it came close to the plate. The "*yarsh*" would end when the peg fell on the plate. It was considered quite a humiliation to have to give a "*yarsh*."

There were many such active games at the kheyder. The most popular one was playing horses.

Every once in a while the teacher or his helper would call one of the players to the table. This would disrupt the game for a while, but it would soon be resumed with greater impetus. There was also a code of morality attached to the games. If any one was dishonest in the game the rest of the players would surround him and shout at him "*shekernik, shekernik*" (dishonest one). This kind of treatment we called *men peret im*, or *men drikt im di gal*. In other regions it was called *yaden*.^{**} Such a culprit was excluded from the games.

There were also various oaths and maledictions associated with the games, as e.g. "I should live so" (*kh'zol azoy lebn*), "Upon my word" (*oyf mayne nemones*), *khay-adoysbem*, (by the life of God); "*akn, baken, brotn, brenen, ver es vet opnarn, der vet lign in gebenem*"

^{*} This is like the game called "peggy."—Ed.

^{**} These are Yiddish expressions for berating the culprit.—Ed.

(ache, bake, broil and burn, he who is dishonest will go to Gehenna). We would hold our *tsitsis* (fringes) in our hands while uttering these oaths to seal the oath. We also had many counting-out rhymes to determine who was "it" in the various games. These of course had no meaning by themselves. There were two that were most frequently used. "*Eyns, tsvey, dray; lozer, loxer-lay; okn, bokn, beyner-shtokn; onk, bonk, shtonk.*" The second one was widespread throughout Poland. It went like this: "A peasant (*goy*) rode off to the woods; he broke the axle of his wagon, how many nails must he have to fix the axle?" The child on whom the word axle came out, had to answer with a number. Then the number was counted out among the children and the one getting the last number was "it."

There were also quieter games at the kheyder. Youngsters would sit on the ground and make mud pies and bake them in the sun. Some would make figures of cats and dogs out of soft bread. Others would make a little garden for themselves, fence off a little plot with sticks, make little furrows, dig little holes in the furrows and fill them with water. When there was not enough water some of the boys would urinate into the holes and get a great kick out of so doing. If the teacher noticed it from the window, however, the whipping rod would spoil the fun.

Among the quieter games should also be mentioned burying the potato bug in the ground. These bugs would be buried in the ground together with some coins so as to have a treasure grow there.

Most of the quieter games were played in the winter, when the children were forced to remain indoors and active games were not possible. The most popular game then was playing with buttons, which would often be torn from our own garments. Very popular too were games with penknives. The blade of the knife would be opened and allowed to fall to the floor. Before dropping the knife the question would be asked if so and so were one's enemy, e.g. "Is the teacher my enemy?" If the point of the blade remained stuck in the floor then it meant that the person mentioned was an enemy. If the knife fell back down on the floor it meant he was not an enemy. There were also several gradations of enemies. If the blade remained standing vertically in the floor it meant the person was a great enemy, if it inclined it meant he was not completely hostile.

Another game common during the winter was called "*iks, miks,*

driks."* This was played by two players. Two vertical lines were drawn on a board and crossed by two horizontal lines. The players would alternately put dashes and ciphers in the compartments formed by the lines. The object of the game was to get a row of three dashes or three ciphers before the adversary did. The first to get a row won the game and then was said to "rub the chin" of the loser. The winner would wipe off the board with the palm of his hand and then rub his palm over the chin of the loser, taunting him at the same time with the words: "*iks, miks, driks, fonye mit der biks.*"** There would always be onlookers at the game who would enjoy taunting the losers. Not infrequently a fight would ensue and the helper would have to restore order with his whipping-rod.

Another game that was popular was "goats and wolves." At Hanukkah time all these games were crowded out by play with the spinning top (*dreydl*). Girls in the kheyder had their own games. They made mud pies, played "house," "kitchen," "bride and groom" and hopscotch. They would also dance around in a circle for hours while singing the popular folk-song, "*bak meser, brok messer, mir gut, dir is nokh beser.*"*** The girls would also gather in groups and sing folk songs sung by their parents.

The account of all these games in the kheyder, made up by the children themselves, should do much to dispel the commonly accepted picture of Jewish school children as being prematurely adult and lacking the playful character of the normal child.

The fantasy of the child's mind was expressed also in the various superstitions and old-wives' tales that were circulated. Here are a few: If you point with your finger at the stars in the sky you must bite the finger. If you look at a mirror too much during the day, the image of the mirror comes to choke you at night. The same thing is done by the shadow of a person if you play with it too much during the day. If you annoy an orphan his deceased parents will come and drag you away to their grave at night. That is why the orphan was a privileged child in the kheyder. He would always threaten the other children with his deceased parents.

Childish fantasy also fed upon the host of stories and legends

* The equivalent of tick-tack-toe.—*Ed.*

** *Iks, miks, driks, fonye* with the gun. *Fonye* was a derisive term used by the Jews for Russian tsarist soldiers.—*Ed.*

*** "Chop knife, cut knife; I feel good, you feel still better."—*Ed.*

that were current and transmitted by word of mouth. Each narrator would add a bit from his own imagination. The stories were about God, Gehenna, the Garden of Eden, robbers, princesses, princes, water creatures, hidden treasures that could be discovered by magic or *kabala* or by burying in the earth a coin with a potato bug. The latter would discover the treasure underground and it would then grow up from the earth by itself.

DISCIPLINE IN THE KHEYDER

Discipline in the kheyder was severe, even brutal. Corporal punishment was used in all its forms. The lash was always at work. Very, very rarely did it rest on the wall near the teacher. The children were so used to the strokes of the lash that no one cried when beaten. When too great a turmoil developed in the room the helper would lash out right and left among the children without regard for who was struck. The lash was also used during instruction. Both the teacher and his helper did not refrain from using their hands. Every mistake by the child was requited with a thump in the side. The teacher also would poke his snuff-box into the mouth of a pupil who yawned during instruction. A very severe punishment was whipping. The helper or the teacher would set the "culprit" on his knees and administer a drubbing to his buttocks. For more serious offenses there were special punishments, the mere mention of which made the children tremble. The most terrible of these were the following three: (1) whipping of the naked buttocks with wet, salted reeds; (2) stuffing the mouth with a wooden peg; (3) "to be made a bundle." The last of these was considered to be the most terrible punishment. There was a legend among the children that one pupil once died during this punishment. It was administered in the following way: The culprit had his outer garment and his hat turned inside out. His face was blackened with soot from the stove. Then his hands were tied and under one arm they placed a broom and under the other a paddle. On his back was tied a bundle of old rags, which was to give the impression that he was hunch-backed. The lad, got up in this way, was then carried around the room, set up on high places, like a table or cupboard and all the other children would stand around him, clap their hands and shout in chorus: "Bundle maker! bundle maker!" And the name stuck to the child for good. These three

punishments were already discontinued in my time. The helper would only threaten us with them.¹

THE PERSONNEL OF THE ELEMENTARY KHEYDER

The teacher was the owner and administrator of the school. Every inter-semester period he had the job of getting pupils enrolled for his school. He would canvass the homes that had eligible children and visit both the parents of the children that had attended his school previously and the parents of prospective pupils. He also had to arrange for his helpers and for the place for the school.

The teacher's income was derived from tuition fees that were paid in installments for the entire session and from holiday moneys which he got from the parents as gifts. He also would get a certain sum for every circumcision and for every celebration of beginning the study of the Pentateuch. These gifts were usually very small and depended on the generosity and prosperity of the donor.

Poor children who could not afford to pay tuition fees received instruction just like the wealthy children. The teacher was paid for these by the trustees of the Talmud Torah, who would collect contributions for this purpose. These children were known as "Talmud Torah children" even though there was no special Talmud Torah in our town.

The teacher also sold *tsitsis* and *shir-bamaalot* amulets for pregnant women. With all this, nevertheless, the teacher was quite poor and every Friday he would walk through the village with a red handkerchief in his hand and solicit charity donations. Officially he was supposed to be collecting these for the village poor but actually it was for himself.

The teacher had three assistants: a chief helper, an assistant helper and a messenger-boy. The chief helper would instruct the children together with the teacher. He and the assistant helper would take the children to synagogue every Sabbath and holiday morning and teach them the responses "Blessed be He, Blessed be His Name!" and "Amen!" All three assistants would take the children to the home of a new-born boy one day before the circumcision and read the "*Shema*" with them. The chief helper would board with the teacher

¹ A fellow-townsmen of mine, of my age, told me that in his school—there were two elementary schools in our town—they once administered the "bundle" punishment as described here. My description of this punishment was based on data furnished me by older inhabitants of the town.

and received in addition a small salary for each term. He also had a side income from the toys he made for the children for the holidays.

There was a custom in our region that the chief helper would prepare the fish for every wedding. Often too he would be the waiter at the wedding meal. Thus, in addition to his other qualifications, the chief helper had to know how to prepare fish and how to wait on tables for a wedding. The helper would be paid for these additional jobs. The position of helper was not considered very reputable in the village. The word *belfer* even came to be used in popular language as a term of insult. On the other hand it also became synonymous with the words for "fop" and "dandy." The helper would pay a great deal of attention to his clothes. We used to speak of *geyn ongeton yoldish*² (be dressed like a dude). He was one of the few in the village to wear a stiff collar and a tie, a short coat, and a small cap on his head. He paid attention to the crease in his trousers, trimmed his earlocks, combed his hair and kept his young beard trimmed. He also had the reputation of being lax in ritual observance. He dared allow himself minor transgressions.

The assistant-helper's main job was to go to the home of every child every morning, help the child get dressed, say the *Moyde ani* and the *Shema Yisroel* with him, and have him kiss the *tsitsis*. He would sometimes substitute for the chief helper in instructing the children and would help him in general with all his work. He would also bring on his back those children who could not or did not want to come to kheyder. That is why he was hated by the children. Towards evening he and the messenger-boy would take the children home. The assistant-helper received a monthly fee from the parent of every child whom he cared for in the morning. He also received free meals regularly from the more wealthy parents.

Both the chief helper and his assistant were, as a rule, not natives of the village in which they worked. They also very rarely remained for more than a few seasons in the same kheyder. As a rule they would leave for another village after every term. The messenger-boy, on the other hand, was a poor boy of the village. He would help out in the kheyder and received a few pennies as his fee. His major job was to bring food for the children twice a day in a large hand valise. He also ran errands for the mothers of the children and they would usually compensate him with food or meals.

² In our area the word *frantish* was replaced by *yoldish*.

פארלאג, די נייע יידישע פארקסטורף

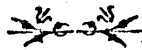
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קלון פאר, ניו יארק

נעואמלט און דערקלערט

פון ש. באסטאמסקי.



צווייטע אויפלאגע

ווילנע-1923

דוקערט ב. נארבער, ווילנע, זאמאלט 25.

Zagadki Żydowskie

S. Bastomskiego.

Włta, Druk. F. Garbera, Zawalna 25.



די ווארטלע דו טוים, מידעלע דו פיינס,
 אקלעב דוך עפעס פרעגן א רעכעניש
 א פיינס א פיינס

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 א פיינס א פיינס

פאקטור

בלען זאגן, בני יארן

- | | |
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| <p>4. נלעט ווי סאמעט,
 וויים ווי שניי;
 ט'קוקט זיך ציין -
 זעט מען צוויי.</p> | <p>1. וויים געשפרייט,
 שווארץ געוויט.
 ווער עס זייט,
 דער פארשטייט.</p> |
| <p>5. ניט קיין העמד -
 און דאך גענייט;
 ניט קיין בוים -
 און פול מיט בלעטער;
 ניט קיין מענטש -
 און רעדט צו דער זאך.</p> | <p>2. וויים געשפרייט,
 שווארץ געוויט;
 וואו מען סיקט,
 דארטן גייט.</p> <p>3. שווארץ געוויט,
 וויים געשפרייט,
 מיט גענו געאקעט.</p> |

6. הויך ווי א מייסד,
 גראב ווי א פויער.
 זים ווי צוקער,
 בומער ווי גאל.
7. אין וואלד וואקסט דאָס,
 אין קראָם הענט דאָס,
 מענט א ריר - וויינט דאָס.
8. אין וואלד וואקסט דאָס,
 אויפן פערד הענט דאָס,
 אלע ווייבער שאַקלען דאָס.
9. אין וואלד וואקסט דאָס,
 אויפן פערד הענט דאָס,
 ווי עס פאלט צריין
 צו די ווייבער אין די הענט,
 מאכט דאָס „פיטט-פאטט“.
10. אלע נוצן דאָס,
 אלע דארפן דאָס,
 דער קיטער נעמט פאר דאָס
 אראָפּ דאָס היטל,
 די וועלט האָט דאָס קאָס
 א נאָמען געגעבן.

11. א שוטר, א היטער,
 א נעברענטער, א געשמידער,
 ניט אליין נעמט ער,
 ניט דעם צווייטן גיט ער.
12. א שווארצער טאָטער,
 נעגל האָט ער,
 וואו מען סיקט אים,
 דארטן גייט ער.
13. אן אייזערנער פערד
 מיט א פלאַקסענעם עק;
 וואו מען שטופט אים,
 דארטן גייט ער.
14. אלעמען באנייט דאָס,
 אלעמען באַקליידט דאָס,
 אין אליין גייט דאָס
 מוטערנאָקט.
15. ער פליט אָן פליגל,
 ער מייסערט אָן ציגל,
 ער ליינט זיך ווי א האָר,
 און שטייט אויף ווי א נאָר.

16. די גוט ארויף -
און גוט ארויס,
ער גיט אראפ -
און האקלט אים.

17. א לעבעדיקער
שלאגט א מויטן.
דער מייטער טרייט
און טהערט זיך ווייט.

18. א ווייטער מייטער
און א געלער מייטער;
ווייל מן צוקומען צום געלן,
מזו טען צוברעךן דעם ווייסן.

19. א לילאך געשפרייט,
ארבעט געווייט,
א טעלערל אינמיטן.

20. אויף דרייערד ניי איך ניט,
אויפן הימל קוק איך ניט,
די שמערן צייל איך ניט.

21. מין טאטנס א זון
און מיינער ניט קיין ברודער.
ווער איז דאס?

22. דער טאטע האט געלט -
און קען ניט איבערצייילן;
די טאטע האט א קאלדרע -
און קען זיך ניט צודעקן;
די טוועסטער האט האר -
און קען זיך ניט אייסקאמען;
דער ברודער האט אן עפל -
און קען אים ניט אויבזעסן.

23. א גראפע טאטע,
א רויטער טאטע,
א הויכער זון,
א משוגענע מאכטער.

24. טאן און ווייב,
קורץ און לאנג,
שווארץ און ווייס,
ווער זינען זיי?

25. גרין ווי גראז -
נאך ניט דאס;
רויט ווי בלוט -
נאך ניט גוט;
שווארץ ווי קויל -
א דאס איז וואויל.

26. זיצט א צווייפוס
אויף א דרייפוס,
האלט אן איינפוס;
קומט א פירפוס
כאפט דעם איינפוס;
לויפט דער צווייפוס,
יאגט דעם פירפוס,
פאלט דער דרייפוס.

27. פיר רבנים זיצן אין איין טוב,
אלע אין איין עלטער,
אלע קענען גלייך זינען.
אינער וויל אריין -
וועמען דארף ער געבן
צום ערסטן די האנט?

28. צוויי ברידער:
אינער איז מיינער א פעטער,
דער אנדערער ניט.
ווער איז ער?

29. צוויי ברידער זיצן אויף איין
בוים און זעהען זיך ניט.

30. פיר ברידער
מראנן איין הימל.

31. הונדערט ברידער אן א טאטען
שטייען געבונדן אלע צוזאמען.

32. פיר פאניענקעס יאגן זיך
און קענען זיך ניט דעריאָגן.

33. א פאניענקע זיצט אויפן דאך
און רויבערט א ליולקע.

34. א בלויאונקער טעלער
פול מיט ארבעט.

35. א טאטע אויף א לאמע
און אן א נאָט.

36. א קאפ אן האר,
מילך אן אייטערס.

37. א ווייס מויל
און שווארץ ווי קויל.

38. א נייע בלי
פול מיט לעכער.

39. עס הענט אויפן וואנט
א קרעציקע האנט.

40.

איך אן אייגענדיקן צוים
שפרייטן א סך ציין.

41.

איך א רויטן טורעלע
הענט ווייסע גרעט.

42.

א ברעט לאגט אין וואסער
אין ווערט ניט צופולט.

43.

סיקקלט זיך א פעסעלע
אין א שמאלניקער געסעלע
און ווערט ניט צוברעכן.

44.

מען קריכט אויף אים
אין ער שטייט רוהיק.

45.

בייטאג סלאפט ער,
ביינאכט לעבט ער.

46.

ווער טוט ער אן דעם פעלן,
ווינטער טוט ער אויס דעם
פעלן.

47.

א האלב יאָרגייט מען אויךער,
א האַלב יאָר פאַרט מען אויך
ביר.

48.

ער גייט און גייט
און רירט זיך פון אַרמ ניט.

49.

מיט מַשא גייט ער,
אַן מַשא שטייט ער.

50.

ער גייט און לויפט,
צוילט טעג און יאָרן,
ניט מענטשלעך געבאַרן.

51.

איך האָב קיין פיס ניט
און גיין;
איך האָב קיין הענט ניט
און שלאָגן.

52.

אויערן האָט דאָס
און הערט ניט,
א טויל האָט דאָס
און עסט ניט,
קיין פיס האָט דאָס ניט
אין שטייט.

53.

א טויטער האָט דאָס;
ווען א לעבעדיקער וואַלט
דאָס געהאַט,
וואַלט ער גלייך געשטאַרבן.

קלמן מרדכי, ניו יארק

54

אַדום - פון ערד,
אברהם - פון קאַלמאָר,
יוסף - פאַרברענט.
וואָס איז דאָס?

55

דער פאַטער איז נאָך ניט
אַרויס אויפן דער וועלט און
דער זון איז טוין אויפן דאָך.

56

געדרייט זיך, געדרייט זיך -
און צוועקעט מעלעט זיך אין
א ווינקעלע.

57

ביים גביר אויפן טיש,
ס'האַט פיר פיס,
מינט א ריר - גיט א גיס.

58

צו מ'וואַרפט אַראָפּ, קען מען
דאָס טוין ניט אויפהייבן.

59

וואָס טער מע נעמט פון דאָס,
אַלץ גרעסער ווערט דאָס.

60

אין וואסער ווערט דאָס
געבויִרן,
אין וואסער ווערט דאָס
פאַרלויִרן.

61

אין פירער ווערט דאָס געבויִרן,
אין פירער ווערט דאָס פאַר.
לויִרן.

62

דורך איין טיר גייט דאָס אַרײַן,
דורך צוויי טירן גייט דאָס
אַרויס.

63

פון דר'ערד גייט דאָס אַרויס,
אין דר'ערד גייט דאָס אַרײַן.

64

אַליין בין איך אַרויס,
און דעם צווייטן מאַך איך רייִן.

65

צוויי לענג ווי איך נעם ניט
קיין טרונק.

קען איך ניט ריידן.

66

א פאַניענקע זיצט אויפן דאָך,
קאַכט פיס און פאַרוכט,
וואָס פעלט?

67

אַלץ גייט אין דעם אַרײַן,
וואָס איז דאָס?

68

וואָס ועט דער קיסר ועלטן,
דער פאַסטיך טעגליך,
אין נאָט - קיינמאַל ניט?

83 פארוואָס זאָגט מען אויף אַ חוץ, אז ער איז אַ לינגער?

84 פארוואָס קרייט אַ האָן מיט צוגעשאַבטע אויגן?

85 פארוואָס טאָר מען אַ סטאַליער ניט באַרגן קיין געלט?

86 פארוואָס טאָר מען אַ בלי-זמר ניט טרויען קיין געלט?

87 פארוואָס טאָר מען אַ בלעכער אין אַ קוימענקערער ניט טעלן פאר קיין עדות?

88 פארוואָס טאָר אַ בלעכער מיט קיין טאַקער ניט וואוינען צוזאַמען?

89 פארוואָס טאָר אַ בעדער מיט קיין בלי-זמר ניט וואוינען צוזאַמען?

90 פארוואָס טאָר אַ בעל-עגֶלָה קיין סטעטענע ניט עסן?

91 פאר וואָס קויפט אַ גלח אַ סטעקן מיט אַ גרויסע קאַפּ?

92 פאר וואָס נעמט אַראָפּ דער קיסר דאָס היטל?

93 ווער איז ניט געבאָרן געוואָרן אין דאָך געסטאַרבן?

94 ווער איז אַ בעל-חוב איבערן קאַפּ?

95 ווער זיינען די דריי מענטשן, וועלכע האָבן געספּילט אַ גאַנצע נאַכט אין אַלע דריי האָבן אויסגעספּילט?

69 וואָס איז די טווערסטע זאָך אויף דער וועלט?

70 וואָס איז די גרינגסטע זאָך אויף דער וועלט?

71 וואָס איז די טעלסטע זאָך אויף דער וועלט?

72 אַן וואָס קען זיך קיין זאָך ניט באַגייין?

73 וואָס איז געווען מאָרגן, וואָס וועט זיין נעכטן?

74 וואָס איז ביי אַ רב העכער פארן טבל?

75 וואָס וועקט אַן רעגן?

76 וואָס ווערט אַ באַק נאָך זיבן יאָר?

77 וואָס איז אַזשער אַ פערינע?

78 וואָס איז סוועדער - אַ פּוּד צי אַ פּוּד פּוּד?

79 וואָס קען מען זען אין ניט אַננעמען?

80 אין וואָס פּוּד אַ פעסל קען מען קיין וואַסער ניט גיסן?

81 פארוואָס זיינען יידן צוויי אַרײַם?

82 פארוואָס דאָגט אַ ייד קיין טורא ניט פארן טויט?

108
ווערבע מיט אונזער שווערער, וואס מערער מענטשן ס'מאגן זיין?

109
וועלכער - מאכל איז פריהער פארעוועט, דערנאך מ'רופט
אין צום סוף פליישיק?

110
וועלכער יוד טראגט דאס גרעסטע היטל?

111
וועלכער טויק שטארבט אין דער ועלביקער רגע, וואס ער מויקט?

112
וועלכן יום טוב עסט מען נישט אין מיטלענדיגן סטעט?

113
וועלכער יום טוב איז וואו מ'ווייל, אבער נישט וואס מ'ווייל;
וועלכער איז - וואס מ'ווייל, אבער נישט וואו מ'ווייל;
וועלכער איז וואו מ'ווייל אין וואס מ'ווייל?

114
אין וועלכן לעבערדיקן זאך האלט זיך אײן וואסער?

115
פון וועלכער מלחמה איז אויסגעהרגעט געווארן א פערטעל
וועלט? מײל

116
וועטעס מיט האט די גאנצע וועלט באוויינט?

117
וויפיל בייגל קען מען אויפגעסן אויפן נוכטערן הארצן?

118
וואו איז זייער פינכטער, בעת ס'איז ליכטיק,
ווארים - בעת ס'איז קאלט, קאלט - בעת ס'איז ווארים?

119
ווען זיינען קרעפלאך געשטאק?

96
ווער נישט אויפן קאפ?

97
ווער ווייס, וואס ביי יונגע פילט?

98
ווער וויינט, אידער זענען אים אן?

99
ווער באקומט אן אפוא, אידער ער הייבט אן צו בעטן?

100
ווער נישט אין שטייט הענגענדיק?

101
ווער האט נאך קינאגל קיין ליגן נישט געזאגט?

102
ווער קומט אלע טאג צו פריה?

103
ווער קומט אלע טאג צו שפעט?

104
ווער קומט שטענדיק צום ערשטן אין שול?

105
וועלכע מירל דארף קיין זתן נישט האבן?

106
וועלכער ברענענאך זיין טויט מער נוצן ווי פאר זיין לעבן?

107
וועלכע שפייז הארט געקאכט אן זאלן, וויל מען קען
דאס נישט מאכן געזאלען מיט נאך דעם זאלן פון דער וועלט?

קובץ שבת, נד יארק

צבאל איז אן אנה געקומען אין א קרעטשמע, האט ער דארטן געטראָפֿן אַ קליינע טיידעלע.

פרענט ער ביי איר — וואו איז דער טאָמע?

ענטפערט זי — דער טאָמע וואָרפט די לעבעדיקע אויף די טויטע.

פרענט ער — וואו איז די טאָמע?

ענטפערט זי — די טאָמע קרענקט אין נחת.

פרענט ער ווייטער — וואו זיינען דיניע ברידער?

ענטפערט זי — זיי זיינען געגאנגען ווכן דאָס, וואָס זיי האָבן נישט פאַרלאָרן.

פאַרשטייט ער נישט, וואָס זיי מיינט, און פרענט ווייטער —

וואָס זאָל איך טאָן מיט טיין פערד?

ענטפערט זי — טאָף אים החינה מיטן ווטער אָדער מיטן ווייטער.

האָט ער אַלץ נישט פאַרשטאַנען וואָס זיי מיינט.

ווי דאַרף מען פאַרשטיין אירע תשובות?

אַמאָל האָט אַ ייד גערטרעפט אַריבערפירן איבער אַ

טייף אַ ציג, אַ וואָלף און אַ קעפּל קרויט. אין טיפל האָט

געקענט אַריינגיין פאַר אַמאָל נאָר דער ייד מיט איינער פֿון

די דריי זאַכן; איבערלאָזן אויף איין זייט דעם וואָקף מיט דער

ציג האָט ער נישט געטראָגן, ווייל דער וואָלף וואָלט זי געקאָנט

אויפּעסן, איבערלאָזן די ציג מיטן קעפּל קרויט האָט ער אויך נישט

געטראָגן, ווייל די ציג וואָלט געקאָנט אויפּעסן די קרויט. ווי

אָזוי האָט דער ייד אַזוי געפֿירט — ע ד י זאַכן?



ווען וואָרפט מען גלאַז אין סווערט נישט צובראָכן?

ווען סלאָגט מען זיך און סווערט נישט ווי?

ווען פאַלט מען אין מען צושלאָגט זיך נישט?

ווען קרינט אַ האַט אַ נאָמען?

ווען בלייבט אַ סוֹחַר אין איין העמד?

ווען קען אַן אַרימאָן לעבן ווי אַ קיטל?

ווען נישט אַ ברידער אומזוכט? וואָס — ווער נישט אומזוכט?

מיט וואָס הייבט זיך אַן דער מויל און מיט וואָס לאָזט ער זיך אויס?

אַ יונג האָט געזעהן, ווי אַ פּויגל איז געפּלויגן און אַ האַנט איז געווען אויף דעם עק. ווי קען דאָס זיין?

וואָס איז דאָס אַזוינס?

אַ טויבער האָט געהערט, ווי אַ שווער האָט דערציילט, אַז אַ בלינדער האָט געזעהן צוויי פּונדליק אַ האַונד אַ קרוטער האָט זיך גאָף אים גאַנגעקאָמ, אַ הוילער האָט אים אַריינגעלייגט אין קעסענע און האָט אים געבראַכט אַהיים.

וואָס קען מען געבן איינעם אין האַנט, אַז די איבעריקע זאָרן דאָס זען און דער וועמען מ׳זיט דאָס, זאָל דאָס נישט זען?

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170
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171
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157.
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158
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159
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162
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163
פאר וועמען האָט מן מורא פון פאָרנט,
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164
וואָס רויסט שטארקט ווי א טייל?

165
וואָס פאָר א דריי מענטשן זיינען דאָס:
איינער איז העכער פון אלעמען,
פארן צווייטן נעמען אלע אַדאָס דאָס היטל,
ווען נישט דער דריטער, האַלט אין שטעמל קיין קאָצין
נישט געווען?

183

פון גאנץ ווייט
קום איך אהער, פון פייער אין
וואסער

באקום איך קאלער,
איך האָב א שונא.
ווען איך זע אים נישט,
בין איך רייט,
ווען איך זע אים,
בין איך טויט.

182

מיין פאָטער און מוטער
קענט איר לעבעדיקע געפינען.

לעבעדיקע קינדער
טו איך געווינען,
פון צוויי פארבן
בין איך געבויט,
נאָך אין געפארן
בלויב איך טויט.

181

א פעסערע און אראָפגעפאלן און האָט זיך צעבראָכן קיין
שום באַרער קען עס נישט פארדיכטן.

185

אין איין פעסעלע זיינען פאראן צווייערליי וויינען.

186

אויבן שטאַל, אונטן ברייט, דורך און דורך זיסקייט, אין
א ווייט העמערל, אין א בלוי קליידל.

187

צוויי מאמעס האָבן צו פינף קינדער, אלע קינדער הייסן
מיט איין נאָמען.

177

ס'איז גליטטיק
און שפיציק
און אינמיטן
א שטריקע.

178

ס'איז גליטטיק
און שפיציק
און, אז מע עסט,
וויילט זיך נאָך.

179

אין א פינסטערער געסעלע
קייקלט זיך א רעשעלע,
אינמיטן געל,
ארום - ווייט.

180

ווער עס וויל זיפן,
דארף טיך פריער זוכן.

181

איך בין גענאנגען אין וועג,
האָב איך געפונען
א גוף אָן א נשמה,
רעדט אָן א מויל,
אז אייזל האָט געדינט אויך
א פערד.

172

שווארץ בן איך,
שווארץ און שוין געזוכט,
אין פייער ברענט טען טיך,
אין וואסער קאָכט טען טיך,
הערן און דאמען עסן טיך.

173

הויך - געבערעט,
טיף - געברויטעט,
זיס ווי צוקער,
ביטער ווי גאל. (האר צו 110 ע)

174

העבער ווי א הייז,
קלענער ווי א טויז,
זיס ווי צוקער,
ביטער ווי גאל.

175

ווייט געקליידט,
שווארץ געזיט,
ווי מע שיקט עס,
רעדט עס רייד.

176

איך שטיי אין דער הייך
און שפיקע מיט רויך.

186

אָסע מיטלען ווייניגן דין האָט און ווייניג אונטערדיק, ווען זיי
האָבן דאָס.

189

מע דאָס דערפון דנאה געהאט, ס'האָט געקאָמט געלט און
צום סוף לאָזט מען דאָס אוועק מיטן וואסער.

194

עס שטייען צוויי סלופעס,
אף די סלופעס - א דיוושע,
אויף דער דיוושע - א קרוג,
אויפן קרוג - א לעבל ברויט,
אויפן לעבל ברויט וואקסט גראָו
אויפן גראָו פֿיטערן זיך
שעפּטעלעך.

195

א ווייסע פלאש,
ארויסער קאָריק,
ווער עס טרינקט נישט,
לעבט נישט.

196

9 טויבער, 8 פּאנכטער, 2 שעפּערס
און איין טרינקער.

197

קען א רעגן גיין צוויי טעג נאָכאנאנד?

198

יעדער מענטש פארמאָגט דאָס און קיינער ווייס ניט, וויפיל
ער פארמאָגט. וואָס איז דאָס?

199

א קינד וואָרט צום מאַטן - דו ביסט מיין מאַטע און איך בין
ניט דיין זון, ווי קען דאָס זיין?

200

אף א באַרג יונג א שטיין. ווען ער הערט פון דעם האָן א
קריי, דאן פוט ער זיך א דריי. ווי קען דאָס זיין?

201

ווען איז די בעסטע צייט פֿין עסן?

202

ווען זעט א פלינדער?

203

ווען דארף מען און א שמעטל קיין רב ניט האָבן?

204

וואָס איז גלייך צו א האַרפן קוכן

205

וואָס ברענט אָן פייער?

206

וואָס געהערט צו דיר און דאָך פּאַנוצן זיך דערמיט
אַנדערע מער ווי דו?

207

וואָס יונגט בעסער ווי א פידל,
וואָס גראָבט טיפער ווי א רידל?

217

פאר וועלכן גרייט דאך טען זיך ניט שטיצן?

218

פארוואס זיינען פאראן אויף דער וועלט קטיות מער ווי תרוציבו?

219

פארוואס ניט טען א וואסטרענגער קיין אונטערפירערס?

220

פארוואס איז דעם ארעטאנס פונד ניט אויף אלע ימים טובות?

221

פארוואס זאגט טען. אן ארעטאן איז ווי א הויקער?

222

פארוואס טאך טען ניט בעסן די צרות זאגן זי איםלאזן?

223

ווי אזוי האט ער זיך געראמעוועט פון מויט?

אמאל איז געווען א קייסער, א גרויסער רשע און א שינא ישראל. ער האט ניט געקענט פארליידן קיין יידן אין זיין הויז-שטאט, דאט ער ארויסגעלאזן א באפעל, אז יעדער ייד, וואס קומט אין שטאט אריין, מוז עפעס זאגן. האט דער ייד געזאגט א לינג, פלעגט מען אים הענגען, פלעגט ער זאגן אן אמת, האט טען אים געשאק, קומט איינמאך א ייד און זאגט זיי עפעס אזוינס, אז דעם קייסערס קנעכט זיינען געבליבן געפלעפט און האבן אים גארנישט ניט געקענט טאן.

וואס האט דער ייד געזאגט?

208

מיט וואס איז אלע כחך דער ארעטאן זיכער?

209

מיט וואס איז דעם יידן אלס כחך בעסער ווי דעם משומד?

210

ווער האט נאך קיינמאל קיין לבן ניט געזאגט?

211

ווער איז ניט געפאךן נפואה, כחך געשטארב?

212

ווער ליגט זיך און בלייבט זיצן?

213

פון וועטען איז שווער צו באקומען א קדשה?

214

וועלכער ארעטאן איז גרעסער, דער וואס טראגט שבת א וואכעדיקע קאפאטע, צי דער, וואס טראגט אומדערוואכן א יום-טובדיקע?

215

וועלכער טעגטש ברענגט נאך זיין מויל מער נוצן ווי פאר זיין לעבן?

216

וועלכע דוט טראגט בען ניט אויפן קאפ?

תשובות און ערקלערונגען.

- 1. א בוך.
- 2. א ביהמ.
- 3.
- 4. א הייל.
- 5. א בוך.
- 6. א ביהמ מיט פירות און טיף בילעטער.
- 7. א הייל.
- 8. א ביהמ.
- 9.
- 10. א קאפא.
- 11. א הייל.
- 12. א ביהמ.
- 13. א הייל מיט א פאדום.
- 14. א הייל.
- 15. א ביהמ.
- 16. א קויטענקערער.
- 17. א טעג קלענע אין גליק.
- 18. א ביהמ.
- 19. דער הייל מיט די טעגן מיט דער לבנה.
- 20. א ביהמ.
- 21. א ביהמ.
- 22. די טעגן דער הייל די וועגערען די לבנה.
- 23. א קויטען א פיער, א הייל א ביהמ.
- 24. די דעם וועג תעניתים צום גליק און העט אפער עסעה בטהת און שבעה עשר בתמו, ה' טאג און יום-בסתר, א קאש.
- 25. א קאש.
- 26. דעם א שטעטער אויף הרמטיון בעקעל אפאלט א שוף קוטט א ביהמ און באפט ארום דעם דער לויט דער שטעטער און דעם הונט, פאלט הענהיל דעם ביהמ.
- 27. דער קאפא.
- 28. טיף טעג.
- 29. צוה און.
- 30. א ביהמ.
- 31. א ביהמ.
- 32. טיף הייל.
- 33. א קויטען מיט א ביהמ.
- 34. דער הייל די טעגן.
- 35. א קאפא קוטט.
- 36. א הייל.
- 37. א ביהמ.
- 38. א ביהמ.
- 39. א ביהמ.
- 40. אויף א טרעם ניען טעגן.
- 41. די צוה.
- 42. דער ביהמ.
- 43. א ביהמ.
- 44. א ביהמ.
- 45. א ביהמ.
- 46. א ביהמ.
- 47. א ביהמ.
- 48. א ביהמ.
- 49. א ביהמ.
- 50-51. א ביהמ.
- 52. א ביהמ.
- 53. דעם טיף.
- 54. א לויטער טאג.
- 55. פיער און הויף.
- 56. א ביהמ.
- 57. א סאפאדער.
- 58. א שוף.
- 59. א ביהמ.
- 60. זאלין.
- 61. קיילן.
- 62. האלץ און אויך די אש מיט ארום דורך און טיף דער הויף-דורכן קויטען-האטער.
- 63. א ביהמ.
- 64. א ביהמ.
- 65. א ביהמ.
- 66. דעם, וועג די פארנובט.
- 67. דער זינגן.
- 68. זיין גליק.
- 69. א דערקעגן די און-ניעט הרנות.
- 70. א ביהמ א נעניטע זאך.
- 71. א ביהמ א טוטער-טראגן א קינד אויף די הענט.
- 72. דער נעדעק.
- 73. א ביהמ א נאמען.
- 74. די יארטולקע.
- 75. פראצענט.
- 76. א ביהמ.
- 77. א ביהמ.
- 78. גליק.
- 79. דעם טאגן.
- 80. א ביהמ.

(*) דעם געטעגט ווערט צו די געלעבט אנהאלטן אין ווי ס'זאל דעם ענטפער.

- 81. הייל דער נאט לעבט אשעק און זי קעגן אים נישט ווערען.
- 82. בשעת דער טיף איז דא, איז ער נישט ביהמ ער איז דא, איז דער טיף נישט.
- 83. הייל ער איז א דעהערן.
- 84. הייל ער קען זיין תורה אויסציען.
- 85. הייל ער קען טאגן טיף.
- 86. הייל ער קען פארשפילן הער-אויספילן.
- 87. הייל זי טעגן און דעם לעבן פאר נעלט.
- 88. הייל דער טיף טעג טאג קינד אויך דער טיף טיף טעג דער טיף.
- 89. דער ערשטער טאג הארם, דער אדערער שילקעט אים.
- 90. הייל ער איז מיט קראנק צו עסן ווערמילך.
- 91. פאר נעלט.
- 92. פארקאשעק (בריליק).
- 93. אדס-הראטן.
- 94. דער, וועג און שולדיק דעם קירושער.
- 95. בלי-זער.
- 96. דער נאגל סון אשעצין.
- 97. א נגב.
- 98. אן עפער (אודער מ'שלאגט אן די רוסן).
- 99. אן אריטאן - נישט האט צו נעבן.
- 100. א וועג.
- 101. א שטעטער.
- 102. דער טיף.
- 103. דער טיף.
- 104. דער צוהערער.
- 105. די וועג האט טיין.
- 106. א קארנער.
- 107. א זיך.
- 108. צוה.
- 109. אן אד (טרוף, הען זי לינג אונטער דער הויף, סלישוק, הען ספיקט ויך סון איר אויס א הינדעלע).
- 110. דער וועג האט דעם נרעטן קאש.
- 111. א בליין.
- 112. טעג.
- 113. פעה, טעג, טעגות.
- 114. אן א טעג.
- 115. בשעת קיין האט נע-הרנעט הבלען.
- 116. הבלם.
- 117. אינעם, הייל נאבן ערשטן און סען טיין נישט נישטער.
- 118. אן א קעלער.
- 119. בשעת טעגט זי.
- 120. בשעת מ'הארשט דרשה-געשאנק.
- 121. בשעת מ'שלאגט ויך אין דער דעה.
- 122. בשעת מ'פאלט אויף א הסצאה.
- 123. בשעת ער הערט טינגע דאן רופט סען אים, טינגעקער הונט).
- 124. ער איז אלע טאג און און העכער, נישט אן צוה.
- 125. אן חלום.
- 126. בשעת ער טאגט מיט קיין קיפל.
- 127. טיף א, טיף.
- 128. צוה פארטער דער זאגן האט דער אונטער טיף (א) זי א פונטל איז געווען (ב) זי א הונט איז נע-זען אויף זיין עק.
- 129. טיף א לויף.
- 130. דעם אונטערונטע.
- 131. דער טאטע זיט (הארט קענער), די טאטע לינג און קינד פערט די בירידער אדער קליבן יאנדעבן טפאן און דעם פערט און האט אדער און טעגן.
- 132. פרוהער האט ער אריבערגעפירט די ציג (דער וועג און געבליבן מיט דער קרויט, ער עכט קיין קרויט נאך דער ציג - די קרויט דערנאך האט ער געפירט די ציג צוריק און נעמען דעם וועג, נעלאגן דעם האלף מיט די קרויט און היידער נעפארן נאך דער ציג.

(1) היידער קאלאמבאר (הארטשפיל). (2) א וויטער קאלאמבאר. (3) אויף א הארטשפיל - מ'דארף דא געווען די בירידע בארייטונגען פון די הערער, קיין און רעדלעך. (4) געדענק בירידע בארייטונגען פון ווארט, "שפיקענען" (5) פארלויער דעמעניט. (6) ווארטשפיל - "אנטלאג" (ד) ווערט געברויכט ווען א פלעכער טעגט פארענערט ויך.

106. 9 שוואנגער חדשים
 8 מען קינעט, די ברוסט, און דאס קינד.
 197. (שפאס-פראגע) ניין ווייל
 נאָבן נאָבן קומט די נאכט
 198. האָר אויפן קאָפּ.
 199. א סידל.
 200. (שפאס-פראגע) ווי ער
 הערט אויף דרייט ער זיך.
 201. (שפאס-פראגע) ביים
 גביר ווען ער וויל, ביים
 אָרעמאן, ווען ער האָט
 202. אין חלוט.
 203. (שפאס-פראגע) און
 ס'איז דאָ א חונט און
 א טעפער, דער חונט
 העט אויפגען די פרייע
 פלייש און דער טעפער
 וועט טאכן א נייעם טאָפּ.
 דאן וועט מען שוין גיט
 דערפן קיין רב אויף צו
 פסקינען שאלות.
 204. דער צווייטער האַלבער.
 205. אויפן גנב דאָס היטל.
 206. דיין נאָמען.
 207. דאָס סוף, דאָס שליסל.
 208. ביסן טויט.
 209. (שפאס-פראגע) דער
 יוד קען זיך שפּוין און
 דער סעזנר - נויט.

172. קאָוע.
 173. דער היטל
 די ערה,
 דאָס לעבן,
 דער טויט.
 174. א בוי.
 175. א ברוי.
 176. א קויפּען.
 177. א ליכט.
 178. א קרעגל.
 179. אן איי.
 180. א לעפל.
 181. אן איי.
 182. —
 183. א פּוילן.
 184. אן איי.
 185. —
 186. א הוט צוקער.
 187. טינף פינגער.
 188. פּוילן ווערן.
 189. ברעקלעך ביים תּשליך.
 190. א בעט מיט בקמנע-
 וואַנט.
 191. א בעועס.
 192. א צונג.
 193. א גורט.
 194. די טיס, דער בויך.
 דער האַלדן, דער קאָפּ
 די האָר.
 195. די מוטער - ברוסט.

223. עי האָט נדוואָנט: חיינט וועט איר ס'ך הענגען; וואָל
 מען אים הענגען, וועט עס הייסן, אז ער האָט געוואָנט
 אן אמת, און פאר אן אמת קומט אים טיכן. וועט מען אים
 טיכן, וועט עס הייסן, אז ער האָט געוואָנט א ליגן און פאר א
 ליגן קומט אים הענגען.

152. אז מען לינט אַזויק
 אַ קאָפּ אויף אַפּאָליגע.
 153. זומער. הייל זומער
 ציט מען זיך אויס,
 און ווינטער דרייט
 מען זיך צונויף *
 154. א בעל עולה, הייל
 ער האַלט אַלעבען
 הינטער זיך.
 155. אז ער קוקט זיך
 און אין טשיל. דאָן
 דערועט ער זיך אַלליין.
 156. בשעת מען נויט פאַר
 אים הכּריבוּם.
 157. אן אַלטיער טאָן.
 158. די קלוגע.
 159. דער טויט, א סאַטע.
 160. א שניא.
 161. פאַר אַ באַק, פאַר
 אַ פּענד, פאַר אַ נאַר
 (אַדער פאַר אַ
 שלעכטן סענטשן).
 162. צוויי טוילן.
 163. א קויסענקערער, א
 טערער, א רב.
 164. טהכל נהיה בדברו
 (הייל אַלין וואָס ער
 דערציילט, הערט גע-
 באַרן פּאן וואַנער רחם).
 165. א זעקסער.
 166. מיט זאַפּר.

א יום.
 144. ביט מעלן א קי.
 145. א טינק.
 146. א ווינק.
 147. א זעקסער זעקס.
 148. א זעקס.
 149. דער היטל, די ערה,
 דאָס לעבן, דער טויט.
 141. קייל.
 142. א פינג.
 143. א פינג.
 144. דער טויט.
 145. האָט מען זי לינט
 צו גיט טויל.
 146. א האָל.
 147. דער טויל (דאָס
 הינטע) פּאן אַ האַק.
 148. אין אן אוימן ליגן
 הינטע קוילן, קומט
 אַרױס אַ פּאַטעלע און
 שאַרט אַרויס די קוילן.
 149. די ערה, דער היטל,
 די נאכט, דער חיינט,
 דער בליץ.
 150. די האָר אויפן קאָפּ,
 דאָס נעווכט, די
 אויגן, דער נאָז, די
 באַקן, די צוונער,
 דער צונג.
 151. האָט.

(* דאָס וואָס לענגער זאָרף מען דאָ פאַרשטיין גיט אין דעם זין פּאן צייט.
 (** א סידלעכער רעטטה. אז מען פּרענט אים אויף זיך, פאַרמובלט מען
 זיך אן ס'ך קען גלייך קיין ענדער גיט געבן.)

די קינדער וועלט

(גראמען, לידלעך, המצאות און שפילען).

<p>זי האפען טוימע יודלעך. (הארטע.)</p> <hr/> <p>(5א) וואַריאַנט. אלמע ביזען נעהען דאחנען, הערען היינען, זינגען, האפען טוימע יודען. כריין, לויפען, צופען קארשען. (פנחס מאיר הייסנברג, פאחלאך, ראָד. גיב.)</p> <p>(6) והוא רהום יכפר עון, — מ'האָט געכאַפּט צוויי גנבים; איינעם האָט מען אויפֿגעהאַנגען, דעם צווייטן — בענגאַצען. (איטשע זור קירצנט, דושעוויצע, ראָד. גיב.)</p> <p>(7) הושעה את עמך וברך את נחלתך</p>	<p>(3) אלף, ביה, גומעל, דלה, הא, האָה, זין, חיה, סיה, יוד, אלע יודלעך געהן צוריק, אלע קאָמפּקעס געהן דאָ, אלע הוינער שמעהען דאָ. (בלזינע, האַרט. גיב.)</p> <p>(4) אלף, ביה, גומעל, ריש, — קאָך מיר אָן אַ מעפעל פֿלייש.</p> <p>נישט קיין סך, נישט קיין בוסעל, נאָר אַ פֿולע שיסעל. (פֿאַרשפּרייט אין פּוילען.)</p> <p>(5) אלע, ביבער (הייבער) געהען דאָרטען היין האו</p>	<p>איק, כפר, גלש, דפת, הנד, וסם, זין, חפת, שצין. (גאָרשקעו, לובל. גיב.)</p> <p>(2) אחראָם (אברהם), בערל, גומפעל, דור, הערשעל, העהעל, זינהעל, חוקעל, טוביה, יודעל, בלמן (קלמן), ליבעל, משה, נתן, סאָנרעל, עהרן (אהרן), פכת, צדיק, קאָפעל, ראובן, שמחין, הגא.</p> <p>דאָס צעהלעניש מיט די נעמען זייטן אַלף-בית און פֿאַרשפּרייט אין גאַנץ פּוילען.</p>	<p>בי די קינדער-שפילען, אין העל- לע עס נעהמען אָנטייל עטליכע קינד- דער, קומט תמיד אויס איינעם צו האַבען אַ באַשטימטע ראָל אָדער פונקציע, צום ביישפּיל, ביי דער שפּיל אין באַרג — צו יאָגען; אין פֿעס אין מאָנער — אויפֿצוהאַלפֿן דאָס באַהאַלטענע; אין בלינדע קוה — זיך צו לאָזען צו בינדען די אויגען א. א. ה. דאָס באַקומען די צוגע- טיילטע ראָל אָדער פונקציע און אָפּהענגיג טויג'ס צעהלעניש = גורל. דאָס הערט געמאָלט מיט דער הילף פון גראַמען, שפּרוכען, המצאות צום צעהלען זיך. ביי יעדן האָרט פון דעם צעהלעניש הייזט דער צעהלער אָן מיט דער האַנד אויף איינעם פון די אָנטייל-נעהמער, און אויף העמען עס פֿאַלט אויס דאָס לעצטע האָרט, דער און באַפּרייט און מען צעהלט דאָן אויפֿין זעלבען אופן נאָכאַמאָל און עס הערט הוינער באַפּרייט דער לעצטער, אזוי כסדר ביז עס בלייבט איבער צום צעהלען נישט מעהר זי? איבער און דער איינער האָט די גע- הערליגע ראָל אָדער פונקציע (ער מוז יאָגען, זיכען א. א. ה.). עס טרעפט אויך, און דאָס מוז טון דער האָט פֿאַלט אַרויס דער ערשטער צייט גורל.</p> <p>(1) יעדער פֿון די, האָט נעהמען אָנ- טייל אייביג שפּיל, לענט אויף אויפֿין טויש אַ פּונער (דעם טייטעל-סיג) גע- אין דאָן הערען די פּונער געצעהלט דורך דער פֿאַלגענדער קאָמפּונאָציע מיט גרופּעס צו דריי אזותיות לויטן סדר פון אַלף-בית אויף דעם אומן;</p>
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ורעם ונשואם
ער העולם —
דו ביום
א גרויסער גולם.
(ישראל היסטאריש, הארשע.)

(8)
מלך חיים, מלך חיים;
מין גומע שטעסער,
דבורה'לע לאָן לעבען,
חיים טובים שלום,
משה רבנו פיקס.
(מרדכי קימערשמיד, הארשע.)

(9)
כינקע,
פוינקע,
דארע צינקע,
ארצע,
בארצע,
שלומע שלאָם,
מאָך אַ באָס.

פאָהר אין ים,
אויפן,
שמויפן,
יונגער-מאָן.
אלמע באָבע פאָשלאַ פראַמט.
(יאָנקעל טשאַפניק,
ביאָלע, שעדל. גוג.)

(10)
כינקע,
פוינקע,
בעריל,
שמעריל,
יאָכע,
שאַכע.

שאַשע,
דראַשע.

(11)
הערצע,
פערצע,
פאָמאָנוליו,
הויצעקוליו.

א מי פאָניע,
זאלאָזש קאָניע נאָ ראַגאַניע.

אַנק,
צהאַנק,
דובאַנק.

כאַרטו ספאַמט,
אַ זיאָנק פאָכאַדאַמט.

(יצחק זיסמאן, באַרגאָה,
לובל. גוג.)

(12)
איליו, ליו-ליו,
משה קוליו.

אָהרן בעדער,
משה גלעזער.

עקי,
מעקי,

שמרוי אין זעקי,
קאַמסקען פוימער,
היהנערן דרעקי.

(בנציון זיסמאן, באַרגאָה,
לובל. גוג.)

(13)

דריי סאָלדאַטען,
פיער גובערנאַטען,

זענען געוועסען אַ האַלבע נאַכט —
זי האָבען ס'לירעל אויסגעמאַכט.

דינע מאַרע,
משאַפמטע פאַרע;

קאַמטע ראַבע,
מאַנקימאַדע.

גלין גליאַן,
רויע זאַמב.

(עסע פישעלעוויטש, האַרשע.)

(14)

דער האָן שמעהאָ
אויפ'ן ראַך,
אַ טעה קומט,
נישט ביינאַכט.

(האַדאַדע.)

דער וינער קלונגמאָ
אינס, צהיי,
דריי פיער,
פוינקע, זעקס,
זיבען, אַכט,
ניין, צעהען.

(משה טופּיט, האַרשע.)

(15)

— באַלאָן, באַלאָן,
האָו ביוזאָ?
— יאָך בין
קיין לובלין.

אינסע, צהייע,
דריי, פיערע,
פוינקע, זעקסע,
זיבענע, אַכטע,
נינע, צעהנע,
עלפנע, צעהלענע.

(יוסף קליינמאַן, האַרשע.)

(16)

אינס, צהיי,
פאָלעמטשי.

דריי, פיער,
אַפּעציער.

פוינקע, זעקס,
האַלם געבעקס.

זיבען, אַכט,
אַ גומע נאַכט.

ניין,
די שייין.

צעהן — דער וינער,
עלעף — דער פּוּר,
צעהלעף — דער מרענגער.

דרייצעהן — די ביימטען,
פערצעהן — די רבי'צין,
פופצעהן גראַשען —
אַ האַלבע גיל* (גילדען).
(הירש אַנגליסטער, האַרשע.)

* אַ האַרשאַנס דערפּין און גע-
דרוקט אין פּנקס הילנע מרע'ב, אונט-
טער'ן נומער 27.

(16א)

וואַר יאַנט.

אינס, צהיי,
פאָלוציי.

דריי, פיער,
אַפּיציער.

פוינקע, זעקס,
אַלמע העקס.

זיבען, אַכט,
אַ גומע נאַכט.

ניין, צעהן,
שלאָפּען געהן.

עלעף, צעהלעף,
גאַם העלעף.

דרייצעהן, פערצעהן,
בלויע שמערצען.

פופצעהן, זעכצעהן,
פויגל קרעכצען.

נינצעהן, צוואַנציג,
פאָהר קיין דאַנציג.
(הוישענרשד, האַרשע. גוג.)

(17)

דער קאַחאַל, דער קאַחאַל
האַט דעם קעסעל געשלאָנען,
ער הייסט נישט הויפּיל געגעל
ער האָט אַריינגעשלאָנען.

אַדער אינס,
אַדער צהיי,
אַדער דריי,
אַדער פיער,
אַדער פוינקע,
אַדער זעקס,
אַדער זיבען,
אַדער אַכט,
אַדער ניין,
אַדער צעהן*.)

(פ. צפּטשין, קיטנע, האַרשע. גוג.)

* אַ האַרשאַנס דערפּין געפּינט זיך
אויך ביי גינגווינג אין מאַרעק.

(17א)

וואַר יאַנט.

אַ גוי און געפּאָהרען און האַלד
אין האָם צובראַכען אַנאַקס.
הויפּיל משחעקער דאַרף

מען צו האָבען.
אויף צו פאַרריכטען די אַקס?

הען דער, ביי העלענען מען גלייבט
שטעהן מיט דער פראַגע, ענטפערט
מיט אַ צאָהל, צ. ב. צעהן, צעהנט
מען פון נאָך איהם ביי דער אָנגע-
געבענער צאָהל (און יעצטיגען אַל-
צעהן):

איינס, צוהי, דריי, פינף, זעקס, זיבען, אכט, ניין, צעהן.

(שמואל שניערףאך, טשערקאסע, קיעזע. גוב. א.)

(17)

וואַר יאַנט.

א סמאלאזש אוי גענאנגען

(גענאנגען),

א קעסעל באשלאנגען,

האָט ער נישט געהויסם (גע-)

האווסם)

וויפיל טשעקעס אריינגע-

שלאָנגען.

האָט ער געזעהלם:

נישט איינס,

נישט צוהי,

נישט דריי,

נישט פינף,

נישט זעקס,

נישט זיבען,

נישט אכט,

נישט ניין,

נישט צעהן.

(הארשע.)

דאָס האָרט נישט ביי יעדער צאָהל חרשט זוגעגעבען, ווייל מען טאָר נישט צעהלען, האָרום דורכ'ן צעהלען גיט מען אַנציי-הרע און פון די געזעהלטע קאָן, היליה, חער אַהעקסטארבען.

(17)

וואַר יאַנט.

א סמאלאזש אוי גענאנגען

א דאָך באשלאנגען,

האָט ער נישט געהויסם (גע-)

האווסם)

וויפיל שוידלען ער דארף

צו האָבען.

האָט ער געזעהלם... א. א. א. ה.

(ביאָזע, שוועל. גוב.)

(18)

אפו יאַנע,

קויסע קאַנע.

שלמה ראַטע, קערע מאַמע.

אום,

ביים,

שלימען אַרום.

קניס,

קנאַס,

קניס.

קויסע דער קאַהאַל

אין שמאַרם אַרין,

צעהלם ער די נעגעלעך

אין קעסעלע אַרין;

איינסע, צוהייע,

דרייע, פינערע,

פינעהע, זעקסע,

זיבענע, אכמע,

נינע, צעהנע.

(סאָכאַטשע, האַרש. גוב.)

(18)

וואַר יאַנט.

אַפע יאַנע,

קויסע קאַנע,

שלמה ראַטע,

קעריע מאַמע,

אום,

ביים,

שלימען אַרום.

קניס,

קנאַס

מראַל

קויסע דער קאַמער

און צעהלם די נעגעלעך.

(19)

איינס, איינס, או,

עלעף, עלעף, או,

עלעף, עלעף, עלעף, או,

עלעף, עלעף, או.

חער ס'קאָן צוהאַנגען* צעהלען,

* אין דעם ליידעל געפונט זיך

צוהאַנגען ווערטער.

דער** (שמעהם דאָ**).

(האַרשע.)

דאָס זעלבע צעהלעניש קויסט אויך פאַר אַלס באַזינדער שפּיל, האָט גאָ- שטעהט אין צעהלען זיך די פּינגער פּון די הענד, אָנגעהויבען פּון מינדסטען פינגער פּון דער לינקער האַנד, דער- נאָך פּון זעלבען פינגער פּון דער רעכטער; דערנאָך גאָן אַמאָל דאָס אייגענע, האָט אין סך-האַלל דערזעהט עס ביז צוהאַנגען.

** אָדער: צוהאַנגען שטעהט דאָ. *** אַ האַריאָנט דערפֿון - ביי י. פ. כּהן.

(20)

איינס, אָדער צוהי,

אָדער דריי, אָדער פינער,

אָדער פינף, אָדער זעקס,

אָדער זיבען, אָדער אכט,

אָדער ניין, אָדער צעהן,

אָדער עלעף, אָדער צוהעלעף,

אָדער דרייצעהן,

קויסע האַלבע הייצען.

קויסט אַרין דער האַלבער קעניג

און לייענע שוין פּאַר (?)

(באַקאַמפּאָ).

(21)

איינס, צוהי, דריי,

ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע.

אַקען,

באַקען,

ביינער גלאַקען;

שערל,

בערל,

פּאַיי

(שמואל שניערףאך, טשערקאסע,

קיעזער גוב.)

א האַריאָנט דערפֿון-אין דער זאַם- לינג פּון י. פ. כּהן.

(21)

וואַר יאַנט.

איינס, צוהי, דריי,

ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע.

אַקען,

באַקען,

ביינער שמאַקען.

איינע,

ביינע,

ביינער שטינק.

(אברהם היינרייך, שערקאסע)

(זעלבער גוב.)

הען מען דערפֿיהלט פּלוצים נישט, קיין גוטען ריח און מ'הייסט נישט חער דאָס האָט געטין, צעהלט מען זיך אויס מיט דעם ליידעל און אויף חצמען עס קויסט אויס דאָס לעצטע האַרט, און דאָס אַ טימן, און דער האָט דאָס געטון.

(21)

וואַר יאַנט.

איינס, צוהי, דריי,

ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע.

אַקען,

באַקען;

שויע,

גמירע.

ביזום אַרויס.

(דאָזעלע טאַקאַזש, האַרשע.)

(21)

וואַר יאַנט.

איינס, צוהי, דריי,

ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע.

אַקען,

באַקען,

ביינער שמאַקען.

אַנק,

באַנק,

שמאַנק.

(יהושע זאַבערמאַן, אויטובינע,

זינגל:נער גוב.)

(21)

וואַר יאַנט.

איינס, צוהי, דריי,

ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע, ליידע.

אַקען,

באַקען,

בריימע לאַקען.

אויף די ברוק שמעהם אַ האָן,

שרייט ער: פּיק, פּיק, פּיק, העמערל,

צעמערל,

קום צו מיר און קעמערל.

על איך דיר עפעס הייזען,
 א שוועלע מיט אייזען.
 צוהי קונים יאָגען זיך,
 חתן-בלה שלאָגען זיך.
 (רחל לאה גאָרפֿינקעל, האַרשע.)

(22)
 איינס, צוהי, דריי,
 רישא, רישא, ריי.
 רישא, רישא,
 אייזענמאַשאַט?;
 איינס, צוהי, דריי.

צוהעלעך—
 דער פּנר;
 דרייצעהן—
 די ביימשיטען;
 פּערצעהן—
 די רבי'ציון;
 פּופּצעהן גראַשען— אַ האַלבע
 גילן (גילדען).
 (גאָלדע אַשליאָק, האַרשע.)
 האַריאַטען דערפּון געטונען זיך
 ביי גינגזאָרג און מאַרעק, י. ע. כּהן
 און אין פּנסק.

(25)
 וואַריאַנט
 אינצא, האַסא,
 סאָדע, מליאַדע.
 איקע, ביקע,
 ברויסק.
 (ניישטעטל, האַרשע. גוב.)

(27)
 וואַריאַנט.
 ראָו, דהאַ, משי, משעמורע,
 לאַמאַמאָקאַ ניע פּיסאַלו.
 ניע פּוסאַמט,
 ניע משומאַמט,
 קאָל קאַחורט
 בודי ספּאַמט.
 (גאַרשקעו, לובל. גב.)

(22א)
 איינס— אַ ניסעל,
 צוהי— אַ צוהילונג,
 דריי— מוזמן,
 פּיער— רעדער,
 פינעף— פיננער,
 זעקס— זינגער,
 זיבען— פּיסמאָילען,
 אַכט— אַ זינגער,
 ניין— דעם פּנר.
 פּנר אבות,
 מלאך-המות,
 צעהן גילדען אויף אינצוהעם
 (הוצאות).
 (נפּאָלי ברעמניק, אַלט
 קאָנסטאַנטין, האַהלין).
 (האַרשע.)

(23)
 וואַריאַנט
 איינס, צוהי, דריי,
 רישע, רישע, ריי.
 רישע, רישע,
 קאַבעל רישע,
 פּיהעל שלעפּט זיך נאָך.
 (האַלף סאַרנאָק, האַרשע.)

(26)
 איינס, צוהי, דריי,
 די קאַליע פּאַהרמ פּאַרביי;
 אידער ס'מידעל מוט זיך אָן,
 אַזו שוין האַלב דריי.
 (בלוינע, האַרשע. גוב.)

(28)
 ראָו, דהאַ, משי, משעמורע,
 פּיענמט, שעשטל
 אַימשעץ דאָיע יעשטט.
 סאַמקע דאָיע פּימט,
 אַ מי הונץ סאַביע: דוש.
 (לובלין)

(29)
 ראָו, דהאַ, מרי,
 משעמורע, פּיאַמ.
 הישאַל זאַימשיק
 פּאַגוליאַט.
 הדרוג אַכאַמניק
 הויבענאַיעט,
 פּריאַמאַ ה' זאַימשיק
 היסמריעלאַיעט.
 פּיף, פּאַף,
 אוי, אוי, אוי,
 אומבאַרעט
 זאַימשיק מאַי.

(23)
 ויקרא— האָט געקרעהט,
 משה— דער האָן,
 אהרן— דער פּיעקעליק,
 לוי האָט געפּוהרמ אַ האַנגען
 מיט ציבעלעס.
 איינס— אַ ניסעל,
 צוהי— אַ צוהילונג,
 דריי— בּשוואַמען,
 פּיער— רעדער,
 פינעף— פיננער,
 זעקס— קינדער;
 זיבען—
 געקליבען;
 אַכט—
 געמראַכט;
 ניין—
 די שיי;
 צעהן—
 געזעהען;
 עלעף—
 דער זינגער;

(24)
 בראשית און איינס,
 שמות און צוהי,
 ויקרא און דריי,
 במדבר און פּיער,
 דברים און פינעף.
 (האַרשע.)

(26א)
 וואַריאַנט
 איינס, צוהי, דריי,
 די קאַליע גימ פּאַרביי;
 די שעפּטען לויפּען נאָך,
 אלע מיט איין שפּראַך.
 (מנחם מאיר הייסבראָד,
 פּאַהלעך, ראָד. גוב.)

(30)
 יעבאַל מוזשיק פּאַ דאַראַגן.
 ניע פּיסאַי,
 ניע משומאַי,
 סקאַלקאַ?
 דעם יונגעל, האָט ביי איהם פּאַלט
 אויס נין פּראַגע. סקאַלקאַ (היפּיל),
 האַלט מען צו די אויגען און ער
 דאַרף דאָן ענטפּערן (אויף רוסיש) פּינט
 אַ העלעכע עס און צאָהל. זאָגט ער
 צ. ב. פּיאַט, (פּינג), צעהלט מען פּון
 איהם אָן ביז פּינג און אויף העמען
 עס קומט אויס די לעצטע צאָהל, דער
 געהט אַרויס. אויפ'ן זעלבן אָסן
 הערט דערנאָך געמאַלט דאָס צעהלעניש
 צווישען די איבריגע יונגעלעך.
 (גבן שליאַמאָהויט, טושין).

(25)
 אַדינ'צא,
 דהאַ'צא,
 סאָדע,
 מליאַדע.
 איקען,
 פּיקען,
 ברויסק.
 (האַרשע.)

(27)
 ראָו, דהאַ, משי, משעמורע,
 לאַמאַמאָקאַ ניע משעמורע.
 ניע פּיסאַמט,
 ניע משומאַמט,
 סקאַלקאַ בודיעט— דהאַצאַט
 פּיאַמ?
 (חיים גערשטען, בעכעה,
 לובל. גוב.)

(27)
 וואַריאַנט
 איינס, צוהי, דריי,
 די קאַליע גימ פּאַרביי;
 די שעפּטען לויפּען נאָך,
 אלע מיט איין שפּראַך.
 (מנחם מאיר הייסבראָד,
 פּאַהלעך, ראָד. גוב.)

52

(31) אונא, דונא, ליפאלין; קעלבאמטאלא, משאלא משי.

ען, דען, דאָרע, סאַז-יאָ.

(יהודית הייסבראָד, האַרשע).

(33א)

וואַריאַנט.

ען, דען, דאָרע, היקאמאָראַ.

(יעקב דעלמאָן, לאָטימ, בעסערע. גיב.)

יאַשעק צורקא, ירוש דאָ קאָמורקא.

משי פאמט, אויפאמאטע. אַנדרא, פאַנדרא, בלינק.

(32) אַנדיע, באַנדיע, פערד און האַנען; אוימשעלע אי' געגאנען צום רב קלאָנען.

עשע, מעשע, מי, רייט אויף די רוימע קוה, (י. דעזין, באַלעמאָח).

(33ב)

וואַריאַנט.

ען, דען, דאָרע, היקאמאָראַ.

יאַצעק צורקא, ירוש דאָ קאָמורקא.

פון רב ביז צו די יאַמקע, פון די יאַמקע ביז צו די מאַמקע, ברו, ברו, ביר, ברען, ברען, בראַנפֿען, באַק, באַק ברוימ, אז מ'שטאַרבט, איז מען מוימ.

ען, דען, די, רייט אויף די רוימע קוה, (סאַכאַטשע, האַרש. גיב.)

(34)

ראַנגאָ חויסא, ראַנגאָ חויסא.

ען, דען, די, סאַקראַמינדא סו.

סאַקראַמינדא, סיקא סו,

ען, דען, די,

ליכטלעך, ליכטלעך און דער זייט - גאַלד און זילבער לאָזט מען שמעהן, אז מ'רויפמ, פון מען געהן. (באַרנאָח, לוי. גיב.)

(33) ען, דען, דאָרע, היקאמאָראַ.

נאַשע צורקא, ירוש דאָ קאָמורקא.

האַסער, האַסער סו - רייט אויף די רוימע קוה.

(34א)

וואַריאַנט.

ראַם יא חויסא, ראַם יא חויסא, אויסא אויסא נאָ, סאַקראַמינדא סאָ.

סאַקראַמינדא סיקא סאָ,

ען, בען, דאָ.

(מינדעל הייסבראָד, פאַזלעך, ראָד. גיב.)

(34ב)

וואַריאַנט.

ען, דען, דאָ, קאַפּעלע-סאַנמא מאו.

קאַפּעלע-סאַנמא סיקא סאו.

ען, דען, דאו.

(גון שליכטמאַח:טש, לאָדו.)

(35)

ענא, בענא, קאַמטשאַטמענא.

ראָזא ליפאקא, קאַמטשאַטמאפאקא.

אַמוראַלי, חויסמאַחאַלי, לאָקא צעהן באַק.

פאַרשפּרייט אין פּוילען.

(36)

ענא, רוא, רטבא; ענמשיק, בענמשיק, שאַבא.

ענא, רוא, רעס; ענמשיק, בענמשיק, בעו.

(וואַרשע).

(36א)

וואַריאַנט.

ענע, בענע, רעש, קונמער, קונמער, זשעש.

ענע, בענע, ראַבע, קונמער, קונמער, זשאַבע.

(שואל שנייערעך, טערקאַסע, קיעח. גיב.)

(37)

ענמעלע, בענמעלע, שיעלע (יהושע'לע), שאיעלע (יהושע'יה'לע).

אַפּעמע, באַפּעמע, קנאַפּ.

(יהודית הייסבראָד, האַרשע)

(37א)

וואַריאַנט.

ענמעלע, בענמעלע, שיקאַלישע.

אַפּעלע, באַפּעלע, קנאַפּ.

(אַברהם היינרייב, שערעשיין, 5716 גיב.)

(37ב)

וואַריאַנט.

ענמעלע, פענמעלע, שיקעלע שאַ.

באַפע, די-פאַפע, דעקנאַפּ.

(סאַכאַטשע, האַרש. גיב.)

(37)

וואַר יאַנט

ענמזלע,

בענמזלע,

שיקעלע, שינע,

באפערו,

באפערו,

קנאַט,

(מ. פלישמאן, סאָכטשעהן).

(38)

ענדעלע,

בענדעלע,

איקראַבאַ —

אַמאָן שמאַנצע

אישמאַרילן.

איקו,

פיקו,

באַמבאַליקו.

אַליען,

פאַליען,

פּענס.

(הערץ בעריגשטיין, שולענזשע, גרשונער גוב.)

(39)

ענמערן,

מומערן,

פּימערן,

מאַ;

געלע שאַבע, ראַממאַמאַ.

קומט ער יאָ,

קומט ער נישט,

ליגט דער קאַנטשיק

אויפֿן מיט.

מאַכט דער קאַנטשיק: מיניטעו,

סײַן ליבע, נומע טעה.

ענין,

בענין,

באַך.

(טויבע לאַקס, שערזשין, לעלמער גוב.)

(39א)

ענמערע,

מענמערע,

מומערעאַמטש;

גולם,

געלעם,

שלום,

לאַרנעהאַמטש.

קומט ער יאָ,

קומט ער נישט,

ליגט דער קאַנטשיק

אויפֿן מיט.

זאַגט דער קאַנטשיק:

מאַנע, מינע מאָ,

מינע, ליבע,

נומע פּראָ (פּרוי).

(קינצק, רשד. גוב.)

(39ב)

וואַר יאַנט.

ענמראַ,

מענמראַ,

מומעראַוואַמטש;

געלע שאַלטן לאַרנערעאַמטש.

קומט ער יאָ,

קומט ער נישט,

ליגט דער קאַנטשיק

אויפֿן מיט.

זאַגט די קאַץ:

מי נימאַ מאַנע,

ליבע פּרומע פּרוי.

(דוד קיראַנט, דושענזשע, רשדעמער גוב.)

(40)

ענצליצעק,

פענצליצעק,

משתרחאָפּן סמאַליצעק.

נאַ קאַנאַ הויפּאראַ,

נאַ מענאַ בענץ. (האַריאַנאַ)

זבענק).

(שינדלעזשע, רשד. גוב.)

(41)

ענקל,

פענקל,

אַקט מע,

אידאַ דימאַ מע.

אויי נאַט,

קוש אין בראַמט;

האַרן, האַרן,

בובו: סאַמט.

(איטשץ קיראַנט, דושענזשע,

רשד. גוב.)

(42)

ענקע,

בענקע,

תורה צענקע.*

שלום שלאַם

בערל באַס.

כיק, כיק,

סאַרלאָז נ'שמריק.

יאָ, יאַ,

פּאַהר אין ים;

אייפּער,

שמופּער,

יונגערמאַן.

(יעקב גרינבערג, דוקאַת, שעדל. גוב.)

(43)

ענדוע,

דענדוע,

דירע דאַכע

פּאַני בענאַכע.

צום,

פּום,

פּערניכפּאַס.

אויס,

מיון,

געה אַרויס.

(יעקב יצחק דובעלמאַן, רמחעץ, לעלמער קרייז.)

(44)

ענקע,

דבענקע,

ציקע דמע,

אַבו,

דאַבו,

דוּזע דמע.*

עלמשים,

מטעלמשים.

(* עהנליך אין פּונקט, הילפע, תרע"ב

אויס,

מיון,

געה אַרויס.

(נחום געלער, גאַרשקע, לעלמער גוב.)

(45)

ענדע,

פּענדע,

צינדע מע;

אַבל,

פּאַבל,

די מענע.

איקע,

פּיקע,

גראַממאַיקע.*

אַנטשיק,

סאַנטשיק,

זאַיאַץ פּיעס.

(שמואל שנייערזאָח, טשערקאָסע, קיעדער גוב.)

(46)

ען,

מען,

מינער,

סאַהאַלאַ קאַבינער.

סאַהאַלאַקאַ,

פּיקאַ סאַקאַ.

עליק,

בעליק,

באַם.

(יהודית הייסברג, דערשע, אַ האַריאַנט בעפּונט זיך אין פּונקט.)

(46א)

וואַר יאַנט.

ענדע דינו,

סאַהאַרע קאַבינו.

אַיו,

באַיו,

באַם.

(קינצק, רשד. גוב.)

(47)

ענצאַ,

הענצאַ,

היקאַנאַמאַ.

(* עהנליך, פּונקט ניט. 32

54

אָם, סאָם, פּוּרצ.

דושיים, דושיים,
פּאַרע דושיים.

דושיים, דושיים, מאַשא.
אַפּאַלאַשא.

אַניץ.

גלאַניץ,

דזיאַניץ,

נע'סור אַ שמוקעל פּאַמערשאַניץ.
(האַרשע.)

(48)

אינגע,

דרינגע,

תורה מינגע —

זעקס און דרייסיג נומער צוהיי.

אודל,

שמראַדל,

קומט צו פלוהען

משה-רבינו'ס קנאַכט.

(אהרן פּריזומן, סאָכאַטשעו)

(49)

אינערקע,

בינערקע,

האַלצערנע ברוקען;

מידעלעך און הייבעלעך -

געהען קוקען.

ס'האַסער איז קאַלמ,

שרייטן זיי געהאַלדן;

קומשערע,

קאַמשערע,

צרוים.

(נפתלי בראַמניק, אַלט-קאַנז)

סטאַנטן, וואָהלין.)

(50)

מאַ, מאַ,

מי, מי,

סאָלדעוויסקע, סאָלדעוויסקע,

ליבו (לבה) בים באָם.

אינער איז געגאַנגען באַפּען פּוּט.

ערול,

בערול,

פּוּץ לאַך

נש דור נ'ת...ת און לעק

סור ס'ל...ך.

(חיים האַלשנדר, האַרשע.)

(51)

אייערן,

מייערן,

רשתיקן;

ענמשיק,

בענמשיק,

דשתיק.

אייערן,

מייערן,

ראַם;

ענמשיק,

בענמשיק,

דאַס.

(יעקב יצחק דובעלמאַן, רייחען,

פּעלמער גיב.)

(52)

סוּחע, סוּחע,

סייחע;

גאַנץ רודל

רייחע.

אַקעס,

באַקעס,

בינער שטאַקעס.

צורל,

פּורל,

פּוטש.

(הענגרעך, שערל. גיב.)

(52א)

וואַר יאַנס.

סיבע, סיבע,

סיראַ (סדר?)

גאַנץ גרוי

איראַ (אירער).

יטש פּרעמט,

האַנט אַהעק.

(האַרשע.)

(53)

עוּל,

בעוּל,

סמך קעוּל.

חיים איך האָם.

געה איך פּרוביר

פאַר מין רבי'לעס היין,

געפּון איך אַ שיינע, ריינע

פּאַר נוסעלעך אוים.

(דבורה פּעדער, שפּערעשין,

פּעלמער גיב.)

(53א)

וואַר יאַנס.

עוּל,

מעוּל,

סמך קעוּל.

אַקום,

קאַקום,

נימאַם ניץ.

(בערלי אַקערמאַן, האַרשע.)

(53ב)

וואַר יאַנס.

עוּל,

מעוּל,

סמך קעוּל.

האַבער, זאַליץ,

ברוים מיט שמאַליץ.

(מרדכי האַסערשטאַנד, האַרשע.)

(54)

עמבאַט לוישין,

צעמבאַט קאַדאַל.

זאַמען,

פּלעמען,

פּאַר האַלעטען.

מום,

האַם,

קנאַם.

(נתן מרדכי גאַלדבערג, הענגרעך,

שערלעצער גיב.)

(55)

אויף דעם בייטעלע

שמעהט אַ סינגעלע,

קוקט עס, קוקט עס

מיט אַנ'אייגעלע.

קוקענדיג אַהער, קוקענדיג

אַהער,

זאַנט שוין יאָ, זאַנט שוין יאָ,

יאָ, יאָ, יאָ.

(הינגערעך, פּלאַצקער גיב.)

(56)

רעו פּאַלקאַדניק,

רעו סקאַזאַל,

מסטאַבן סאַלדאַט

ראַנץ הסמאַל.

סאַלדאַט ראַנץ

ניע הסמאַיאָם,

מרינצאַט פּאַלק;

דאַסמאַיאָם.

פּאַרשפּרייט און פּוילען.

(57)

אַפּקע,

דבאַבקע,

פּאַנישקאַ;

מרי קאַפּעיקו דענישקאַ.

ניעט, ניעט,

ניעט כאַטשו,

יאַ וו' סאַלדאַט

ניע פּאַידו.

(האַרשע.)

(58)

אויצים,

צויצים,

קאַכט אַ באַרטמ;

קומט דער אַלמער און גיט

אַ פּוּץ.

קומט דער יונגער

און לעקט די פּינגער.

קומט דער איינער

און לעקט די ביינער.

(נפתלי בראַמניק, אַלט-קאַנז

סטאַנטן, וואָהלין.)

(59)

האַסער סטעטפּאַל,

העמערע צו האַפּען,

צוקער צו נאַשען,

קאַדע צום בעקער.

היידוּסט,

דעמידוּשע,

האַם מאַכסטו זיך גרויס?

דיין פּאַמער געהט נאַקעט

דיין סומער געהט לויט.

(יוסף קליינער, האַרשע.)

55

העי-ושע, העי-ושע ליהענר,
כ'האָב אַ זיסען מאַמע;
כ'האָב אַ זיסען שוועגערין,
כ'האָב אַ מאָם מיט פֿעדערין.

(האַרשע)

די ערשטע סטראָפֿע איז פֿאַרשפּרייט נמעט אין גאַנץ פּוילען.

62 א

(משה ספֿיט, האַרשע).

וואַריאַנט.

קאַן-האַסער, הייך-האַסער,
דאָס רעדעל דרעהט זיך;
די מאַמע קאַכט לאַקשען,
דער מאַמע פֿרעהט זיך.

הער האָס-ושע לייבטן,
כ'האָב אַ זיסען מאַמע;
כ'האָב אַ מאָם מיט פֿעדערין,
כ'האָב אַ מאַן אַ שוועגערין.

כ'האָב אַ מאַן
אַנ'אַלמען,
היל ער זיך
באהאַלמען.

נישט ביימאָג,
נאָר ביינאַכט,
סווען סווען—
צוגעמאַכט.

(האַרשע)

62 א

וואַריאַנט.

קאַן-האַסער, הייך-האַסער,
דאָס רעדעל דרעהט זיך;
די מאַמע קאַכט לאַקשען,
דער מאַמע פֿרעהט זיך.

העי, העי,
כ'אַלען—
כ'האָב אַ זיסען
מאַמען.

האַט ער געגעסען קאַלמע פֿויט,
האַט ער זיך פֿאַרדאַרבען,
איז ער געפֿאַהרען אויף די פֿרושע לוזט,
איז ער געשטאַרבען.

(משה ספֿיט, האַרשע).

62 א

וואַריאַנט.

דאָס רעדעל, יענען רעדעל
דרעהט זיך;

יש חמוצ
קיהאוסין.

ארוסם,
אויסיל,
פּוויסיל,
סיים.

61

אַראַמאַ, אַראַמאַ, אַראַמאַ,
הינעקאַסקי היניעהאַמאַ,
נאָ פֿאַרוסקי היניעהאַמאַ.

(האַרשע)

אַרע,
דאַרע.

עליק,
בעליק,
באַם.

(פּוויצע דאַקס, שווערעשין,
כעלמער קרייז).

60

יש סקאזאל מיסקארו,
העי צימבא
רימבא
רו.

יש שוואַם העי, הו,
נאָ השי (נאָשי?)

ל-שיעתך
קוית.

יש סקאזאל;
יש אַרוישעם (ארושם),
אויס, אויס, און.

60 א

וואַריאַנט.

יש סקאזאל מיסקארו,
הי ראַמבו
צימבארו.

העי, הו,
נאָרוסיין.

צווייטע אפטיילונג.
שפילען.

62

שוועצעל.

צוויי קינדער (דאָס רוב מידלעך) איינס קענען ס'אָנדערע געהען זיך
אַן צו די הענד אין דער קהער (רעכטע הענד צו רעכטע האַנד, לינקע צו
לינקע) און מען שטעלט זיך אויף די שפיץ סינגער פון די פיס אין איינס
ס'אָנדערע צוהיט צו זיך, שטעהנדיג אַליין מיט'ן אויבערשטען טייל קערפער
אויסגעצויגען אויף אַהונטער, און מ'רעהט זיך האָס אַפֿאַל שטעלער (מען
שוועצט) און ס'זונגט צו:

קאַן-וואַסער.

Moderato.

קאַן-האַסער, הייך-האַסער,
דאָס רעדעל דרעהט זיך;
די מאַמע קאַכט לאַקשען,
דער מאַמע פֿרעהט זיך.

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⁸ Cf. Sh. Rudyansky, "Di filosofye fun di yidishe shprikhverter," *Lebn un vishnshaft* (Vilna), 1912, No. 8-9.

⁹ Taylor, p. 4.

¹⁰ F. Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde* (Munich, 1926).

¹¹ For a brief survey of the regional variants of Yiddish, see U. Weinreich, "Yiddish, Language," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, XVI, 794 ff.

¹² B. Hrushovski, "On Free Rhythms in Modern Yiddish Poetry," *The Field of Yiddish*, I (New York, 1954), 223.

¹³ H. P. Althaus, Introduction to reprint of Ignats Bernshteyn's *Yidishe shprikhverter un rednsartn* (Hildesheim, Germany, 1969), pp. ix-xxvii.

¹⁴ H. Schwartzbaum, *Studies in World and Jewish Folklore* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 417-424.

¹⁵ I. M. Furman, *Yidishe shprikhverter un rednsartn gezamlt in Rumanye, Besarabye, Bukovine, Moldeve, un Transilvanye* (Tel Aviv, 1968).

¹⁶ A. Zivy, *Jüdisch-deutsche Sprichwörter u. Redensarten* (Basel, 1966).

¹⁷ D. L. Gold, "Jewish Intralinguistics," prepared for the Eighth World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, August 18-24, 1974.

¹⁸ D. Sadan, *Di khokhme fun khokhmes (tsu der biografye fun vort un vertl)* (Tel Aviv, 1967).

¹⁹ R. Rothstein, "The Poetics of Proverbs," *Studies Presented to Professor Roman Jakobson by His Students* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 265-274.

²⁰ R. Abrahams, "Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions," in Richard M. Dorson, ed., *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction* (Chicago, 1972), pp. 117-224.

²¹ V. Voigt, "Les Niveaux des variantes de proverbes (Un ancien probleme du folklore sous un éclairage nouveau)," *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 20 (1970), 357-364.

²² E. Ojo Arewa and A. Dundes, "Proverbs and the Ethnography of Speaking," *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964), No. 6, part 2, 70-85; P. Seitel, "Proverbs: A Social Use of Metaphor," *Genre*, 2 (1969), 143-161.

Alphabet Instruction in the East European Heder: Some Comparative and Historical Notes*

BY DIANE ROSKIES

Learning an alphabet, a system of signs expressing single sounds of speech, is an experience common to all literate persons. It is an intimate and stylized activity. The study of a discrete task, such as alphabet instruction, can sometimes reveal (1) a paradigm for learning in general, (2) the value of memory and literacy in the particular culture and (3) the role of education in the greater process of socialization.

In many traditional societies a child's first reading lessons were celebrated, chanted, canonized, and imbued with folklore, folk-wisdom, and folk-pedagogy. This was certainly the case for alphabet instruction in the heder, the primary school of East European Jews. Reading instruction was referred to by the name of Hebrew itself: *ivre*. Instruction was seen as a progression of several learning stages: *alefbeys* (alphabet), *komets-alef*, *traf*, *halb-traf*, *sheptshen un beptshen* (various methods of forming and reading nonsense syllables and short words) and finally, *leyenen vi a vaser*, fluent oral reading.¹ The total process of learning to read is a topic unto itself. Here I shall treat only the first level of *ivre*: *alefbeys lernen*, traditional alphabet instruction which

* The following persons were kind enough to read this article in manuscript form and make helpful suggestions for expansion and revision: Hillel Schwartz, Beatrice Weinreich, Joan Bratkowsky and David G. Roskies.

includes the twenty-two letters of the Jewish alphabet (consonants in Hebrew), the final forms of five letters and at least nine vowels.

The focus of this analysis is Jewish primary education in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century. The Russian Revolution and World War One were definitive turning points for most traditional Jewish institutions, including primary education. The private heder continued to exist, but alternative school systems for Jewish children successfully competed for young students. To meet Polish government requirements the heder was forced to change internally. It was organized, standardized, certified and, as a result, homogenized. The wealth of heder folklore and communal variations in alphabet instruction are no longer found in autobiographies or memoirs written by persons who attended hadorim after World War One. Therefore, although orthodox Jewish schools called *hadorim* continue to exist in our own day, we may view there just as many discontinuities as continuities with nineteenth century primary education.

My sources for this work include nineteenth and twentieth century memoirs, ethnographic monographs, historical studies of both Christian and Jewish education in Europe, manuals for teachers, and general essays on the development of alphabets and alphabet instruction.

My approach in each of the following sections is to analyze Jewish alphabet instruction in two contexts: first, the development of Jewish education since the dispersion and second, the history of reading instruction in the Latin and Greek alphabets in western civilization. Regrettably, only a limited comparison with the educational systems of coterritorial peoples in Eastern Europe (using the cyrillic alphabet) was possible.

1. JEWISH VIEWS OF THE ALPHABET

The Hebrew alphabet has, over time, been viewed as having intrinsic and essential value; nothing is taken as accidental. Neither the names nor the order of the alphabet are without meaning. There are rabbinic speculations on the letter shapes, final letters, vowels, crowns and other letter ornaments; letters which appear to be pointing to one another; male and female letters; and the numerical value of Hebrew letters. Several midrashim, post-biblical homilies and legends, deal with the role of the alphabet in the creation of the world.²

Jews were not alone in the classical world in their contemplation of letters and their configurations. These speculations are similar to Greek meditations on musical harmonies, chord motifs and scales. For the Greeks, letters had not only a literal and numerical meaning but also denoted musical tones. Jewish alphabet mysticism was particularly well developed by Spanish and German cabbalists.

One detailed midrash on the Hebrew alphabet is *Otiot derabi Akiva* (The Letters of Rabbi Akiva). The text is attributed to Rabbi Akiva, a first century Tanna who, according to legend, began to study the alphabet at age 40. However, scholars are unanimous in dating it as a much more recent work.³ The volume is an ethical and mystical gloss of each Hebrew letter according to its graphic appearance, name, sound, and order in the alphabet. The text opens with the story of the twenty-two letters competing before God for the privilege of participating in the creation of the world. *Beys* (the first initial of *Bereyshit*, "In the beginning," the first word of Genesis) wins.⁴

The second section of the midrash presents ethical aphorisms based on the graphic appearance of the letters. For example, why does a *tsadek* have two heads? Because there are two kinds of righteous people (*tsadikim*); one plain and the other humble. Why is the face of the *reysh* turned away from the *kuf*? Because *reysh* is the initial of the wicked (*rasha*) and *kuf*, the initial of the Holy One, blessed be He (*hakadosh barukh hu*); and the wicked are always turning away from the Holy One. The midrash continues as a series of stories about biblical and post-biblical heroes. The initials of key words in the narrative are in alphabetic and permuted orders.

The text does seem to have a didactic tone, as if it were written for children or adult illiterates. It may be a collection of teachers' alphabet explanations from the talmudic to the medieval period. Perhaps pedagogical tradition is one of the sources for midrash, letter magic, the letter names and even for the Hebrew vowel system. This view would be very difficult to prove, but it is not without its adherents.⁵

In the nineteenth century heder, the alphabet was still taught to children with mnemonics and metaphors and recited in patterned orders (frontwards, backwards and in letter pairs). But these relatively simple mnemonics were a far cry from the elaborate midrashim of Rabbi Akiva. What did remain constant was the *attitude* towards the

worth of the letters themselves, their names, shape and order. Every detail, including the traditional mode of teaching the letters to the next generation, was invested with value.

This reverent attitude towards the Hebrew-letter canon accounts, in part, for the conservatism in heder alphabet instruction. Heder memoirs written a hundred years apart are almost identical. This conservatism was challenged in the early twentieth century when most of Europe and America abandoned the letter-name approach to reading instruction in favor of phonics, or letter-sound teaching. Yiddish and Hebrew secular schools in Eastern Europe, seeking to modernize Jewish education, also traded away *alef*, *beys*, *giml*, for *ah*, *bah*, *gah*. The communal *hadorim* and private *melamdim* were alone in their retention of the Hebrew letter names. They based their approach not on child psychology but on pedagogical directives found in Jewish texts, particularly the *Zohar*.⁶

Such allegiance to tradition characterizes most of the stages of heder reading instruction. Yet adherence to pedagogical custom did not rule out some internal development and the ingenuity of individual *melamdim*.

2. ALEF-VAYZN (THE FIRST ALPHABET LESSON)

The Jewish view of the alphabet, discussed above, found expression in *midrashim*, scribal arts, mystical contemplation and folklore. It is a view which can be fully shared only by literate adults. The task of the heder teacher was to teach the children in a language which was not the vernacular and at the same time instill in his students an appreciation of the value of the letters themselves.

Several Jewish groups in the diaspora marked a young boy's first alphabet lesson with a ceremony. In some European communities the ceremony was called *alef-vayzn* (showing the first letter of the alphabet, *alef*). The following is a description of this celebration based on seventeenth and eighteenth century sources from West and East European Jewry.⁷

Since there were several age groups in any one heder, and no fixed age for beginning school, there was never really one day when a *melamed* faced a group of totally new pupils. Children were brought to school for their first alphabet lesson when their parents thought they

were ready or could no longer be cared for during the day. Thus, a boy's first day of school was his alone.

On his first day of school the 3- or 4-year-old boy was wrapped in a tallith and carried by his father to the heder. There he sat near the *melamed* who showed him a few letters of the alphabet—from *alef* to *tof*, *tof* to *alef*, or in some word combination. During this time the child's father stood behind him and threw a candy or coin on to the open book or alphabet chart. The teacher explained, "Dos hot aropgevorfn a malakh, kedey du zolst bagern tsu lernen." An angel threw this down so that you will want to study.

The new student was given cakes, cookies and a hardboiled egg to eat. Each was inscribed with one or more biblical passages:

Deuteronomy 33:4	Moses commanded us a law, an inheritance of the congregation of Jacob.
Isaiah 50:4-5	God has given me the tongue of them that are learned.
Ezekiel 3:3	And He said to me, son of man eat this scroll that I give you. Then I ate it and it was as sweet as honey.
Psalms 119:103	How sweet are Your words on my palate, sweeter than honey.

The alphabet chart or a page in a prayer book was smeared with honey and the child licked it off. The other heder children, who were watching all of this, were given sweets. Afterwards, the new student was carried to the nearest river where a blessing was recited and then taken home.

This "first day of school" ceremony was one of the *major* rituals for medieval Jewry, comparable in importance to a wedding. It was certainly more elaborate than the bar mitzvah ceremony. Some parents and relatives fasted on this first day. There were special *tkhines* (Yiddish prayers) for the mothers. It is interesting that North African Jewry also marked the first day of school with a sweet breakfast.⁸ Up until the twentieth century, Moroccan Jews of the Sahara celebrated this occasion communally with no less than a 30-day feast, complete with costumes and ritual foods.⁹

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the first alphabet lesson was considerably less elaborate. Nevertheless, we do have descriptions of children being dressed in miniature *kapotes* (kaftans), or wrapped in a Torah sash with a *tfiln* sack over their head and then carried in this attire to the heder.¹⁰

What characterizes the *alef-vayzn* ceremony above all is its sensual nature. The child is held, surrounded with the smell of his father's tallith. He is carried to school and often sits on the teacher's lap. There is food to lick and chew. In this ceremony a boy is introduced to an alphabet, an abstract series of signs, by means of all the senses, culminating in a concrete reward, the "angelic coin."

Part of this celebration for the first alphabet lesson is actually intended for adults. A child, after all, could not appreciate the gastronomic nuances of biblical passages inscribed on eggs, etc. These very details, intended for the adult participants, seem to have been discarded, for the most part, by the twentieth century. What remained were the most obvious, direct rewards for the new student: candies and coins.

One element of the *alef-vayzn* ceremony is striking: the contiguity of the alphabet with food. This relationship marks underlying conceptions of pedagogy which are common in folk societies: education, reading instruction included, is analogous to ingestion. The child has to be "spoon fed." Memory does not entail the brain alone, and knowledge, very much like food, leads to sustenance and security. In traditional communities food is viewed as a potent factor in child development over and above nutrition. Protective amulets for children are often in the form of food. Among East European Jews amulets for children included a piece of garlic, cinnamon or salt kept in a pocket, or a piece of the Passover *afikoymen* (dessert matzah) sewn into the *arbekanfes* (traditional fringed undergarment).¹¹ There was a custom in some communities of Eastern Europe to weigh a child on each birthday and give the equivalent weight in bread to the poor.

The direct influence of food on memory and the mind underlies some folk beliefs, and even some expressions in English, i.e. "food for thought." In Greece the alphabet was written on the inside of a bowl with chalk, wine was poured in, the letters dissolved, and the solution was given to children to drink.¹² Among East European Jews, male children were usually not fed the end pieces of bread, or cakes baked from dough remnants. These were thought to clog the brain and inhibit memory. Honey and the hearts or brains of animals, on the other hand,

were believed to improve memory. In some communities little boys were given challah yeast dissolved in water to drink so that the Torah will grow inside the child as the challah rises on the outside.¹³

The alphabet in food form was widely known. Cake-letters and soup noodle-letters for children date back to Roman primary schools and were prepared throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁴ The most well-developed form of the eaten alphabet is the English gingerbread hornbook, a chart of Latin letters in the form of a paddle. Hornbook molds for baking gingerbread were popular in England from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. Children were given one baked letter at a time to identify by name and eat.¹⁵ In the late nineteenth century heder memoirs, we rarely read of cakes inscribed for the first alphabet lesson, though we do have descriptions from some areas of alphabet slates spread with honey, letter cookies, and even almonds engraved with Hebrew letters.¹⁶ These were given to the new student to eat.

Why were children fed alphabet cakes and solutions? Did adults actually believe that this would facilitate learning? Part of the answer may lie in reviewing the other contexts in which Jews ate inscribed foods.

In *Jewish Magic and Superstition* Joshua Trachtenberg discusses the use of cakes and solutions in magical procedures.¹⁷ Magical cakes were prepared for Jewish brides to ensure fertility. Incantations were written on apples, on bits of paper subsequently soaked in wine or water. Some prescriptions were written on the inside of a cup with honey, dissolved in water and the solution swallowed. These recipes were particularly popular as love-potions in the Middle Ages. Trachtenberg explains it as evidence of a basic skepticism of the participants in the magical procedure. Somehow a concrete and physical agent had to be found to transfer the "word" to the body of the desired one or to the person in whose behalf the magic is to operate. Food and drink served as the agent for this physical union. In this sense inscribed eggs for schoolboys were one class of several magical procedures known to Jews.

A further elucidation of these practices can be derived from rabbinic interpretations of traditional texts in which terms for eating are clearly juxtaposed to the written word. For instance, Ezekiel 3:3, "And He said to me, son of man eat this scroll that I give you. Then I ate it and it was as sweet as honey." Rashi, the eleventh century biblical commentator, interpreted "eating" allegorically to mean that one should approach learning as eagerly as one approaches food to satisfy

one's hunger and that texts should be learned "by heart." One traditional model for learning, therefore, is ingestion and tissue absorption.

Our modern metaphors for describing teaching and child development are "assimilation" and "accommodation." For Jean Piaget and American psychologists, the child is not a passive bystander in his education but brings a whole set of possible structured responses to learning. Information is assimilated, and the child accommodates as a result of this interaction and according to his developmental stage. Thus, what a teacher contributes to a lesson, is only part of the process of education and not necessarily what the student ends up learning. The metaphor for traditional teaching, on the other hand, was "eating." Knowledge had to be "swallowed" by the growing child. Not much will be added on his part, and what you put in is what you can expect the child to retain.

Cake letters and cake inscriptions for the first alphabet lesson signify this folk understanding of reading instruction and the educational process as a whole. The evolution and variation of alphabet food customs among European groups have not yet been accounted for. But the educational assumption which such customs illustrate is clear. Wisdom is on the outside and has to be coaxed into the child by means of sweets and other pedagogical devices.

3. MNEMONICS

A mnemonic device is "any method, system, physical activity, rhythmic utterance, verbal formula, graphic indication or material contrivance designed to aid in the process of memorizing or recollecting."¹⁸ Mnemonics usually come into play when there is a large oral literature to be learned, and a well trained memory was particularly important in the age before printing. Even among peoples who have a written language and exact methods of writing, mnemonic systems have been and still are used in teaching facts or religious practices which are in themselves difficult to remember or to relate in proper sequence.

The art of memory, or mnemotechnics, was invented by the Greeks and passed on to the Romans. It's original purpose was to provide a system of "inner stenography" for adult orators. This memory function was probably older than any occult or magical procedure involving letter mnemonics and letter combinations.¹⁹ It is not clear to what extent mnemonics were taught to children as part of classical education.

Among Jews literary mnemonics are particularly well developed.

Verbal associations in the form of riddles, word plays, acrostics, gematria, notarikon (*rosheteyves*), and calendar devices were known in the talmudic and post-talmudic period. Mnemonics of all kinds have been used in traditional Jewish education. The necessity for these contrivances is stated clearly in the Talmud. "The Torah cannot be retained except through signs (*simanim*)" (Erubin 54b).

One of the most widely used mnemonics for alphabet instruction among East European Jews were alphabet metaphors. Individual letters were compared to familiar objects or human limbs. For example, *alef* looks like a water-carrier, a *shin* has three little heads. Letters were used as initials for key words in moral or midrashic stories, i.e. the *giml* has a money bag at his side and is always ready to give charity. Sets of alphabet metaphors entered into the pedagogical tradition of generations of teachers, and they were still very much in use among East European *melamdin* prior to World War One.

The oldest reference to detailed alphabet metaphors, apparently designed for children, appears in the Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 104a. Here we find a homiletic interpretation of all the names of the Hebrew letters based on their graphic appearance:

The Rabbis told R. Joshua b. Levi: Children have come to the Beth Hamidrash and said things the like of which was not said even in the days of Joshua ben Nun: *Alef beys* means learn wisdom (*alef binah*). *Giml daled*, show kindness to the poor (*gemol dalim*). Why is the foot of the *giml* stretched toward the *daled*? Because it is fitting for the benevolent to run after the poor. And why is the roof of the *daled* stretched out toward the *giml*? Because he (the poor) must make himself available to him. And why is the face of the *daled* turned away from the *giml*? Because he (*giml*) must give him (*daled*) (help) in secret, lest he (*giml*) shame him (*daled*). . . .

This passage is frequently quoted as a source of information on third century Jewish education. However, such elaborate didactic methods, if used at all, were not the common way of introducing children to the alphabet. For, as one scholar has argued, the children's utterances are quoted as being unique and unprecedented, and Hebrew, the key to understanding the mnemonic, was not even the vernacular of the students of this time.²⁰ Perhaps this text served as a homily for older students.

The first printed reference we have to alphabet metaphors which are unquestionably in common use among heder teachers is in *Sefer*

torat haim by Avraham Haim Shur (d. 1639).²¹ Shur tried to legitimate this contemporary custom by invoking the Talmudic passage cited above. However, when the two are compared, Shur's metaphors from the sixteenth and seventeenth century schools appear short and disconnected. The *giml* still has a pocket by its side, but the *alef* is now a simple water-carrier and *beys* has a wide-open mouth.

Mnemonics which are part of long, literary and complicated compositions, such as appear in the Talmud, do tend to become fragmented. Those mnemonics which survive intact over generations are short, simple and homely. Shur does not make a convincing case for the direct derivation of this pedagogical technique from the talmudic text. Particularly since this passage may never have been taught to children at all. It is clear, however, that the canon of Hebrew letter mnemonics for children was a long time in developing and was in full bloom by the nineteenth century.

The following is a short inventory of letter metaphors recorded in published and unpublished memoirs from five different towns in Eastern Europe. The authors were all heder students before World War One.

TISHEVITS²²

<i>alef</i>	a water-carrier with buckets	א
<i>beys</i>	a house with an open wall	ב
<i>giml</i>	a soldier with one foot stuck out	ג
<i>daled</i>	a hammer	ד
<i>hey</i>	a person with one crippled foot	ה
<i>komets</i>	a stick with a beard	ז
<i>segol</i>	three good friends	ז
<i>khoylem</i>	a soldier looking down from a tower	ח

SONIK²³

<i>beys</i>	has a belly-button	ב
<i>giml</i>	has a bag of money	ג
<i>daled</i>	is a pointed <i>reysh</i>	ד
<i>hey</i>	has one broken leg	ה
<i>vov</i>	a straight leg	ו
<i>zayen</i>	a crooked leg	ז
<i>yud</i>	the small one	י

BRISK²⁴

<i>giml</i>	has a bag of money	ג
<i>shin</i>	three little heads	ש
<i>lamed</i>	a long, broken neck	ל
<i>hey</i>	has one broken leg	ה
<i>kuf</i>	has a spindl in his stomach	פ
<i>komets</i>	a little beard	ז

LUBLIN PROVINCE²⁵

<i>alef</i>	a non-Jewish girl carrying water	א
<i>yud</i>	a small Jew	י
<i>lamed</i>	a soldier on horseback	ל
<i>shin</i>	a crown, an ornament of the Torah script	ש

MLAVE²⁶

<i>alef</i>	carries a man on its shoulders	א
<i>giml</i>	has a bag of money	ג
<i>daled</i>	a flag for the holiday Simchat Torah	ד
<i>hey</i>	a dancing man with a short leg	ה
<i>khes</i>	entrance to heder	ח
<i>yud</i>	so small he creeps into your heart	י
<i>lamed</i>	the tallest man in the shtetl	ל
<i>samekh</i>	the shtetl beer barrel	ם
<i>ayen</i>	a nose with two eyes	ע
<i>shin</i>	a horse with a pack	ש
<i>langer khof and langer fey</i>	the shtetl street lamps	ף
		ץ

Few authors of heder memoirs provide an account of the descriptions their teachers gave for each and every letter. Memory tends to be selective in this case and follows the rule of all serial learning: mnemonics for the letters at the beginning and the end of the alphabet are recalled most often. Nevertheless a moderate sample does exist. What is most striking is the similarity of alphabet metaphors in all geographic locations and across several generations. The metaphors form two categories. First are those which personify the letters, giving them broken necks and legs, eyes and beards. Second, those which compare

the shape of the letters to familiar objects in the child's world: buckets, hammers, street lamps.

These alphabet metaphors are mnemonics which associate the shape and not the sound or name of the letters with something already familiar to the child. The student's task is to use this mnemonic in making a further association between the shape and the name of the letter or vowel. Phonics, learning the sound of the letter, played no role in the first stage of heder reading instruction.

On the surface, heder reading instruction might seem to be the epitome of "rote learning": each figure is associated with a single letter name. However, the tradition of alphabet mnemonics is support for the fact that even rote learning can be a very active process. All learning requires interaction, assimilation and accommodation. A "passive" learner is a contradiction in terms.

Young children are not capable of learning to read in a conceptual manner, which would require categorizing new information on the basis of semantic markers. Children tend to organize or "chunk" items of information on the basis of common physical attributes or simply because they occur together.²⁷ Therefore new material has to be presented in an organized, slow and repetitious manner. The teacher must make explicit the appropriate markers for associating new information to known experience. Hebrew letter mnemonics served this function.

It is interesting that when left on their own, children, as well as adults, tend to produce mnemonics for Hebrew letters quite similar to the devices which served several generations of *melamdim* and their assistants. A clue to this creativity can be found in fiction:

From the first day on which the *belfer* showed me the letters of the alphabet set out in rows, I saw leaping forth the measured ranks of soldiers like those who at times passed in front of our house, with their drummer, rattling *tum tararum tum*, at their head. Those that most resembled this were the *alefs*, all arms swinging and legs striding. . . .

The other letters also had their various aspects for me. They looked like beasts of burden and wild animals and birds and fish and utensils, or simply like weird creatures, the like of which I had not yet seen in this world. The *shin* was a sort of horned snake with three heads. The *lamed* was clearly nothing but a stork stretching out its neck and standing on one leg, similar to the one that dwelt in the tree-top behind our house. The *giml* was a jack-boot, like the one shown on the tins of shoe-polish, where a little devil with a tail polishes diligently. The *dalel* was a sort of pickaxe. . . .²⁸

The fate of letter mnemonics in the twentieth century has been that of most pedagogical traditions: only fragments remain.

4. ALPHABET PERMUTATIONS

"Nu, Leybenyu, bavayz-zhe vos du kenst," ruft zikh on tsu mir der tate, un ikh hob genumen oysknakn dem alefbeys ahin un tsurik.

"So, Leybenyu," my father called out to me, "show me what you know." And I began to rattle off the alphabet forwards and backwards.²⁹

* *
*

In folk societies, repeating a list backwards was often considered an effective aid to memory as well as a magical spell. To "know a thing backwards and forwards" is to know it too thoroughly to forget. In traditional pedagogy children were often taught to chant their numbers, letters and spelling exercises backwards and in other patterned, permuted orders.³⁰

Permutations of the Hebrew alphabet were common mnemonic devices in heder instruction. The following are some of the alphabet orders which were used in the East European heder for preliminary reading and writing lessons:

1. Forward order, *alef to tof*.
2. "Tashrak," backward order, *tof to alef*.³¹
3. "Atbash" *alef, tof; beys, shin; giml, reysh; etc.*³²
4. "Al bam" *alef, lamed; beys, mem; giml, nun; etc.*
5. "Ik bekhar" *alef, yud, kuf; beys, khof, reysh; etc.*
6. "Akhs beta" *alef, khesh, samekh; beys, tes, ayen; etc.*³³

The use of Hebrew alphabet permutations in nineteenth and twentieth century schools was also reported among Jewish groups in Yemen, Turkey and Tunisia.³⁴ It would seem from memoir literature that letters were rarely taught in random order. If this is the case, where then did the Hebrew alphabet permutations come from, and in what other context of Jewish life do they appear?

The arrangement of the twenty-two Hebrew letters is the topic of many midrashim.³⁵ According to legend different orders of the alphabet

were established: one, before creation; another, after Adam's sin, and a third, at Mt. Sinai. The true order of the alphabet will be restored only with the coming of the Messiah. Secret alphabet codes by which letters were interchanged according to a definite scheme are found in the writings of the prophets. It is in the Talmud, however, that we first read about the use of alphabet permutations for educational purposes. When a proselyte came to Hillel to study, he was taught the letters from *alef* to *daled* on the first day, and the reverse, *daled* to *alef*, on the second (Shabbat 31a).

The alphabet, in all its orders, was chanted. By the nineteenth century, certain permutations were associated with particular tunes. It is also important to note that the letters were arranged in patterned clusters and actually pronounced as nonsense, i.e., "TaSHRaK, TSaPES, NaMLeKH, YaTKHeZ, Ve-HaDeG, BA."³⁶

תִּשְׂרֵט צַפְעִים נְמַלֵּךְ יִטְחוּ וְהָרַג בֵּא

Nonsense sentences composed of all the letters of the alphabet, in this case in backward order, were common mnemonics for reading and writing lessons in many parts of the world.

The Greeks used such mnemonic sentences. In fact, alphabet lore for teaching probably reached its peak development among the Greeks prior to the fourth century B.C.E.; and many of the practices in the nineteenth century heder may have originated in the period when Greek education had its greatest impact on the Jews.³⁷ Complete alphabet dramas with actors impersonating letters were presented for Greek children. Alphabet choruses and rhymes were taught in school. The alphabet was chanted backwards and forwards, up and down columns and in permuted orders. The Romans took over this mnemonic for Latin instruction. Their twenty-four letters were taught first from A to X, then X to A, and finally: AX, BV, CT, etc.³⁸ Latin alphabet permutations continued in Western Europe, in England and France, and even in nineteenth century American schools where not only the alphabet but whole sentences were sung forwards and backwards.³⁹

Among Jews, traditional alphabet permutations continued to appear in children's primers until World War Two.⁴⁰ The Jewish contemplation and speculation on letters and their value in the interpretation of traditional texts continued among the general population throughout the nineteenth century. The widespread knowledge of gematria, letter games, numerical puzzles, puns, and secret languages

among Jewish children and adults is an indication of the extent of letter facility in recent history.

5. ALPHABET CHARTS

In the history of alphabet teaching numerous mechanical aids were developed by teachers: alphabet wheels, blocks, dice, stick figures, tiles, pointers, cakes, boards with moveable letters. Both the Greeks and the Romans developed alphabet toys and aids. These devices were subsequently known in all European schools, including the nineteenth century heder.⁴¹ Among Jews the use of alphabet tools depended on the ingenuity and handiwork of the individual *melamed*. Alphabet devices were reported in all locations but not necessarily found in every heder of a particular town.

The most interesting and richly developed aid to alphabet teaching is the printed, single-sheet alphabet chart, usually containing the alphabet (sometimes both the Hebrew and Latin or cyrillic alphabets), permutations of the alphabet, vowels, moral directives and prayers for children, numerals, a syllabarium, and decoration. The technical term for such charts is *abecedaria* and their development spans the history of education in western civilization, from alphabet slates for Greek children to the English hornbook and American battledore. Jewish alphabet charts can best be studied as part of this pedagogical tradition.

The earliest relics of alphabet teaching that we have are pottery and wooden tablets which served as school boys' slates.⁴² This suggests that writing was part of the first reading lesson for students in Greek and Jewish schools at the beginning of the Common Era. Children copied or traced letters one at a time in various orders and permutations. Islamic primary education also began with letter tracing.

Latin alphabet sheets, grammars and calendars were one of the first printed artifacts. With Gutenberg's invention of moveable type and ink that would adhere to metal type a turning point was reached in educational publishing. From the beginning, school books and materials have been the most profitable branch of the publisher's trade, and Hebrew was part of the printing vanguard. The first Hebrew books were published in Italy in 1475.⁴³ The availability of printed alphabet sheets precipitated a pedagogical change. In eighteenth and nineteenth century heder memoirs not a single mention is made of letter writing or tracing preceding reading from a printed Hebrew chart or book.

Among Christians the teaching of "religion" and the alphabet always went together. The alphabet appeared on the first page of handwritten catechisms for children in the eighth and ninth century. Separate, handwritten alphabet sheets were known at least as early as the fourteenth century, and the first printed alphabet chart may have been published in Leipzig in 1544. In the history of education it is always difficult to establish definitive publication dates for such artifacts as alphabet sheets. They were seldom preserved and their production, even if in thousands of copies, was not documented for future generations.

English alphabet sheets, called ABCs, listed the alphabet, vowels, syllables, Benediction, Lord's Prayer, roman numerals and a cross. Beginning in sixteenth century England, and perhaps earlier, printed alphabet sheets were affixed to small wooden paddles and covered with a thin sheet of transparent horn to keep them clean. Such was the origin of one of the most colorful relics of educational history, the hornbook.⁴⁴ Variations were known in Holland, Germany, France and Italy. The jewelled hornbooks of princes now have a place in major art collections. By the end of the eighteenth century the hornbook was already a rarity in England and America. Cardboard alphabet folders called *battledores* took the place of the horned paddle.

Many nineteenth-century Jews read their alphabet lessons from the first page of a Hebrew prayerbook. There is a custom of printing the alphabet in large letters (*kidesh-levone-oysyes*) on the first page of prayerbooks. Some memoirs also mention special prayerbooks for children printed entirely in large letters.⁴⁵

References to separate printed Hebrew alphabet charts can be found in seventeenth and eighteenth century sources.⁴⁶ Their construction and use was the major theme of two of the rarest and most important sources on early heder instruction:

Even Yisroel by Yaakov Yosef ben Meyer Soyfer. Metz (Alsace), 1766, unpaginated (in Yiddish).

Sefer hanhagot melamdin im hatalmidim, Sudilkov (Ukraine), 1835, unpaginated (in Yiddish and Hebrew).

These small books are manuals for Jewish alphabet teachers. In addition to pedagogical advice they also include model lessons and alphabet charts for the beginning student. The charts list the alphabet, vowels and alphabet permutations. By the beginning of the nineteenth century

Hebrew letter charts similar to those discussed in these manuals were widely used and were referred to by several names: *Alefbeys-toulen*, *alefbeysn*, *alefbeys-lukhes*, *alefbeys-boygns*.

It appears that nineteenth century European and non-European Hebrew alphabet charts have been preserved in only one place: the National Library of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. This collection includes six outstanding alphabet sheets from four locations: Vilna, Sulzbach, Vienna and Baghdad. The charts range in size from 18" x 14" to 9" x 7". They are all printed in black ink on a white background except for one elaborate chart from Vilna which is printed in purple ink.

This is a pitifully small sample of such a widely used cultural artifact. Nevertheless some generalizations and comparisons can be made. First of all, it is obvious that a formula and structure for these charts was set by the nineteenth century. Each of the European charts is built around a syllabarium of nine or ten repetitions of the complete alphabet (with all final letters) in rows. In each row the individual consonants are paired with one of the Hebrew vowels, i.e. row 1: *komets alef*, *komets beys*, *komets giml*, etc.; row 2: *pasakh alef*, *pasakh beys*, *pasakh giml*, etc. The order in which the vowels are listed is almost identical in all locations.

The syllabarium of each chart is surrounded by the morning prayers for children, prayers before and after eating, a sampling of Rashi script and *vaybertaytsh* (old Yiddish typeface), directions and moral aphorisms for the reader (child, parent, teacher) in Yiddish or German with Hebrew letters (Sulzbach, Vienna). Several of the charts are headed by the full alphabet in large print; each chart is surrounded with a decorative border. The most elaborate chart, the purple one from Vilna dated 1881, includes five additional alphabets: Latin printed, German typeface, Russian printed, Russian cursive, and finally, Hebrew cursive.

The two charts from Baghdad are totally different from the European alphabet sheets, and they differ from one another. The smaller of the two is divided in halves. The left side is a single presentation of the alphabet in forward order with the vowels appearing separately as a group. The right half of the sheet is a detailed amulet and a list of the Torah intonation symbols. The second chart from Baghdad is large, 14" x 11", very simply printed on poor quality paper. It consists of twelve rows of the alphabet in permuted orders: forward order, backward *tashrak*, *atbash*, *albam*, and others.

The Hebrew alphabet sheet differs from the Greek and Roman

syllabaria and English hornbook in both content and graphic appearance. Someone who wanted to know the basic and minimum requirements of Jewish life could find it on these charts: the Hebrew alphabet, morning and evening prayers (the *Shema*), prayers before and after eating. Of course, the same could be said about the content of the Christian hornbook: alphabet and creed. However, the Jewish prayers are bound by time (when a child wakes up, dresses and eats); therefore the Hebrew charts had to include explanations and instructions in Yiddish: *Az me vasht zikh tsum esn, zogt men dos . . .*, etc. (When you wash before eating, you say this. . .). This has no parallel in the English hornbook.

A more important difference lies in the graphic appearance of these alphabet sheets. The hornbook is linear; the vowels, consonants and prayers follow one beneath the other on a single sheet. The European Jewish alphabet chart, on the other hand, looks like a page from the Talmud or a Bible with commentaries. The syllabarium is in the center with supplementary alphabets or prayers along the sides and bottom. We can see how the alphabet chart for children known to many systems of western education was taken into Jewish usage and came out in a form which was familiar and specific to Jews.

The English hornbook and battledore were succeeded by primers, the most famous one being the New England Primer. Jewish primers, small books for children learning how to read and pray, were very rare before W.W.I., although Hebrew letter books with color illustrations did begin to appear in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A beautiful primer was published in Smyrna (Turkey), in 1896. This letter book presented the traditional alphabet chart (including three permutations of the alphabet), numbers, fractions, Hebrew months and seasons, blessings and instructions to the child reader in Ladino.⁴⁷

After W.W.I. many illustrated alphabet books were published for Jewish children. Most were nontraditional and experimental in format and produced for the Yiddish and Hebrew secular schools in Poland or the Yiddish state schools in the Soviet Union.

6. PEDAGOGY

To understand alphabet instruction in the heder, an examination of the external features of this activity—alphabet tablets, alphabet

orders and mnemonics—must be supplemented by an analysis of what was actually going on between teacher and student during a given lesson. Heder alphabet lessons were almost universally individual sessions of 10 or 15 minutes duration, one to three times a day. The teacher was seated and the child stood or sat at his side and recited from a shared alphabet sheet or prayerbook. These lessons, as in all heder instruction, were aloud and chanted rhythmically. The following are some alphabet chants gleaned from heder memoirs:

Vos iz dos, an alef, zog zhe azoy, alef
nokh a mol mit kheyshek,
derunter mit dem, vi makht. . . .

YIVO informant no. 199, Sonik

Ot zogt a yingele, vos iz dos,
vayter, zogt a yingele, bay traf,
vi makht dos pintele af dem kepele,
khoylem, mitn pasakhl, vi makht. . . .

YIVO informant no. 201

Zestu, zunele, dem karomisl, vi bay a vaser-treger?
Dos iz an alef, zog-zhe, zunele, alef, alef. . . .

Y. Kopelov, *Amol iz geven*
New York, 1926, p. 122

Fun danen zogt a yingele vi makht?
Un fun danen zogt a yingele vi makht?
Derunter mit dem vi makht?
Zog, shray, red, nokh a mol, un nokh a mol
Un ot do, yingele, vi makht?
Mit a lange heldzele, zinele, vos iz? a lamed.
Un mit an opgehakte fisele vos iz? a hey.

YIVO informant no. 242, Volin, 1870s

These chanted lessons were actually dialogues between teacher and student. The fullest description of rhythmic alphabet exercises with musical notation appears in Yekhiel Shtern's monograph, *Kheyder un besmedresh*, page 13. The pedagogical chants reprinted here are not identical, neither do they have a set meter or melody. But they are clearly rhythmic, repetitive and soothing. Rhythm and melody are two of the most powerful aids to memory. The application of rhythm, the recurrence of stress at expected intervals, has been used in many systems

of traditional education to superimpose a structure on information which must be learned and recalled at will. It is particularly common in educational settings where arithmetic is taught to young children. Monotonous sing-songs for alphabet learning passed into oral tradition among Jews and were part of the occupational reservoir of every heder *melamed*.

The first letters a boy was shown in heder were sometimes within the context of a single holy word, phrase, or sentence. Yekhiel Shtern reports that his first letters were Shaday Emes, שְׂדֵי אֱמֶת, (God is Truth). One YIVO informant (no. 192, Shebershin) was taught the three letters of Emes, אֱמֶת, (Truth) on the first day of school. A third memoir from Galicia reports that the first letters taught are those which appear in perfect backward order (*tof* to *alef*) as initials of the "Tikanta Shabbat" prayer which is found in the musaf service of the Sabbath prayerbook.⁴⁸


Nonsense words or sentences including all of the letters of the alphabet for reading and writing lessons were known but not universal among East European Jewish schools. Such all-letter techniques were standard exercises in the Hebrew education of Marrano children in Turkish communities up until the Second World War.⁴⁹

Writing two or three letters at a time on a slate with a stylus was the universal alphabet technique among literate people at the beginning of the Common Era. The child student traced the form of the letter while pronouncing its name. This form of alphabet instruction was continued until the twentieth century among Yemenite Jews; however, writing was discontinued once the alphabet was mastered, and many literate Yemenite Jewish men were unable to write.

The alphabet utensil of East European Jewry was not a pen, but a *taytl*, a pointer carved from wood, a fish or goose bone (taken from women's corsets) with a shaved, pointed end. The *taytl* was sometimes decorated and presented to the *melamed* as a gift. It often had a hole carved at the end to allow for a string attachment. Such a pointer was known to Western European and American Christian teachers and was called a "fescue" in eighteenth century England. Non-Jews often made do with pieces of straw, pins, wires, pens, quills and feathers for this purpose. Jews, however, used only wood or bone, and never metal, which was thought to be bad for the mind and memory. The *taytl* was treated with some care, for it was, after all, an instrument implicated in a religious commandment: to teach the Hebrew alphabet to one's

children. In this sense it was comparable to the pen of a Torah scribe. In the Middle Ages the shavings of a sharpened *taytl* were not allowed to fall to the floor. And the *taytl*, contrary to some more recent memoirs, was not to be used for any other purpose, not as a tool, a punishing rod or a back scratcher.⁵⁰

Usually the *taytl* was held by the *melamed* as he traced the contours of a letter on a sheet or in a prayerbook and chanted the letter name. If a *taytl* was not available, the child's right hand was held with the index finger pointed. The teacher guided his small hand along a row of letters. On his own, the student was encouraged to use his finger as a pointer while reading.

The *taytl* was certainly the most widely used alphabet artifact among East European Jews. Other devices such as moveable letters, alphabet blocks, slate, sticks, and dice are mentioned in nineteenth and twentieth century memoirs but they were clearly the products of particularly resourceful teachers. One of the YIVO heder informants (no. 242, Volin, 1870s) recalls a *melamed* who would cut out small cardboard frames  which he would use to isolate single letters in the text of the prayerbook, Bible or even the script of Rashi's commentary. Searching out particular letters on a page of printed text was a pedagogical technique used in Western European Latin schools at least as far back as the seventeenth century, and probably earlier.⁵¹

Alphabet instruction almost always took place between the teacher and individual child. However, one eighteenth century sourcebook for Jewish teachers (*Sefer marehet Avraham*) recommends teaching the alphabet to students in pairs. A beginning student is seated next to a child who already knows the alphabet. The teacher gives each child a letter glued to a small tablet. Both children have to learn the names of both letters. When they can successfully point out the letters in a prayerbook (in large and small print) the teacher gives them a new pair of letters. This continues until the new student, with the help of the teacher and the older child, has learned the entire alphabet.⁵²

On the average, it seems that the 3- to 5-year-old heder student was able to learn the names of the entire Hebrew alphabet in half a year. The stages of alphabet identification began with (1) a holy word (*Shaday emes*, or *emes*), (2) the forward order of the alphabet, (3) backward order and (4) additional permutations. Letters which resemble one another and might easily be confused were singled out for

separate instruction. The students were also drilled in consonants which can appear with or without a *dagesh*, a dot indicating prolonged spirant vocalization.⁵³

7. ALPHABET FOLKLORE

Alphabets play a role in the folklore of many cultures, in adult songs, acrostics, puzzles and puns based upon interchangeable letters. One class of alphabet folklore is composed of those genres which are created by children themselves and serve as mnemonics to learn the shape, name, sound and order of the letters and elementary spelling. The most elaborate alphabet folklore for children were the spelling dramas of Ancient Greece. Actors were costumed, appearing as different letters. They danced in pairs, forming nonsense syllables which the student audience had to identify and chant according to a set meter.⁵⁴ A simpler alphabet game, popular in our own day in New Zealand is called "Letters." The leader of the game faces the other child players, he calls out letters at random. If the letter he calls is a small letter in your own name you advance one step forward; if a capital letter of your name, two steps. The first to reach the leader wins.⁵⁵

The Hebrew alphabet found its way into the folklore of heder students in songs, proverbs, counting-out rhymes, secret languages and rhymed verses. Throughout all of Poland, Yiddish rhymes based on boys' names in alphabetical order, on the names of Hebrew letters, and on alphabetic nonsense were known. For the most part this folklore was passed on from older to younger children. Heder teachers did not generally use such devices in teaching, although the assistant teachers, the *belfers*, reportedly did use alphabet rhymes and alphabetic mnemonics to amuse and aid young students in their advance to full literacy.

Some examples of this alphabet folklore created by heder children include the following:

(1) a spelling game observed in Galicia whereby 2-letter Hebrew words are formed.⁵⁶ The child player must think of a 2-letter word, the first letter of which is the final letter of the word called out by the player ahead of him. A possible sequence might be:

אב, בו, נו, רו, רם, מן, נה, דן

(2) Various Bible games, where the players open the Bible at random and acquire points for a) the number of duplicate letters which appear

at the beginning and end of a particular line of type, or b) the appearance of the three Hebrew letters which make up the name *Moses*, משה.⁵⁷

(3) Yiddish puns which play on the literal meaning of the name of Hebrew letters:

Bistu *beyz*? Neyn, ikh bin *giml*.

(4) Elaborate written and spoken secret languages have been mentioned earlier. These were dependent on the child's facility at interchanging the order of the Jewish alphabet according to fixed formulae.⁵⁸

(5) Counting-out rhymes according to the forward order of the alphabet or various permutations, such as:

⁵⁹"IT" איק בכר נלש

The most universal folkloric device for remembering the names and order of letters and numbers is the rhymed verse, primarily rhymed couplets. In English children's lore we have the following:

One, two buckle my shoe
Three, four shut the door. . . .

"A" was an archer and shot at a frog
"B" was a butcher and had a great dog. . . .

A was an Apple Pie
B bit it
C cut it
D dealt it
E eat it. . . .

These verses may be hold-overs from the time before printing when instruction was largely oral and traditional knowledge, even for adults, was often encapsulated in verse.

Among Yiddish children's alphabet rhymes one stands out for its widespread appearance in Eastern Europe and the interesting variations which have been documented: the "Alef an odler" verse.

Alef—an odler tut untern himl flien
Beys—a barn-boytm tut ale zumer blien

Giml—a galakh tut zikh tsu di avoyde-zore knien
 Daled—a dokter tut gebn af shvitsn
 Hey—a himl tut ale zumer dunern un blitsn
 Vov—a vayner tut oyf di fesekh vayn zitsn
 Zayen—a zelner tut in der milkhome shisn
 Khes—a khazn tut zikh baym davenen mit trern bagisn
 Tes—a taykh tut loyfn un flisn
 Yud—a yatke klotz me tut oyf ir fleysh hakn
 Kof—a kale tut men far ir lekakh bakn
 Lamed—a leber tut men brotn un bakn
 Mem—a meydil tut zikh putsn un tsirn
 Nun—a noz tut men ale vinter opfrirn
 Samekh—a sod tut men in im ale zumer geyn shpatsirn
 Ayen—a ekdish tut in di fis baysn
 Pey—a poyer vos der porets tut im shmaysn
 Tsadek—a tson tut der dokter opraysn
 Kuf—a kokhlefl tut men dem top oysmishn
 Reysh—a rov tut ale dinim visn
 Shin—a sheygets tut fun keyn alef nit visn
 Tof—a toter in himl hobn mir a foter, ven veln mir shoyn vern fun
 goles poter?⁶⁰

Alef—an eagle flies beneath the heavens
 Beys—a pear tree blooms each summer
 Giml—a priest kneels to an idol
 Daled—a doctor cures you by making you sweat
 Hey—a sky full of thunder and lightning each summer
 Vov—a wine merchant sits on the kegs of wine
 Zayen—a soldier shoots in the war
 Khes—a cantor cries his eyes out during prayer
 Tes—a river runs and flows
 Yud—a butcher block for chopping meat
 Kof—a bride for whom cakes are baked
 Lamed—a liver is broiled and baked
 Mem—a girl dresses herself up
 Nun—a nose freezes each winter
 Samekh—an orchard is where we walk each summer
 Ayen—a scorpion stings feet
 Pey—a peasant whom the landowner whips

Tsadek—a tooth the dentist pulls out
 Kuf—a cooking spoon that mixes the pot
 Reysh—a rabbi knows all the laws
 Shin—a goy doesn't even know an *alef*
 Tof—A Tatar. We have a father in heaven. When will our exile
 be over?

The "Alef an odler" verse is obviously more complicated than the English ditties cited above. It is probably too elaborate to be an actual mnemonic for learning the alphabet. The following Yiddish rhyme is simpler in content and structure:

alef—Avremele,	alef—Avremele (a boy's name)
beys—Berele,	beys—Berele (a boy's name)
giml—geganvet,	giml—stole
hey—hekele,	hey—a hatchet,
vov—vosere?	vov—which one?
zayen—Zilberne.	zayen—The silver one.
khes—Khapt im,	khes—Catch him,
tes—tapt im,	tes—touch him,
yud—yogt im,	yud—run after him,
lamed—leygt im,	lamed—lay him down,
shin—shmayst im	shin—smack him
tof—in tukhes arayn. ⁶¹	tof—on his "bottom."

What is the developmental or linguistic function of children's word games, secret languages and codes, puns, alphabet rhymes and songs? It appears that in this "speech play" children are focusing on elements of language which adults generally use in only an instrumental way. As a child's language develops, so does his conscious awareness of that language, leading to what one author has called a "meta-linguistic awareness"⁶²—the ability to make language forms and elements opaque and attend to them in and for themselves. The Yiddish alphabet folklore, created by children and passed on from older to younger children, is a testament to a whole generation of playful manipulation of language elements for the very delight of self-expression and mastery. The question which might occur to educators is, could these traditional word plays which are recorded and those which individual children

spontaneously create be put to use in the primary classroom? Were they used in classical systems of education?

For the heder it must be said that teachers, for the most part, did not use speech play in pedagogy, although there are no recorded memoirs of *melamdim* forbidding language games. There are some references to the *belfer*, the assistant heder instructor, actually teaching young children alphabet rhymes and games.

Interesting conscious and directive use of alphabet lore was part of the experimentation in the Yiddish secular school movement in Europe and America between the two world wars. "Alef an odler," for instance, was skillfully adapted for twentieth-century children, with Socialist overtones, in a book by Alef Katz, *Fun alef biz tof*, New York, 1939:

Alef iz an aker vos akert dos feld
Beys is broyt vos shpayzt di velt. . . .

Alef is a plow that plows the field
Beys is bread that feeds the world. . . .

8. CONCLUSION

The history of reading instruction in western civilization is, for the most part, a history of reform and counterreform. It has been highly polarized and characterized by extremes. Each generation of educational reformers, Jews and non-Jews alike, seemed ready to "endorse any method that was not the one under which they had suffered."⁶³

The issues in reading instruction can be grouped in the following manner:

Associating letter names with the letter form	vs.	Associating letter sounds with the letter form
Phonetic-synthetic approach: starting with letters	vs.	Analytic approach to reading: starting with whole words
Reading aloud first	vs.	Silent reading first
Beginning with a classical language	vs.	Beginning with the vernacular
Beginning with a classical (or revealed) text	vs.	Constructing graded readers especially for children

One might think that the approaches on the left side of each dichotomy were the most conservative, archaic and peculiar to the heder or medieval Christian school. However, well into the nineteenth century, American school children were taught reading with little or no explicit instruction on the relationship between a letter, its name and its sound. The result was children who could spell aloud before they could read.⁶⁴

Educational reform among European thinkers did gain some momentum in the centuries after the Renaissance and Reformation. We have as evidence the writings of John Locke, Pestalozzi, Comenius and Rousseau. It is important to note that, for the most part, the reforms proposed by these philosophers were never actually implemented in their own time and in their own place. This did not deter eighteenth and nineteenth century Jewish critics, however, from bitterly criticizing and condemning heder education, based on the theoretical writings of these Christian reformers. The advances proposed were seldom realized in Western Europe much less Eastern Europe, where illiteracy among non-Jews continued to prevail up to and beyond the Russian Revolution.⁶⁵

If literacy in Hebrew or Yiddish may be used as a gauge of the effectiveness of heder education, the 1897 census of the Russian Empire can provide a revealing picture. Among Russian subjects who claimed Russian as their native tongue, 21.1% of the total population could read (29.3% of the males, 13.1% of the females). Among those who claimed Yiddish as their mother tongue, 39% of the total population could read Yiddish (49.4% of the males and 26% of the females). In addition, two/fifths of male Yiddish speakers could read Russian and almost one/fourth of the female Yiddish speakers could read Russian. Therefore, there were proportionately more Jewish females than Russian men who could read Russian, despite the fact that the Jewish women received no truly systematic instruction in Russian. There were proportionately more literate Jews over the age of 60 (who presumably attended heder during the first half of the nineteenth century) than there were in the total population of Russian speakers between the ages of 10 to 19.⁶⁶

If it is true, as it seems to be, that Jews in the Russian Empire had a percent literacy almost double that of the rest of the population, then to whom and to what form of schooling were the "enlightened" Jewish critics viciously comparing the heder, its students and teachers?

Jewish educational reformers were holding the heder up to a standard of educational theory that was never actually realized in the century or the continent on which it evolved.

After World War I the Jewish population throughout Eastern Europe supported a range of educational systems which has yet to be matched by any Jewish community. Yiddish and Hebrew secular schools together with state schools for Jews in the national language competed successfully for heder students. These modern Jewish schools experimented with many Western European and even American educational developments, including variations in alphabet instruction: (1) starting with sounds instead of letter names, (2) graded and illustrated readers, (3) whole word methods, and (4) teaching the vernacular, Yiddish, first.

Traditional teachers in private or organized *hadorim* did not accommodate to pedagogical innovations. On the one hand, they argued that the names of the Jewish letters themselves were holy and, according to tradition, had to be taught first. They also had educational reasons for their decision not to adopt a whole-word approach to reading instruction. Hebrew words are not hieroglyphics. If a child learns a single whole word, without some knowledge of letters and syllables, he is still incapable of deciphering any new word. Also, a purely phonic approach to reading is not appropriate for languages such as English or Hebrew in which spelling is not at all phonetic. At the end of the great reading debates of the early twentieth century most American and European educators were ready to agree that sooner or later each student must learn the name, sound and form of individual letters, and it might as well be right at the beginning.

I have studied heder alphabet instruction within the context of the history of education in western civilization and believe this to be a very fruitful perspective. Both the Latin and Hebrew alphabets have been taught in permutations, printed on tablets, described with mnemonics and depicted in folklore. The degree to which Jewish alphabet instruction was both independent of and influenced by Latin and Greek pedagogy is a model for the general historical relationship between Jewish and Christian education in Europe. Changes evolved in the heder both as a result of internal requirements (traditions, local variations, ingenuity of individual teachers) and external, cultural contact (the technology of printing and economic change).

Traditional Jewish life came under attack in the nineteenth cen-

tury, and the heder, being the vehicle for the rejuvenation and continual replenishment of East European Jewry, bore the brunt of much bitter criticism and debate. It is interesting that after the pogroms of the late nineteenth century, some enlightened Jews looked back with remorse on the criticism they had leveled at traditional Jewish life. Popular Yiddish songs at the turn of the century are often nostalgic. The heder, the *melamed*, the Hebrew alphabet and even the *kantshik* (whipping rod), once regarded with disdain, are recurrent themes in these nostalgic songs ("Oyfn pripetshik" by Mark Warshawsky is probably the best known).

Traditional European Jewish education sustained a formidable challenge from secular education during the interwar period. By 1939 the majority of Jewish children in Poland were not going to heder, and none were officially attending in the Soviet Union. The fatal blow came with the annihilation of East European Jewry. *Hadorim* were reportedly organized in several of the larger ghettos where Nazis concentrated Jews prior to killing them. These schools were illegal; deportations thinned their ranks. Teachers tried to adapt to the new conditions of their students, but this accommodation was brought to a breaking point. The following alphabet verse, dated 1942, was found in a teacher's notebook in the Lodz Ghetto:

Alef, beys, giml,
S'iz do a got in himl.
Daled, hey, vov,
Mir zaynen zayne shof.
Zayen, khes, tes,
Gut tsu zayn nisht fargesn.
Un dos tsente os iz yud,
Got der pastekh hit.
Kof, lamed, mem,
Di reyde fun lerer farnem.
Nun, samekh, ayen,
In klas tor men nit shrayen.
Pey, tsadek, kuf,
Mir folgn di eltern, hern zeyer
ruf.
Reysh, shin, tof,
Zay gut un tsu got hof.⁶⁷

Alef, beys, giml,
There is a God in heaven.
Daled, hey, vov,
We are His herd.
Zayen, khes, tes,
How good not to be forgotten.
And the tenth letter is yud—
God, the shepherd, watches over.
Kof, lamed, mem,
Listen to the teacher's words.
Nun, samekh, ayen,
You must not shout in class.
Pey, tsadek, kuf,
We heed our parents, hear their
call.
Reysh, shin, tof,
Be good and hope to God.

NOTES

¹ Names for these levels of reading instruction varied among the communities of Eastern Europe. In fact, there is hardly any topic in the study of heder education which does not involve communal differences. This paper will necessarily be synthetic in character, although diverging traditions will be indicated when possible.

² For a bibliography and discussion of midrashim on the alphabet see Elias Lipiner, *Ideology fun yidishn alefbeys* (Buenos Aires, 1967).

³ For further information see Y. L. Zunz, *Hadrashot be-Yisrael*, ed. by Hanoch Albeck (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 74, 333. An English translation of the midrash was published, curiously enough, by the United States Bureau of Education: *The Letters of Rabbi Akibah, or the Jewish Primer as it was used in the Public Schools Two Thousand Years Ago*, trans. by Naphtali Ember (Washington, 1897).

References are made to the text as early as the tenth century. The first printed, though undated, version of the basic text appeared in Constantinople at the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have a dated publication from Venice in 1546. An expanded and elaborated version was published in Amsterdam in 1708.

⁴ A modern graphic rendition of this midrash appears in Ben Shahn, *The Alphabet of Creation* (New York, 1954).

⁵ Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 17-20.

⁶ Lipiner, p. 575.

⁷ Y. Birnboym, "Der alefbeys metod in kheyder," *Dertsigungs entsiklopedye*, I (New York, 1957), 1-7; Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Abendlandischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1880-88); A. Katz, "Talmud torah al hahar ve'al hamayim," *Yeda-Am*, XI, No. 30 (1965); Herman Pollack, *Jewish Folkways in Germanic Lands (1648-1806)* (Cambridge, 1971).

⁸ L. Addison, *The Present State of the Jews* (London, 1676).

⁹ Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami Guede, *No More For Ever: A Saharan Jewish Town*, vol. LV, No. 1 of *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

¹⁰ Heder memoirs, YIVO archives, New York, documents No. 187 from Ozharov (n.d.), No. 205 from Vilna (1916-22), and No. 209 also from Vilna (1880s).

¹¹ Hayyim Schauss, *The Lifetime of a Jew Throughout the Ages of Jewish History* (Cincinnati, 1950), p. 88. Schauss bases his information primarily on his memoirs from the town of Goruv (Kovno province) of Lithuania.

¹² Dornseiff, p. 20.

¹³ Regina Lilientalowa, *Dziecko Żydowskie* (Cracow, 1927), pp. 52-65, *passim*.

¹⁴ H. Gaidoz, "Les Gateux Alphabetiques," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes* (Paris, 1887), 1-8; H. T. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity, 1000 BC-500 AD* (London, 1956).

Although Hebrew letter soup-noodles are now manufactured in Israel, cakes or noodles in the shape of individual letters were not common among Jews. The only analogous practice was, as mentioned earlier, written or engraved words on cakes and eggs.

¹⁵ Andrew Tuer, *History of the Hornbook* (London, 1897), p. 436.

¹⁶ Heder memoirs, YIVO archives, documents No. 201 (n.p., n.d.) and No. 209 (Vilna, 1880s).

¹⁷ Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 122-123.

¹⁸ Theresa C. Brakeley, "Mnemonic Device," in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, II, ed. by Marcia Leach (New York, 1950), 734.

¹⁹ Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966), pp. 160 ff.

²⁰ Yekhiel Shtern, *Kheyder un besmedresh* (New York, 1950), p. 12.

²¹ The text has been reprinted in *Mekorot letoldot hahinukh beYisrael*, ed. by Simhah Assaf, I (Tel Aviv, 1954), 84-85. Another early reference to letter mnemonics for children can be found in Binyamin Volf Matityahu, *Tohorat hakodesh* (Amsterdam, 1733) also reprinted by Assaf, I, 188.

²² Shtern, p. 12.

²³ Heder memoirs, YIVO archives, document No. 199.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 228.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 211.

²⁶ Zev Yunis, "Di alte heym—getselt fun toyre," *Pinkes Mlave* (New York, 1950), pp. 75-83, *passim*.

²⁷ John D. Nolan, "Conceptual and Rote Learning in Children," *Teachers College Record*, 75, No. 2 (December 1973), 251-58.

²⁸ Hayim Nahman Bialik, "Safiah," in his *Sippurim* (Tel-Aviv, 1933). Another literary description of a child's private mnemonics for the Hebrew alphabet can be found in Shimshon Meltzer, *Alef: Pirkei zikhronot min hazman harishon baheder* (Tel-Aviv, 1945).

Eliezer Shteynberg, a writer known for his Yiddish fables, published an *Alefbeys* book in Czernowitz (1921) in which he skillfully put the traditional letter mnemonics into verse for children.

²⁹ Harav Reb Leyvi Glikman, *Zikhroynes beys Leyvi* (Kishinev, 1934), p. 37.

³⁰ Brakeley, 738.

³¹ *Yesod Yosef*, commentary on Pirke Avot by Yosef ben Eliohu Katz, of Zaslin (Cracow, 1638) reprinted by Assaf, IV, 49.

³² Max Weinreich, "Der shure-grus," (Comment on an article by P. Shargorodska) *Filologiske shriftn*, I (Vilna, 1926), 67-72.

³³ The last three permutations appear in *Sefer hanhagot melamdin im hatalmidim* (Sudilkov, 1835), unpaginated.

³⁴ S. d'Abr. Cohen, *La Syllabaire Hebraique* (Tunis, 1952); Raphael Couriel, *Alefbet* (Smyrna, 1896); S. D. Goitein, "Jewish Education in Yemen as an Archetype of traditional Jewish Education," in *Between Past and Future* ed. by Carl Frankenstein (Jerusalem, 1953).

³⁵ Lipiner, chapter 11.

- ³⁶ Heder memoirs, YIVO archives, document No. 248.
- ³⁷ Kenneth J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas* (London, 1907), reprinted, 1969; For additional information on the Greek influence on Jewish uses of the alphabet see Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1950).
- ³⁸ Marrou, pp. 269-70.
- ³⁹ J. M. Rice, *The Public School System of the United States* (New York, 1893) reprinted, New York, 1969, p. 71.
- ⁴⁰ Y. Pirozhnikov, *Seyfer alefbeyts* (New York, 1927); Binyomin Zusman, *Alfon hadash letinokot shel beit raban* (Lodz, 1928).
- ⁴¹ Heder memoirs, YIVO archives, document Nos. 198, 206, and 210. Isadore Fishman, *The History of Jewish Education in Central Europe* (London, 1949), p. 44; Y. Kopelov, *Amol iz geven* (New York, 1926), p. 119.
- ⁴² A. E. R. Boak, "Greek and Coptic School Tablets at the University of Michigan," *Classical Philology*, XVI (1921), 189-194; J. Grafton Milne, "Relics of Graeco-Egyptian Schools," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVIII (1908), 121-32.
- ⁴³ S. H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (Baltimore, 1955).
- ⁴⁴ Andrew Tuer, *History of the Hornbook*, II (London, 1896).
- ⁴⁵ Heder memoirs, YIVO archives, document Nos. 189, 193, 194.
- ⁴⁶ Yitzhak Moshe Fus, *Alefbet hadash* (Florence, 1748); *Derekh emuna* [Via della Fede] (Rome, 1683), reprinted: Assaf, II, 133; *Even Yisrael* by Yaakov ben Meyer Sofer (Metz, 1766), reprinted: Assaf, IV, 122; *Pinkas va'ad hamedina beLita*, ed. by Sh. Dubnow, reprinted: Assaf, IV, 45-46.
- ⁴⁷ Raphael Couriel, *Alefbet* (Smyrna, 1896).
- ⁴⁸ A. Y. Brauer, "Limud umishak behadarei Galitsiya," *Edoth*, II, 1-2 (1946-47), 72-91; The "Tikanta Shabbat" prayer can be found in *Daily Prayer Book*, trans. by Philip Birnbaum (New York, 1949), 395.
- ⁴⁹ Raphael Patai, "Hahinukh haivri be'adat haAnusim beMeshhed," *Edoth*, I (1945-46), 213-226.
- ⁵⁰ M. Güdemann, "Dertsung in mitl-alter," *Dertsungs entsiklopedye*, III (1959), 101.
- ⁵¹ Charles Hoole, *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* (London, 1660), reprinted: Syracuse, 1912, p. 36.
- ⁵² Avraham ben Motel Segal, *Sefer marehet Avraham* (Fürth, 1799), reprinted: Assaf, I, 195.
- ⁵³ Brauer.
- ⁵⁴ Freeman, pp. 88-9.
- ⁵⁵ Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Folkgames of Children* (Austin, 1972), p. 67.
- ⁵⁶ Samuel Meisels, "Kinderspiele und ein volkslied aus Galicien," *Mitteilungen zur Jüdischen Volkskunde* (Vienna), XIII (1950-51).
- ⁵⁷ Hayim Gilead, "Mishakei humash," *Yeda-'Am*, I (1951), Nos. 7-8, pp. 13-14.
- ⁵⁸ Shtern, p. 75.
- ⁵⁹ Shmuel Lehman, "Di kinder velt," in *Bay undz yidn*, ed. M. Vanvild (Warsaw, 1923), p. 13.
- ⁶⁰ Y. L. Cahan, *Yidishe folkslider mit melodyes*, ed. Max Weinreich (New York, 1957), No. 447.

- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, No. 446.
- ⁶² Courtney B. Cazden, "Play with language and metalinguistic awareness: One dimension of Language Experience," *The Urban Review*, VII, No. 1 (1974), 23-29; For an additional discussion of children's speech play and its contribution to linguistic development see, Kornei Chukovsky, *From Two to Five*, trans. by Miriam Morton (Berkeley, 1963).
- ⁶³ Mitford M. Mathews, *Teaching to Read: Historically Considered* (Chicago, 1966), 187.
- ⁶⁴ Barbara Joan Finkelstein, "Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in American Primary Schools, 1820-1880" (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, Teachers College, New York, 1970), p. 31.
- ⁶⁵ Arcadius Kahan, "Determinants of the Incidence of Literacy in Rural Nineteenth-Century Russia," in C. Anderson and M. Bauman, eds., *Education and Economic Development* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 298-302.
- ⁶⁶ Isaac M. Rubinow, *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia* (Washington, 1907), reprinted, New York, 1975, pp. 576-583.
- ⁶⁷ "Shir alefbet begeto Lodz," *Yeda-'Am*, I, No. 9 (1952), 44.

„דין געשטאלט ווי אַ שיין וואַקס־פֿיגורל.“

38. „פֿון דעם באַרג דעם גרינעם“

נ' 40 ביי פֿהן (שטודיעס, ז' 113). פֿ"גל גינבורג־מאַרעק 235; פֿהן 31-32; פֿהן־פֿאַלקלאַר 12, 13; פֿהן־שטודיעס, ז' 191; צניטשרילט, ז' 817, נ' 52; רשומות, ז' 369, נ' 39. מוזיק געדרוקט צו אַ וואַריאַנט אין פֿהן 31.

39. „דער טאָג האָט געעקט“

פֿהן האָט דאָס ליד באַצייכנט „NG טעאַטער־ליד“ (נ' 41 אין די שטודיעס). דער מחבר פֿון ליד איז מ. רייכענהויז, ווי פֿיפּע באַמערקט אין די יוואָ-בלעטער 12 (לויט אַן אַנזאָג פֿון זלמן רייזען, דערמאָנט אין פֿיפּעס בריוו צו פֿהן). די אינפֿאַרמאַציע איז געדרוקט אין לעקסיקאָן, דאָס ליד איז פֿאַרעפֿנטלעכט אין רייכענהויז אַ ביכל „דרייַא נייַע בעריהמטע ליעדער“; דער מערדער־רוצח, פֿאַדגאַרזע / ביי קראַקע / 1890, ז' 16. דאָס ליד פֿון מערדער איז אויך געדרוקט אין די „אידישע ביהנע“, נ"י, 1897, און מיט דער מוזיק אין פֿיפּע־גאַליציע 5.

40. „אין שפיטאַל בין איך געלעגן“

פֿ"גל נ' 42, 154 ביי פֿהן.

41. „שפּאַצירן זענען מיר געגאַנגען“

פֿ"גל ליד נ' 27; בערעגאַווסקי, ז' 315; גינבורג־מאַרעק 185, 190, פֿהן 104, 108, 154, 209; פֿיפּע־גאַליציע 32; פֿהן־שטודיעס ז' 183; ציטירט דאַרטן, ז' 72. מענדעלע אין שלמה ר' חיימס דערמאָנט דאָס ליד אין זײַן באַשרייַבונג וועגן פֿאַלקסלידער וואָס ווערן געזונגען ביי די בעלמלאַכות, וועגן געליבטע וואָס שפּאַצירן אַ מאָל „צווישן ווייץ און קאַרן“.

42. „ריין און קינדיש – פֿרום בין איך געוועזן“

באַצייכנט פֿון פֿהן אַז דאָס איז אַ וואַריאַנט צום נוסח אין אורקוועל (נ' 43 אין די שטודיעס). פֿ"גל פֿהן 127.

פֿראַבלעמען און עובֿדות בייַם פֿאַרשן ייִדישע רעטענישן

פֿון בינה סילווערמאַן־זוינער־פֿרענדל

1. לאַמיר אָנהייבן מיט אַ פֿאַר רעטענישן:

מיט משא גייט ער.

אַן משא שטייט ער.

וואָס איז דאָס? (אַ זייגער) [באַסטאַמסקי, 1923, ז' 7, נומ' 49]

אַ שומר, אַ היטער

אַ געברענטער, אַ געשמידטער

ניט אַליין נעמט ער,

ניט דעם צווייטן גיט ער.

וואָס איז דאָס? (אַ שלאָס) [דאַרטן, ז' 4, נומ' 11]

מאַן און ווייב,

קורץ און לאַנג

שוואַרץ און ווייס

וואָס קען דאָס זײַן? (די דרייַ פֿאַר תעניתים: צום גדליה און

אסתר־תענית; עשר־הבטבת און שבֿעה־עשר בתמוז; תשעה־באב און

יום־כיפור) [דאַרטן, ז' 5, נומ' 24]

ס'איז אַ מאַדנע און נישט־פֿאַרשטענדלעכע זאַך: דער גרעסטער מומחה אין אונדזערע צייטן אויף ליטעראַרישע און פֿאַלקס־רעטענישן ביי די אומות־העולם, אַרטשער טיילאַר, האָט אין 1951 געשריבן אינעם אַרײַנפֿיר צו זײַן קלאַסיש, מאַנומענטאַל ווערק "Riddles are said to be unknown to: *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* — certain peoples, notably the Jews, the Chinese and the American Indian" ד"ה, מען זאָגט, אַז רעטענישן געפֿינט מען נישט ביי טייל פֿעלקער, „דער עיקר נישט ביי יידן, כינעזער און אינדיאַנער“ (ז' 3). וועגן די לעצטע צוויי פֿעלקער־משפּחות וועל איך דאָ נישט רעדן; נאָר ווי קען דאָס געמאַלט זײַן, אַז אַרטשער טיילאַר זאָל אַזוינס שרייבן

וועגן יידן, ווען טיילאָר האָט גוט געקענט, און זיך טאַקע גערעכנט אין זײַנע אַרבעטן, מיט די באַקאַנטע רעטענישן, וואָס געפֿינען זיך אין תנך און וואָס זײַנען אַרײַן אין כלערליי אייראָפּעיִשע שפּראַכן? אַ פנים, אַז עס האָט זיך אים אויסגעדאַכט, אַז אין דער מאַדערנער עפּאָכע, ד"ה אין 19טן און 20סטן י"ה, האָבן יידן ניט פֿאַרמאַגט אַזאַ זשאַנער פֿאַלקלאָר. אויב ער האָט זיך נאָר געשטיצט אויף איבערזעצונגען אָדער טראַנסקריפּציעס, איז אמת, אַז קיין סך ייִדישע רעטענישן (און איך מײַן דערמיט מיזרח־אייראָפּעיִשע ייִדישע רעטענישן אויף ייִדיש) האָט מען ביז דעמאָלט ניט געהאַט איבערגעזעצט אויף ענגליש אָדער איבערגעגעבן אין טראַנסקריפּציע. נאָר פֿונדעסטוועגן האָט ליליענטאַל שוין אין 1908 געהאַט אָפּגעדרוקט אין לאַטיינישע אותיות אַ זאַמלונג פֿון ועקס און צוואַנציק ייִדישע רעטענישן, און אַלשוואַנגער האָט אין 1920 אָפּגעדרוקט פֿינף און צוואַנציק טראַנסקריבירטע רעטענישן אין אַ זאַמלבוך, וואָס איז איבערגעדרוקט געוואָרן אין 1931 און 1949. אין פּוילישער איבערזעצונג וואָלט ער אויך געפֿונען אַ פֿאַר בײַשפּילן פֿון ליליענטאַלס זאַמלונגען (ליליענטאַל, 1927). אָבער דער עיקר, אויף ייִדיש גופּא זײַנען דאָך שוין יעמאַלט געווען פֿאַרצײכנט עטלעכע הונדערט רעטענישן אין פֿאַרשיידענע מקורים. אַזוי ווי סטודענטן און געלערנטע האָבן איבערגעזעצט פֿאַר טיילאָרן רעטענישן פֿון פֿאַרשיידענע אייראָפּעיִשע שפּראַכן וואָס זײַנען אים ניט געווען צוטריטליך, בלייבט אַ רעטעניש טאַקע, וואָס ער האָט ניט אויסגעזוכט אַ ייִדישקענער וואָס זאָל אים האָבן צוגעשטעלט מאַטעריאַל פֿון דעם ייִדישן אוצר. נו, אפֿילו גרויסע געלערנטע פֿאַלן, אַ פנים, אַ מאָל אַרײַן.

לעצטנס איז מיר אויסגעקומען דורכצוקוקן אַ גרויסע צאָל זאַמלונגען ייִדישע רעטענישן, גרעסערע און קלענערע, וואָס זײַנען אויפֿגעקליבן געוואָרן אין 19טן און 20סטן י"ה, ווי אויך איבערצולײענען די קאַמענטאַרן פֿון די זאַמלערס און זײַערע רעצענזענטן. פֿון דעם איז מיר קלאָר געוואָרן, אַז ניט נאָר מעג מען רויזן זאַגן, אַז פֿאַלקסדעטענישן זײַנען געווען אַ פּאָפּולערער זשאַנער בײַ מיזרח־אייראָפּעיִשע יידן, נאָר אויך, אַז אַלע טיפּן רעטענישן וואָס די אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע רעטעניש־פֿאַרשונג האָט באַשריבן, געפֿינען מיר אין אונדזערע זאַמלונגען. דאָ רעכן איך אַרײַן די ווייטערדיקע קאַטעגאָריעס:

- א. „קינסטלעריש־דעסקריפּטיווע“ רעטענישן, וואָס טיילאָר רופֿט אָן „אמתע רעטענישן“, וואָס זײַנען געבויט דער עיקר אויף מעטאָפֿאָרישע אָדער פּאָעטישע באַשרייבונגען פֿון אַ זאַך אָדער אַ טונג. „ווייט געקליידט, שוואַרץ גענייט; ווי מען שיקט עס, רעדט עס רײד“ — אַ בריוו (ליליענטאַל, 1927, ז' 92, נומ' 3; באַסטאַמסקי ז' 19, נומ' 175).
- ב. „קונציקע אַננאָל- (אָפֿט מאָל וויציקע) רעטענישן“, וואָס הייבן זיך אָן מיט די פֿרעגווערטער „ווען“, „ווער“ אָדער „וואָס“. „וואָס ברענט אָן פֿײַער“ — אויפֿן גנבֿ ברענט דאָס היטל (באַסטאַמסקי, ז' 22, נומ' 205). אַזוינע רעטענישן זײַנען אָפֿט געבויט אויף ווערטערשפּילן. צו זיי דאַרף מען אויך צורעכענען די פֿאַרשיידענע קורבישע זשאַנערס כּמורדעטענישן (בײַשפּילן קומען שפּעטער):
- ג. „פֿאַרפּלאַנטערטע פּסוקים“;

- ד. נוטריקון, אידיאָמען, שאַראַדעס.
- ה. „חשבון־רעטענישן“;
- ו. פּאַראַדאָקסן אָדער סתירות;
- ז. „וויזועלע רעטענישן“;
- ח. „רעטעניש־לידער“.

2. איז אויב זאַמלונגען פֿאַרמאַגן מיר יאָ, וואָס זײַנען די פּראָבלעמען און די עובדות, וואָס שטייען פֿאַר דעם פֿאַרשער פֿון ייִדישע רעטענישן?
 א. צום באַדויערן פֿעלט אונדז אפֿילו אַזאַ רײַן טעכניש פֿאַרשההלפֿמיטל ווי אַ פֿולע ביבליאָגראַפֿיע פֿון פּובליקירטע ייִדישע פֿאַלקסדעטענישן. אַן ערשטער אַנוואַרף פֿון אַזאַ ביבליאָגראַפֿיע איז פֿאַרצײכנט צום סוף פֿון דער איצטיקער אַרבעט.
 ב. און ניט געקוקט אויף דעם, וואָס רעטענישן זײַנען אַ לפֿי־ערך פֿאַרפֿיקסירטער זשאַנער, און וואָס רעטענישן זײַנען פֿון די קורצע וואַרט־פֿאַלקלאָר־זשאַנערס (אַ סך קירצער און מער פֿאַרפֿיקסירט איידער פֿאַלקס־מעשיות אָדער מסורות, למשל), פֿאַרמאַגן מיר ניט קיין כוללדיק ווערק, וואָס זאָל אַרײַנעמען דעם אוצר ייִדישע רעטענישן, וואָס זײַנען ביז איצט צוניפֿעגעזאַמלט געוואָרן. — אַזוי ווי עס פֿאַרמאַגן שוין אַ סך אַנדערע פֿעלקער. אונדזער מאַטעריאַל איז נאָך צעוואַרפֿן איבער עטלעכע גרעסערע און קלענערע זאַמלונגען. די וויכטיקסטע אויפֿטוען אויף דעם געביט פֿון אַזוי גערופֿענע „אמתע“ רעטענישן זײַנען באַסטאַמסקיס זאַמלונג פֿון און פֿאַר ווילנער קינדער (1917), איבערגעדרוקט (1923) און קלענערע זאַמלונגען פֿון רעיניע ליליענטאַל (1908, 1927), שמעון איינהאַרן (1947), יחיאל שטערן (1950), עמנואל אַלשוואַנגער (1920, 1931, 1949), ש. לעהמאַן (1933) און י. ל. כּהן (1938, 1957). ייִדישע רעטענישן זײַנען צעוואַרפֿן אין פֿאַרשיידענע, ניט נאָר צוטריטליכע, זשורנאַלן ווי עדות, *Mitteilungen zur Jüdischen Volkskunde*, יעוורעיסקאַיאַ סטאַרינאַ, אין וואַנווילדס זאַמלבוך בני אונדז יידן (1923) און אין דעם יוואַזשורנאַל, ייִדישע שפּראַך. זײַער אָפֿט געפֿינען מיר די רעטענישן באַגראָבן צווישן אַנדערע קאַטעגאָריעס פֿאַלקלאָר, דער עיקר קינדער־פֿאַלקלאָר און וויצן.

כ'האָב איבערגעלייענט אַ זיבן הונדערט ייִדישע רעטענישן: אַן ערך אַ דריטל זײַנען וואַריאַנטן איינס פֿון צווייטן. בלייבן, הייסט עס, אַ פֿינף הונדערט. כ'בין אָבער זיכער, אַז אויב מען זאָל דורכזיפֿן אונדזער זכרונות־ליטעראַטור, דעם ליטוויך־אַרכיוו אין יוואַ, דעם אַרכיוו פֿון דער עטנאָגראַפֿישער קאַמיסיע פֿון ווילנער יוואַ, אַזעלכע צײַטונג־רובריקן ווי וואַלף יונינס „שפּראַכווינקל“, די עלטערע זשורנאַלן *Ost und West* און *Am Urquell*, וואָלטן מיר מסתמא דאָרט אויך געפֿונען נאָך אַ שלל מאַטעריאַל. מען דאַרף דאָס אַלץ אויסזוכן, צוניפֿעמען און סיסטעמאַטיש אויססדרן לויט טעמאַטיק. די קינסטלערישע, אַזוי גערופֿענע „אמתע“ רעטענישן וואָלט מען געדאַרפֿט אויססדרן לויט דער אָנגענומענער לעהמאַן־ניטע־סיסטעם (1944), וואָס טיילאָר (1951) האָט אויסגעברייטערט: ד"ה, לויט די פֿאַרגלייכן וואָס ווערן פּרעזענטירט אין דעם ערשטן טייל פֿון די רעטענישן, אין דער פֿראַגע. אַ זוכצעטל צו דער טעמאַטיק פֿון די

ענטפערס וואָלט מען אויך געדאַרפֿט צוגרייטן.

פֿאַר דעם צווייטן מין רעטענישן, פֿאַר די „קונציקע איינפֿאַלרעטענישן“, וועלן מיר מוזן אָבער אַליין אויסאַרבעטן מאָדעלן, וואָרעם די פֿאַלקלאַריסטיק פֿאַרמאַגט נאָך עדהיום ניט קיין אָנגענומענע סיסטעם פֿון קלאַסירן טעמאַטיש אָועלכע רעטענישן.

אידעאַל וואָלט געווען אין אַזאַ באַנד צו אַנאַטירן דעם מאַטעריאַל, מען זאָל וויסן פֿון וואַנעט די אינפֿאַרמאַנטן האָבן געשטאַמט, וואָס די אויסקלייבֿפֿרינציפֿן פֿון די זאַמלערס זיינען געווען און, אויף וויפֿל מיר האָבן אינפֿאַרמאַציע, פֿאַרצייכענען די קאַנטעקסטן פֿון רעטעניש־פֿרעגערײַ, ד״ה ווער האָט זיי געניצט און בײַ וועלכע געלעגנהייטן.

אַזוי ווי זײַער ווייניק ייִדישע רעטענישן זײַנען דערוויילע איבערגעזעצט געוואָרן אויף ענגליש אָדער אַנדערע אייראָפּעיִשע שפּראַכן, וואָלט איך אויך וועלן פֿירלייגן דאָס צונויפֿשטעלן אַ צוויי־שפּראַכיקע ייִדיש־ענגלישע אַנאַטירטע זאַמלונג, וואָס וואָלט געקענט דינען אַ פֿאַרשערס וואָס ווילן זיך פֿאַרנעמען מיט דיאַכראַנישע פֿאַרגלייכן פֿון די מאָדערנע רעטענישן אויף ייִדיש מיט עלטערע תּנכּישע, תּלמודישע און אַנדערע ייִדישע מקורות, און מיט רעטענישן אין אַנדערע ייִדישע שפּראַכן (ייִדיש־פּערסיש, דזשודעזמאַ אַזױװ); ווי אויך דערמיטלעכן סינכראַנישע שטודיעס וואָס פֿאַרגלייכן ייִדישע רעטענישן מיט רעטענישן פֿון שכנותדיקע פֿעלקער, דער עיקר אין פֿאַרשיידענע סלאַווישע שפּראַכן.

ג. ס׳וואָלט געווען כּדאַי צו פֿירן ווייטער די זאַמל־אַרבעט אויף וויפֿל עס לאָזט זיך נאָך היינט און צוגעבן מוסטערן פֿון אָועלכע געאַגראַפֿישע פּונקטן וואָס זײַנען ביז איצט ניט אַרײַן אין אונדזערע זאַמלונגען, וואָס זײַנען דער עיקר קאַנצענטרירט אויף שטעט און שטעטלעך אין ליטע, וויסרוסלאַנד און פּוילן. בנוגע רומעניע, אוקראַינע און אונגערן האָט מען נאָך ווייניק אויפֿגעטאָן אויף דעם פֿעלד. היינט דאַרף מען פֿאַרצייכענען מיט די נײַסטע זאַמל־מעטאָדן, ד״ה זיך ניט באַנוגענען מיט די טעקסטן פֿון די רעטענישן, נאָר זיך אויך נאָכפֿרעגן וועגן די קאַנטעקסטן פֿון פֿרעגן רעטענישן, פּרעציז דערגיין ווער עס פֿלעג וועמען פֿרעגן וועלכע מינים רעטענישן און בײַ וועלכע געלעגנהייטן.

3. שווער צו גלייבן, נאָר אַ פּנים חוץ די אַרײַנפֿיר־ווערטער פֿון באַסטאַמסקי (1923) און אײַנהאַרן (1947) און די קליינע רעצענזיעס פֿון אַנסיקי (1919) און זלמן רײזען (1918), פֿאַרמאַגן מיר ניט קיין פֿאַרשאַרבעטן, וואָס זאָלן זיך פֿאַרנעמען מיט דעם דאָזיקן זשאַנער פֿאַלקלאַר.

ס׳איז ניט פֿאַראַן קיין איין מאָנאָגראַפֿיע אויף וויפֿל איך ווייס, וואָס זאָל ניצן דעם פֿאַרגלייכיקן מעטאָד אָדער דעם היסטאָריש־געאַגראַפֿישן מעטאָד. נישטאַ קיין איין פֿאַרשונג וואָס זאָל פּרוּוון דערגיין די געשיכטע, די מקורות, פֿון אַפֿילו איינעם פֿון די מאָדערנע ייִדישע רעטענישן. נישטאַ קיין איין אַרבעט וואָס זאָל פֿאַרגלייכן אַ היינטיק רעטעניש אָדער פֿאַרמעל אָדער לויטן אינהאַלט מיט וואַריאַנטן פֿון דעם רעטעניש וואָס געפֿינען זיך אין עלטערע ייִדישע מקורות אָדער מיט וואַריאַנטן בײַ די סלאַווישע פֿעלקער, וואָס האָבן געוויינט בשכּנות מיט ייִדן. קאַמפּאַראַטיווע און גענעטישע שטודיעס זײַנען בֿפֿירוש וויכטיק און וואָלטן ווערט געווען די מי וואָס מען דאַרף אין זײַ אַרײַנלייגן.

צו וועקן דעם אַפּעטיט צו אָועלכע פֿאַרשונגען וויל איך דאָ איבערגעבן אַ פֿאַר

מאַמענטן וואָס האָבן זיך מיר געוואָרפֿן אין די אויגן בײַם פֿאַרגלייכן אויפֿגעזאַמלטע ייִדישע רעטענישן מיט די קאַמענטאַרן פֿון טײַלאָר און אַנדערע פֿאַרשערס. פֿאַראַן למשל אַזאַ רעטעניש:

זיצט אַ צוויי־פֿוס (אַ שוסטער)

אויף אַ דריי־פֿוס (בענקל)

האַלט אַן איינפֿוס (שוך)

קומט אַ פֿירפֿוס (הונט)

כאַפט דעם איינפֿוס

לײַפֿט דער צוויי־פֿוס

יאָגט דער פֿירפֿוס

פֿאַלט דער דריי־פֿוס.

דאָס דאָזיקע רעטעניש האָבן פֿאַרצייכנט דריי פֿאַרשיידענע זאַמלערס פֿון דריי פֿאַרשיידענע געאַגראַפֿישע פּונקטן אין ליטע, פּוילן און וויסרוסלאַנד [באַסטאַמסקי, ז' 6, נומ' 26; אײַנהאַרן, 1947, ז' 278, נומ' 19; ליליענטאַל, 1927, ז' 94, נומ' 34]. אָבער וועגן אַט דעם רעטעניש האָט דער אָנגעזענער פֿינישער פֿאַלקלאַריסט אַנטי אַאַרנע געפּסקנט, אַז ס׳איז אומבאַקאַנט אין מיזרח־אייראָפּע (טײַלאָר, 1951) אַחוץ אונגערן. ווען מען רעכנט זיך מיט אונדזער מאַטעריאַל אויך ווייזט זיך אָבער אַרויס, אַז דאָס רעטעניש איז גראַד יאָ געווען באַקאַנט אויף דער סלאַווישער טעריטאָריע; און אויב מען רעכנט זיך ניט מיט אונדזער מאַטעריאַל, באַקומען אָועלכע קאַמפּאַראַטיווע שטודיעס אַ קרומלעך פּנים.

פֿאַרשטייט זיך, אַ סך ייִדישע מעטאַפֿאָרישע רעטענישן האָבן קלאַרע אַנאַלאָגן צו מיזרח־אייראָפּעיִשע פֿאַלקס־רעטענישן אין אַנדערע שפּראַכן. עס זײַנען אינטערעסאַנט אַי די שותפֿישע מעטאַפֿאָרן, אַי די אַנדערשדיקע.

אַט, למשל, געפֿינען מיר פֿאַרשיידענע מעטאַפֿאָרן אין אייראָפּעיִשע רעטענישן פֿאַרן באַגריף הימל. אָבער אַזאַ רעטעניש ווי: מנן טאַטע האָט אַ טלית, קען ער עס ניט צונויפֿלייגן [ליליענטאַל, 1927, ז' 93, נומ' 25], וווּ טלית איז אַ מעטאַפֿאָר פֿאַר הימל, געפֿינען מיר נאָר בײַ ייִדן. אייראָפּעיִשע וואַריאַנטן, ווי אויך אַנדערע פֿאַרצייכנטע ייִדישע וואַריאַנטן, נוצן „קאַלדערע“ אָדער „לנלעד“ ווי די מעטאַפֿאָרן פֿאַר „הימל“.

אַט איז נאָך אַ רעטעניש, וווּ דער מעטאַפֿאָר איז אַ ספּעציפֿיש ייִדישער. בײַ רעגינע ליליענטאַלן איז פֿאַרצייכנט [1908, ז' 52, נומ' 24]: פֿיל חסידים אונטער איין קאַפּעלע, ווי אַ מעטאַפֿאָר פֿאַר „שוועבעלעך אין אַ קעסטעלע“.

בײַ באַסטאַמסקין [1923, ז' 21, נומ' 196] געפֿינען מיר נאָך אַ רעטעניש, וואָס איז טשיקאָווע צוליב אַן אַנדערן טעם: עס איז קענטיק גאַר אַן אַלט רעטעניש בײַ ייִדן. נײַן שטיבער, אַכט פֿענצטער, צוויי שעפּערס, איין טרינקער, וואָס דער באַשייד איז „די ננן חדשים פֿון טראַגן, די אַכט טעג קימפּעט, צוויי בריסט, און דאָס עופּעלע וואָס זייגט“.

בײַם לײַענען שלמה־זלמן שעכטערס אַן אַרבעט [1890, ז' 349-358] וועגן די

רעטענישן וואָס די מלכה שבא זאל האָבן געפֿרעגט שלמה המלכן (וואָס געפֿינען זיך אין נאָך־תנכישע מקורים) האָב איך זיך אָנגעשטויסן אויף זייער אַ נאָענטן וואַריאַנט צו אַט דעם פֿאַלקס־רעטעניש, וואָס באַסטאַמסקי האָט אויפֿגעקליבן אין ווילנע אין 20סטן י"ה. יענער עלטערער ליטעראַרישער וואַריאַנט איז פֿון אַ מקור פֿון 10טן י"ה פֿון תרגום שני אויף מגילת־אסתר און מדרש אויף משלי. די באַצוינגען צווישן ליטעראַרישע מקורים און פֿאַלקלאָר איבערגעגעבן בעל־פה זינען, פֿאַרשטייט זיך, ביי אונדז, ווי ביי אַנדערע פֿעלקער, קאָמפּליצירטע, און איך וועל זיך דאָ ניט אַרייַנלאָזן אין אַ טיפֿערער דיסקוסיע וועגן דעם ענין. דאָ איז מיר געגאַנגען אין דערמאָנען, אַז די צוויי וואַריאַנטן פֿון דעם רעטעניש וואָס עקסיסטירן ביי יידן, שטאַמען פֿון צוויי עפֿאַכעס וואָס זינען ווייט אָפּגערוקט איינע פֿון דער אַנדערער.

נאָך אַ מאָמענט: מען מוז זיין שטאַרק אָפּגעהיט איידער מען זאָגט פֿעסט, אַז אַ רעטעניש וואָס ניצט תנכישע העלדן איז ספּעציפֿיש ייִדיש. דאָס איז מיר קלאָר געוואָרן פֿונעם רעטעניש וווּ זאָ אַ וואָכעדיקע כלי ווי אַ ליימענער טאַפּ ווערט באַשריבן אַזוי [באַסטאַמסקי, 1923, 8' 1, נומ' 54]:

אַדס — פֿון ערד; אַברהם — פֿון קאַלכאָויוון; יוסף — געברענט.
לכתחילה האָב איך געמיינט, אַז דאָס איז זיכער אַ דוגמא פֿון אַ ספּעציפֿיש ייִדיש רעטעניש. נאָר ביים נאָכפֿאַרשן ווייטער האָב איך זיך דערוואַסט, אַז עס זינען פֿאַראַן ענדלעכע רעטענישן אין מיוזח־אייראַפּע, וווּ ביבלישע אַלוזיעס זינען אַרייַנגעטראָגן געוואָרן. אויף רוסיש, למשל, איז פֿאַראַן אַ גאָר ענלעך רעטעניש:
גענומען פֿון ערד — ווי אַדס; אַרייַנגעשטעלט אין קאַלכאָויוון — ווי די דריי יאָטן; אַרויס פֿון אויוון און אַריין אין קאַרעטע — ווי אליהו; געפֿירט אין מאַרק — ווי יוסף ...

און די רשימה פֿאַרגלייכן גייט ווייטער מיט קריסטלעכע העלדן פֿונעם נייעם טעסטאַמענט [טיילאָר, 1951, 242]. ווער עס האָט אויף וועמען משפּיע געווען און ווען ווייס איך ניט.

4. נאָך אַן אינטערעסאַנט פֿאַרגלייכיק פֿאַרשפּעלד איז די פֿראַגע: צי זינען געוויסע מינים רעטענישן מער אַנטוויקלט ביי מיוזח־אייראַפּעישע יידן איידער ביי אַנדערע פֿעלקער?

איין קאַטעגאָריע, די „לאַגישע סתירות־אויפֿגאַבעס“, אַדער „דילעמע־רעטענישן“ (אויבן, קאַטעגאָריע 1) איז, ווייזט אויס, זייער אַנטוויקלט ביי מיוזח־אייראַפּעישע יידן. ביילין [189' ז' 1909] דערמאָנט איין קאַטעגאָריע דילעמע־פּראָבלעמען, וואָס איך האָב אין ערגעץ ניט געזען פֿאַרזייכנט ביי אַנדערע פֿעלקער. דער פֿרעגער (געוויינטלעך דער מלמד אַדער אַ טאַטע, לויט ביילינען) גיט איבער דעם געפֿרעגטן (אַ חרדי־ינגל) אַ דילעמע און אויך אַ באַשייד, נאָר אין דעם באַשייד געפֿינט זיך אַ לאַגישע סתירה. אין געוויינטלעכע רעטענישן לייגט מען ניט פֿיר דעם געפֿרעגטן קיין באַשייד; ער דאַרף אליין געבן אַ באַשייד. נאָר דאָ פֿאַדערט זיך פֿון געפֿרעגטן, ער זאל זאָגן מיט וואָס דער אונטערגעזאָגטער באַשייד איז לאַגיש פֿאַלש. אַ ביישפּיל:

[ביילין, 1909, ז' 189]:

„אַז ס'איז געקומען שבת איז אַ געוויסע פֿרוי געבליבן אָפהענטיק: וואָס זאל זי טאָן? זי דאַרף מאַכן די ברכה, ווי געוויינטלעך, איבער צוויי אָנגעצונדענע שבת־ליכט, און זי האָט נאָר איין ליכטל. [דאָס איז די דילעמע־סיטואַציע, דער ערשטער טייל פֿונעם רעטעניש]. האָט זי זיך באַלד געכאַפט און אוועקגעשטעלט אַ שפיגל לעבן דעם אָנגעצונדענעם ליכטל און אויף אַזאַ אַופֿן האָט זי געהאַט צוויי ליכט. [דאָס איז דער לאַגיש פֿאַלשער באַשייד]. פֿרעגט דער מלמד „צי האָט זי קלוג געטאָן, אַדער צי איז דאָ עפעס קשה?“

ביילין דערקלערט, אַז אַ פֿעיק קינד פֿלעג ענטפֿערן מיט אַזאַ ענטפֿער: „און דאָס איז די קשיא: אויב צוליבן שפיגל וועלן זיין צוויי ליכט, וועלן דאָך זיין צוויי פֿרויען אויך, און יעדע פֿרוי וועט האָבן איין ליכטל און יעדע וועט נאָך אַלץ זיין אין אַ קלעם.“

מיר פֿאַרמאָגן אויך נאָך אַ, אויב ניט ספּעציפֿיש ייִדישע קאַטעגאָריע, איז יעדנפֿאַלס שטאַרק אַנטוויקלטע קאַטעגאָריע רעטענישן ביי יידן. דאָס זענען די צוויי און דריי־שפּראַכיקע שאַראַדענדיקע טייטשן פֿון ווערטער, איינגטלעך אַ פֿאַראַדיע אויף רעטענישן, ווי למשל [שטערן, 1950, ז' 47]:

ווי זאָגט מען אויף העברעיִש: — „קוגל?“ (קריגל)
ווי דער ענטפֿער איז: פּרה־מרה. (פרה = אַ קו; מרה = אַ גאַל)

אונדזערע זאַמלונגען פֿאַרמאָגן אויך אַ סך דוגמות פֿון רעטענישן וואָס הייבן זיך אָן מיט „פֿאַר וואָס“ און וואָס די ענטפֿערס זינען צוויי־ אַדער דריי־שפּראַכיקע עטימאָלאָגיעס פֿון ערטער־נעמען, למשל:

- פֿאַר וואָס הייסט דאָס לאַנד: „פוילן“?
- ווען יידן זינען אַרויס פֿון שפּאַניע האָבן זיי געוואַנדערט, ביז זיי זינען געקומען אין דעם לאַנד אַרנן. האָבן זיי געזאָגט, „פה לין. דאָ וועלן מיר נעכטיקן“, ד"ה דאָ וועלן מיר זיין ביז משיח וועט קומען. [לעהמאַן, 1933, ז' 272].

איך אַ צווייטן נוסח איז דער ענטפֿער:

- דאָס לאַנד הייסט פּוילן, ווייל מען האָט „געפּוועלט“ ביי דעם דעמאָלטיקן קייסער, אַז ער זאל לאָזן יידן דאַרט וווינען. אַדער:
- פֿאַר וואָס הייסט שעדלעך אַזוי?
- וואַרעם שדים און לצים וווינען דאַרט. [וואַקסער, 1938, ז' 61];

אַדער:

- פֿאַר וואָס הייסט דאָס שטעטל „סאַמפּאָלנע“? (קזילער קרייז);
- עס מאַכט „זומפּ פּאַלנע“ אַדער פֿעלדזומפּן [לעהמאַן, 1933, נומ' 113], און לויט לעהמאַן איז די געגנט טאַקע וומפּיק.

5. צום באַדויערן פֿאַרמאָגן מיר ניט קיין איין אַרבעט וועגן די פֿונקציעס און קאַנטעקסטן פֿון פֿרעגן פֿאַלקס־רעטענישן אין דער מיוזח־אייראַפּעישער ייִדישער קולטור,

וואָס זאָל זיך קענען גלייכן מיט דער פֿינער אַרבעט פֿון קענעט גאַלדשטיין [1963, זו' 330-336] וועגן דער ראָלע פֿון רעטענישן אין צפֿון־שאַטלאַנד, אָדער פֿון ד. האַרט (1964) וועגן פֿיליפּינער רעטענישן. אין צוואַרפֿענע באַמערקונגען פֿון די זאַמלערס (ביילין, איינהאַרן), פֿון די איבערזעצערס (ווי אַלפֿרעד לאַנדוי) און פֿון רעצענזענטן (אַנסקי, זלמן רייזען) געפֿינען מיר יאָ פֿינע אַנצוהערענישן לגבי די כּוונות וואָס שטעקן הינטערן פֿרעגן רעטענישן, ווי אויך באַמערקונגען וועגן דעם ווער עס פֿלעג זיין דער פֿרעגער און ווער דער געפֿרעגטער ביי פֿאַרשיידענע טיפּן רעטענישן. דאָ און דאָרט געפֿינען מיר אויך קורצע באַשרייבונגען פֿון געלעגנהייטן ווען מען פֿלעג זיך פֿרעגן רעטענישן. קודם לאַמיר באַטראַכטן די קאַטעגאָריע „קינסטלערישע רעטענישן“, די „פֿאַעטיש־דעסקריפּטיווע רעטענישן“, ווי למשל:

- אין איין פֿעסעלע צווייערליי וויינען.
- אַן איי(ד)ה דאָס געלכל און דאָס ווינטל [באַסטאַמסקי, נומ' 185].
- פֿיר ברידער טראָגן איין היטל.
- טיש [דאַרטן, ז' 6, נומ' 30].
- אַ בלויזנקער טעלעל פֿול מיט אַרבעס.
- הימל און שטערן [דאַרטן, נומ' 34].

אזעלכע פֿאַעטיש־דעסקריפּטיווע רעטענישן, די אזוי גערופֿענע „אַמתע“ רעטענישן, זיינען לויט ליליענטאַל און איינהאַרן געווען אַ טייל פֿון קינדער־פֿאַלקלאָר, וואָס מיידלעך אָדער יינגלעך אין עלטער פֿון אַן ערך 7 ביז 10 פֿלעגן זיך פֿרעגן. דערוואַקסענע פֿלעגן אַפֿשר פֿרעגן קינדער אזעלכע רעטענישן בכדי זיי צו פֿאַרוויילן, אָבער צווישן זיך פֿלעגן דערוואַקסענע זיך ניט פֿאַרוויילן מיט אזעלכע דעסקריפּטיווע רעטענישן. איינהאַרן זאָגט אַפֿילו אַז צוליב דעם וואָס דערוואַקסענע פֿלעגן זיך ניט פֿאַרנעמען מיט דעם וואָס רעטענישן זיינען זיי אזוי ווייניק פֿאַרצייכנט געוואָרן פֿון די זאַמלערס. קינדער פֿלעגן זיך פֿרעגן דעם טיפּ רעטעניש אָדער בשעת אַ פֿאַרמעלן שפּיל אין דער היים, וווּ דער וואָס טרעפֿט ניט ווערט אַן אַ קאַפּיקע (לויט רות רובּין, 1956); אָדער אַ מאָל אין חדר בעת אַ הפֿסקה (יחיאל שטערן 1950, ז' 47); אָדער סתם ביים שמועסן (קירשענבלאַטגימבלעט, 1976, ז' 9).

וואָס שייך „רעטעניש־לידער“ (אויבן קאַטעגאָריע „ח“), ווי למשל „דו מיידעלע דו פֿינס/ דו מיידעלע דו שיינס/ איך וויל דיר עפעס פֿרעגן/ אַ רעטעניש אַ קליינס“, קומט אויס, לויט יחיאל שטערנען (1950, ז' 44-47), אַז חדר־יינגלעך פֿלעגן זיי ניט זינגען. דער זשאַנער „רעטעניש־לידער“ האָט, יעדנפֿאַלס אין טישעוויץ, געהערט צו מיידלעך און ניט צו יינגלעך. לויט שטערנען פֿלעגן יינגלעך זיך אָבער יאָ פֿרעגן יענע רעטענישן, וואָס געפֿינען זיך אין די לידער: אַ שטייגער, „וואָס איז העכער פֿון אַ הויז און פֿלינקער פֿון אַ מויז?“

„קונציקע איינפֿאַל־רעטענישן“ און „רעטעניש־וויצן“ (קאַטעגאָריע „ב“), ווי אויך פֿאַראַדיעס אויף רעטענישן זיינען, אַ פנים, געווען דאָס אייגנטום פֿון עלטערע קינדער, איבער זיין יאָר אַלט, ווי אויך פֿון דערוואַקסענע. אַ טייל פֿון די קונציקע איינפֿאַל־רעטענישן פֿאַדערן ניט קיין ספּעציעלע בקיאות אין לומדישע מקורים.

- וואָס איז די גרינגסטע זאַך אויף דער וועלט?
- געבן עצות. [באַסטאַמסקי, 1923, ז' 9, נומ' 70]:
- כאַטש טיילאָר און אַנדערע פֿאַרשערס וואָלטן גערעכנט רעטענישן וועגן תּנח־העלדן פֿאַר wisdom questions, ד"ה רעטענישן וואָס פֿאַדערן בקיאות, דאַרף מען, מיין איך, ביי אונדזערע מיזרח־אייראָפּעישע ייִדישע רעטענישן זיי באַטראַכטן אַנדערש.
- ווער האָט אומגעבראַכט מיט איין קלאַפּ אַ פֿערטל פֿון דער מענטשהייט?
- ווי דער באַשייד איז „קיר“ [ראַוויצקי, 1922, ז' 255, נומ' 3], פֿאַדערט „אַלגעמיין וויסן“, וואָרעם די גרעסטע טייל קינדער, אַפֿילו די וואָס האָבן נישט באַקומען קיין טראַדיציאָנעלע ייִדישע דערצויג, וואָלטן געוויסט דעם ענטפֿער.
- מיר פֿאַרמאָגן אָבער יאָ אַ צווייטע קאַטעגאָריע איינפֿאַל־רעטענישן וואָס פֿאַדערן אַ טיפּן וויסן פֿון שטייגער אָדער פֿון דער גמרא און אַנדערע ייִדישע מקורים, ד"ה וואָס פֿאַדערן יאָ בקיאות. אזעלכע רעטענישן געפֿינען מיר נאָר אין זאַמלונגען וואָס זיינען נוגע ישיבֿה־בחרים און לומדים. עס פֿעלן אָבער צום באַדויערן פּרטימדיקע באַשרייבונגען פֿון דעם ווען, ביי וועלכע געלעגנהייטן, פֿלעג מען זיך פֿרעגן אזעלכע רעטענישן [ראַוויצקי, 1922].

6. צי זיינען ניט אַ טייל יום־טובֿים געווען אַ צייט פֿון פֿאַרוויילן זיך מיט די צוויי גראַד דערמאָנטע מינים „אינפֿאַל־רעטענישן“, ד"ה די וואָס פֿאַדערן אַלגעמיין וויסן און די וואָס פֿאַדערן לומדות? די אַ היפּאָטעזע וואָלט מען געדאַרפֿט אויספֿאַרשן. די גרויסע צאָל רעטענישן אויף פּור־ים־טעמעס האָט מיך אַרויפֿגעפֿירט אויפֿן געדאַנק, אַז ס'איז כּדאַי זיך צוצוקוקן נעענטער צו אונדזער פּור־ים־פֿאַלקלאָר. עטלעכע אינטערעסאַנטע זאַכן זיינען אַרויפֿגעשוומען. אַט, למשל, זעט אויס, אַז אין חסידישע שטיבלעך, וווּ מען פֿלעג אויסקלייבן אַ פּור־ים־דבֿ, האָט זיך געפֿירט, אַז מען פֿלעג פֿרעגן דעם פּור־ים־דבֿ אזעלכע „פּור־ים־שאלות“, ד"ה קאַמישע „אינפֿאַל רעטענישן“, און ער פֿלעג דעם עולם פֿאַרוויילן דורך אליין זיין דער פֿרעגער [וילבערשטיין, 1966, זו' 57-61; שעסקין, 1967, ז' 26-27].

- אַט איז אַ ביישפּיל פֿון ראַוויצקי [1922, נומ' 16, ז' 257]:
- ווי קומט עס, וואָס אַחשוורוש האָט גענומען און אויסגעפֿלאַסטערט זיין קיניגלעכן פּאַלאַץ מיט די טייַערסטע שטיינער און האָט ניט מורא געהאַט, אַז עס וועט זיך געפֿינען אַ בעלן זיי אַוועקצולקחענען?
- אַחשוורוש איז דאָך געווען אַ מלך טיפּש, און דאָס האָבן מיר פֿון אייביק אַ פּלל, אַז אַ נאַר וואַרפֿט אַרען אַ שטיין אין גאַרטן, קענען קיין צען קלוגע ניט אַרויסשלעפּן.
- עס פֿרעגט זיך, צי פֿלעגן ניט פּור־ים־שפּילערס אויך פֿאַרוויילן דעם עולם מיט רעטענישן אויף פּור־ים־טעמעס? אין 1899 איז אַפּגעדרוקט געוואָרן אַ קליין פּאַפּולער ביכעלע א"נ אַ שפּיצל פֿון אַ פּור־ים־שפּילער [שאַראַקאַנסקי], וווּ זיבן אזעלכע „אינפֿאַל־רעטענישן“ זיינען פֿאַרצייכנט. ווילט זיך דרינגען פֿון דעם, אַז אין זייער באַגאַזש פֿאַרוויילונגען פֿלעגן טאַקע פּור־ים־שפּילערס האָבן אויך רעטענישן.

אָרדענונג, פֿאַרעם אויסגעהאַלטן, קאַרעקט, אָבער פֿאַקטיש לויט דער לאַגיק (פּסול). זייער פֿעיקע און פֿיפֿיקע קינדער שטויסן זיך געוויינטלעך אליין אָן אין די לאַגישע סתירות, אין דעם וואָס שטימט ניט, און תּיכף, פֿון זייער זיט, גיבן אַזעלכע קינדער אַ פֿרעג, „און דאָס איז די קשיא“, אַ תּוכיקע פֿראַגע, וואָס קלערט אויף די לאַגישע ניט־אויסגעהאַלטנקייט, אָדער מוטשטשידיקייט. [ביילין, 1909, ז' 187, איבערגעזעצט פֿון רוסיש]

ווייטער רעדט ביילין וועגן דעם, אַז ביי ווייניקער פֿעיקע קינדער, וואָס זיינען ניט בכוח זיך צו כאַפֿן אין וואָס עס גייט, פֿלעגן מלמדים אָדער טאַטע־מאַמע ציען זייער אויפֿמערקזאַמקייט צו די שוואַכע פּונקטן; דער פֿרעגער פֿלעג אין אַזעלכע פֿאַלן זיך אַפֿשטעלן ביי דעם לאַגיש שוואַכן פּונקט אין דער סתירה־אויפֿגאַבע און בעטן דעם קינד: — „אַנו, פֿרעג זשע דאָ די קשיא“. ד"ה טרעף אין וואָס עס גייט, וווּ עס געפֿינט זיך דאָ די פּאַסטקע.

דער טיפֿ רעטעניש, וווּ דער באַשייד לאַזט זיך אויס צו זיין אַ נוטריקון, אַ מאָל אַ צוויי און דריי־פּראַכיקער; אָדער דער טיפֿ רעטעניש, צו פֿאַרשטיין און פֿונאַנדערפֿלאַנטערן אַ פֿאַרפֿלאַנטערטן פּסוק (אויבן, קאַטעגאָריעס „ג" און „ד") געהער צו דער טראַדיציאָנעלער ישיבה־ספֿערע, און לויט די זאַמלערס פֿלעג מען זיי ניצן אי די־דאָקטיש, אי אויף פֿאַרוויילונג. אָט איז אַזאַ נוטריקון־רעטעניש: [כהן, 1938, ז' 214].

— פֿאַר וואָס טרינקט מען נאָך פֿיש בראַנפֿן?

וואַרעם פֿיש מאַכט: פֿלעשל יין שוּרף.

אַ ביישפּיל פֿון אַ רעטעניש געבויט אויף אַ פֿאַרדרייטן פּסוק גיט איינהאַרן [1947, ז' 98] פֿון לאַדזש.

יינגלעך פֿלעגן זיך פֿרעגן:

— וווּ קענסטו געפֿינען „מאַלע קאַליאַרע זיווי קורי"? (דיאַלעקטיש פּויליש,

איז דער טייטש „מאַל מיט קאַלירן לעבעדיקע הינער".)

און דער ענטפֿער, אויב מען רעדט דאָס אַרויס אויף דעם פּויליש־יידישן דיאַלעקט:

— מליא פּל ארעא זיו יקרה, אין דער תּפֿילה: „ובאַלציון".

צו אַ קרובֿישן זשאַנער געהערן די חשבון־חידות און טרעפֿענישן (אויבן,

קאַטעגאָריע „ה"). קודם — אַ דוגמא [שטערן, 1950, ז' 44]:

— אַ דאַרפֿסגייער האָט באַגעגנט אויף אַ לאַנקע אַ סטאַדע גענדז,

זאָגט ער צו זיי, „גוט מאַרגן, הונדערט גענדז!" זאָגן צו אים די

גענדז, „ווען מיר וואַלטן געווען צוויי מאָל אַזוי פֿיל ווי מיר זיינען און

נאָך אַ האַלב פֿון דעם וואָס מיר זיינען, און נאָך אַ פֿערט חלק פֿון

אונדז און דו וועסט אונדז צוגעבן איינע, וואַלטן מיר צוזאַמען געווען

הונדערט". וויפֿל גענדז האָט דער דאַרפֿסגייער באַגעגנט?

עס פֿרעגט זיך אויך ווי פֿאַרשפּרייט איז אַ מינהג, וואָס רות רובּין (1956) באַשרייבט, אַז חנוכה־ציניט פֿלעג מען זיך פֿאַרוויילן מיט אויספֿרעגן רעטענישן? און וואָס איז מכוח פֿאַרוויילן זיך מיט רעטענישן ביי משפּחה־פֿייערונגען, ביי די פֿאַרשיידענע מינהגים פֿאַרבונדן מיטן לעבן־ציקל? ס'איז פֿאַראַן ווייניקסטנס אין זייער פֿיינע באַשרייבונג פֿון דעם ווי אַ באַקאַנטער ברחן אַרום 1874 אין פֿאַלטאַווע פֿלעג ביי חתונות פֿאַרוויילן דעם עולם מיט שאַרפֿויניקע איינפֿאַלד־רעטענישן (ליפּשיץ, 1953, ז' 66-68). בייים פֿרעגן דאָס לעצטע רעטעניש פֿלעג דער ברחן צוטראַכטן אַ פּאַסיקע, עטישע שטראָף פֿאַר ניט טרעפֿן דעם ענטפֿער: יעדערער האָט געמוזט געבן אַ סומע געלט פֿאַרן נדן פֿון אַן אַרעם מיידל אין פֿאַלטאַווע.

7. זאַמלערס פֿון ייִדישע פֿאַלקס־רעטענישן האָבן דערמאַנט ווי הויפּטקאַנטעקסטן פֿון פֿרעגן רעטענישן (וואָס קומען, פֿאַרשטייט זיך, אויך ביי אַנדערע אינדאָאיראַפֿעזשע פֿעלקער):

1. דער דערצײער־שער, פּעדאַגאָגישער קאַנטעקסט

2. דער פֿאַרוויילער־שער קאַנטעקסט.

די צוויי מינים רעטענישן, וואָס כ'האָב גראַד דערמאַנט: די פּאַעטיש־דעסקריפּטיווע, ווי אויך די קונציקע, אַפֿט וויציקע איינפֿאַלד־רעטענישן געהערן, אַ פנים, צו דער קאַטעגאָריע פֿון פֿאַרוויילער־שער רעטענישן. אין ביידע הויפּטטיפּן קומט פֿאַר אַ שפּילן זיך מיט דערוואַרטונגען אָדער אַ באַנוץ פֿון באַהאַלטענע, פֿאַרמאַסקירטע צווייטייטיקייטן, ווידעראַנאָדן. און דער וואָס דאַרף ענטפֿערן אויף אַזעלכע רעטענישן שטיצט זיך על־פּירובֿ אויף דעם, וואָס ער האָט עס שוין פֿריער געהערט און ווייטט שוין פֿון פֿריער דאָס רעטעניש און דעם באַשייד. ד"ה דער געפֿרעגטער פֿאַרלאָזט זיך אויף זיין זכרון פֿאַר אַ ריכטיקער תּשובֿה.

ביי אַנדערע רעטענישטיפּן ריכט מען זיך, אַז דער געפֿרעגטער זאָל טאַקע אליין דערגיין צו אַ באַשייד.

סתירות צום פֿאַרענטפֿערן, פֿאַראַדאַקסן, דילעמע־פּראַבלעמען (אויבן, קאַטעגאָריע „ר"), זיינען אַ דוגמא. אונדזערע זאַמלערס האָבן זיי באַשריבן אין צוויי סבֿיבות: צווישן ישיבה־בחורים - ווי פֿאַרוויילונג; אָדער אין אַ דערצײער־שער קאַנטעקסט, צווישן אַ מלמד אָדער טאַטן און אַ חדר־יינגל. גענוג זיך דערמאַנען דעם משל פֿון דער פֿרוי וואָס האָט נאָר פֿאַרמאַגט איין שבת־ליכטל.

כדאי דאָ צו ציטירן ביילינס באַשרייבונג פֿון אָט אַ דעם־פּעדאַגאָגישן קאַנטעקסט.

די תּלמודישע דערצײונג האָט אויסגעאַרבעט ביי ליטווישע און פּוילישע יידן אַן אַנדערשדיקן אופֿן פֿון אויספרוון אינטעלעקטועלע חריפֿות ביי קינדער, דער עיקר ביי קינדער פֿון חדר־אָדער שול־עלטער. דער גאַנג איז אַזאַ: מען לאָזט קינדער געפֿינען סתירות אָדער סאָפֿיזמען אין קונציק צוגעקליבענע אַד האַק רעטענישן און אויפֿגאַבעס, וואָס מען לייגט זיי פֿיר צו באַשיידן (אַרגומענטן וואָס זיינען פֿאַרמעל אין

— ענטפער: 36.

ביי יחיאל שטערנען [1950, ז' 44] איז פאראן א דערמאנונג פונעם פעדאגאגישן קאנטעקסט. מען פלעגט ניצן אזוינע חשבון-טרעפענישן צו שארפן די מוחות פון יינגלעך אין איבערוועק-חדר. ביילין, ווידער, באשרייבט א פארווייזונג-קאנטעקסט, ווו אזעלכע אריטמעטישע אויפגאבעס זיינען געווען, א מין איידעלער ספארט" אויך פאר דערוואקסענע.

אין חדרים און בתרימדרשים, צום גרעסטן טייל בין מינחה למעריב, און אויך אין דער היים אין דער פרייער צייט, פלעגן יידן פון ליטע אין די מערב-דיקע קאנטן האלטן פארמעסטן צווישן זיך אין לייזן פארשיידענע מאטעמאטישע, דער עיקר אריטמעטישע אויפגאבעס. ווען איך בין נאך געווען א קינד, פלעגן מיר חדר-יינגלעך זיך זייער אויפמערקזאם איינהערן ווי אזוי אזעלכע אויפגאבעס ווערן געלייזט פון די דערוואקסענע, און א מאל זיך אליין פארנעמען מיט דעם. דאס איז פאר אונדז געווען עפעס אן איידעלער ספארט, ווו מיר זיינען געווען אויפמערקזאמע צוקוקער. ס'איז וויכטיק צו באמערקן, אז אלע לייזונגען און אויסרעכענונגען האט מען געמאכט אין קאפ און ניט שריפטלעך. [ביילין, 1909, ז' 200].

א ווארט וועגן רעטעניש-קענערס ביי מירח-אייראפע-ישע יידן. אַניסקי [1925, ז' 225] שרייבט, אז עס זיינען ניטא קיין רעטעניש-ספעצן, ווי ס'זיינען למשל דא פאלקסיונגער ספעציאליסטן אדער מעשה-דערציילערס. נאָר עס פֿרעגט זיך אַ קשיא: צי קען מען דען ניט זאָגן, אז דער ברחן איז געווען אַ מומחה, יעדנפֿאלס אויף איין טיפּ רעטעניש: דעם איינפֿאַל-וויציקן רעטעניש און דער פּוּרי-רֵב אין חסידישע שטיבלעך — צי איז ער דען ניט געווען קיין מומחה אויף רעטענישן פֿאַרבונדן מיטן יום-טובֿ פּורים? און וואָס שייך די קינדערשע רעטענישן פֿונעם דעסקריפּטיוון, פֿאַעטישן מין — ווי קען דאָס געמאַלט זײַן, אז מיר האָבן ניט פֿאַרמאַגט קיין קינדער ווידטוואָזן אין דעם פרט, אפֿילו אויב נאָר אויף אַ קורצן צײַטאַפּשניט אין לעבן?

8. אין 1971 איז אַרויס אַן אינטערעסאַנטע אַרבעט פֿון ראָבערט און פֿאַרמאַן (1971) געבויט אויף דורכזיפֿן דעם Human Relations Area File פֿון יעיל-אוניווערסיטעט, אַן אַרכיוו וואָס נעמט אַרײַן באַשרײַבונגען פֿון פֿאַרשיידענע אָספעקטן פֿון 146 קולטורן איבער דער גאַרער וועלט, צווישן אַנדערן אויך וועגן רעטעניש-פֿרעגערײַ. זײ זײַנען געקומען צום אויספֿיר, אַז רעטענישן זײַנען פֿאַפּולער אין אזעלכע קולטורן, ווו דאָס איינחורן פֿון אויסנווייניק איז אַ גרונטמעטאָד אין דער פעדאָגאָגיק, ווו וויסן ווערט איבערגעגעבן דורך מאָסגיביקע אינסטאַנצן און ווו קינדער ווערן שפּעטער פֿאַרהערט דורך בעלדעוּת. אויב אזוי, דאַרף מען זיך ניט ווונדערן וואָס מיר געפֿינען רעטענישן

אויך אינעם מירח-אייראפע-ישן יידישן שטייגער, וואָרעם פונקט אזעלכע פעדאָגאָגישע מעטאָדן זײַנען דאָך געווען פֿאַפּולער אין דער טראַדיציאָנעלער ייִדישער דערצײַונג-סיסטעם. די מחברים רעדן ווייטער וועגן דעם, אַז רעטענישן זײַנען אַ פֿאַפּולערער מין פֿאַלקלאָר אויך אין אזעלכע קולטורן ווו מען שטעלט דעם טראַפּ אויף פֿאַלגן אויטאָריטעטן, ווו מען פֿאַדערט פֿון קינדער, זײ זאָלן זיך צוהערן מיט קאָפּ ווען מען פֿרעגט זײ אויס, און ווו קינדער אַנטוויקלען אַ סענסיטיווקייט צו דעם, זײ זאָלן חלילה ניט ווערן אויסגעלאַכט דורך זײַערע לערערס און חברים, טאַמער גיבן זײ אַ פֿאַלשן ענטפֿער. אַ סך באַשרײַבונגען פֿון חדר און פֿונעם אַמאָליקן ייִדישן לעבן אין מירח-אייראָפּע דערמאָנען די דאָזיקע שטריכן. דעריבער קען געמאַלט זײַן, אַז רעטעניש-פֿרעגערײַ איז געווען נאָך מער פֿאַרשפּרײט און פֿאַפּולער בײַ מירח-אייראָפּע-ישע יידן ווי בײַ אַנדערע פֿעלקער.

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א פאַר ווערטער וועגן בערעגאַווסקיס אַרבעט איבער פורים-שפּילן

פֿון מאַרק סלאָבין

משה בערעגאַווסקי (טערמאַכאווקע 1892 – קיעוו 1961) האָט אָנגעקליבן אַ ריזיקן אַרכיוו פֿון ייִדישער פֿאַלקסמוזיק און פֿאַלקסדראַמע וואָס ער האָט פֿלאַנירט אַרויסצוגעבן אין פֿינף בענד. בלויז דער ערשטער באַנד, פֿון ייִדישע פֿאַלקסלידער, איז אַרויס בעת זײַן לעבן.¹ דער פֿיפֿטער און לעצטער באַנד האָט געזאַלט זײַן זײַן פֿאַרשאַרבעט און אַנטאַלאָגיע פֿון פורים-שפּילן.

דער פֿאַרבלעבענער כתב־יד פֿון דעם דאָזיקן ווערק איז דער לענגסטער צווישן אַלע פֿינף בענד זײַנע. דער אַרײַנפֿירעסיי אַליין באַטרעפֿט 170 טיפּירטע זײַטן אויף רוסיש. די סצענאַרן מיט מוזיקאַלישע נאָטן באַשטייען פֿון נאָך 100 זײַטן אויף רוסיש און 450 זײַטן אויף ייִדיש. די מאַטעריאַלן וואָס ווערן אָפּגעדרוקט אינעם איצטיקן באַנד ייִוואָ-בלעטער זײַנען אַ קליינער מוסטער פֿון בערעגאַווסקיס אוצרות: דער ערשטער קאַפיטל פֿון זײַן אַרײַנפֿירעסיי מיט איין וואַריאַנט פֿון איין פורים-שפּיל. פֿונדעסטוועגן גיבן זײ אַ באַגריף פֿון בערעגאַווסקיס אויפֿטו ביים אויפֿהיטן קולטורגיטער אַנטקעגן דעם אַכוריות פֿון אונטערדריקונג און שַכּחה.

דער אַרומגעמיקער תוכן פֿונעם באַנד פורים-שפּילן איז אַט וואָס: דער ערשטער טייל באַשטייט פֿון זיבן וואַריאַנטן פֿון „אַחשוורוש-שפּיל“ איבערגעזעצט אויף רוסיש. דער צווייטער טייל גיט וואַריאַנטן פֿון „אַחשוורוש-שפּיל“ אויף ייִדיש מיט אַרײַנפֿירנאָטיצן אויף רוסיש. דער דריטער טייל נעמט אַרײַן צוויי וואַריאַנטן פֿון „דוד און גלית“ און דריי וואַריאַנטן פֿון „עקדתי-יצחק“. דער פֿערטער טייל איז כולל נאָך פֿינף וואַריאַנטן פֿונעם „אַחשוורוש-שפּיל“, און דער פֿיפֿטער טייל גיט צוויי וואַריאַנטן אין איינעם מיט דריי פֿראַגמענטן פֿון „מכירת יוסף“, ווי אויך אַ קורצן טעקסט וואָס הייסט „ברכת יעקבֿ“.²

בערעגאַווסקי גיט איבער אַז ער האָט געפֿירט זײַן זאַמלאַרבעט בעת די יאָרן 1937-1940, און אַז אין 1941 האָט ער שוין געהאַט אָנגעקליבן 16 לענגערע וואַריאַנטן פֿון פורים-שפּילן און פֿיר קירצערע פֿראַגמענטן. דעם אַרײַנפֿירעסיי האָט ער געשריבן שפּעטער, נאָך 1949 (ער דערמאַנט אינעם עסיי, אַז ער איז געשטאַנען בראַש פֿונעם פֿאַלקלאָר-אַפּטייל פֿונעם קיעווער קאַבינעט פֿאַר ייִדישער קולטור ביז 1949), מסתמא האָרט פֿאַר זײַן אַרעסט אין 1950.

בערעגאַווסקי דערציילט, אַז הגם דאָס פורים-שפּיל איז גיך פֿאַרשווינדן אינעם סאָוועטן-פֿאַרבאַנד, איז אים נאָך געווען מעגלעך צו פֿאַרשרײַבן אַ לעבעדיקע פֿאַרשטעלונג אין קאַלאַמיי (אין די נײַ-פֿאַרנומענע טעריטאָריעס בעת דער מלחמה) אין יאָר 1940.

ON CHILDREN'S NONSENSE OATHS IN YIDDISH

MORDCHE SCHAECHTER (New York)

Words without meaning—perhaps we should rather call them nonsensical sequences of sounds—can be found in children's lore aplenty. In counting-out rimes and in oaths they are paramount. Not only do these two genres swarm with meaningless sound sequences, but even the stray meaningful words that do crop up in them often appear in no sensible relation to one another. They are just plain jabber and gibberish. It is impossible to deduce the function of the whole from its parts, i.e. the sound sequences and the words. Moreover, the purport of the whole is frequently problematic. If we pull a folklore item of this kind from its concrete context (e.g. if one were to write out the text on a piece of paper without noting its function) it is sometimes difficult or even impossible to recognize what it is. In counting-out rimes the rhythm may at least provide a clue to the function of the words and sound sequences. What else could *am dam dey nos, sava rika rey nos . . .* be, if not a counting-out rime? But among oaths, there are many in which the layman cannot even find a glimmering of a hint as to the function of the elements. Here are a few illustrations:

Mrs. L., an informant hailing from Buhúts,¹ Carpatho-Russia, and now residing in New York, who was brought up in a hassidic family, told me of the following oath that had been current in her home town: *mortshko, shokl dekh in nem leyb!* This oath, she reports, was considered vehement. Yet it means precisely nothing. In Hungarian *Mariska* (phonetically [ˈmariʃkə]) is a common endearing form of the girl's name, *Mária* (Slovak and Czech: *Mariška*); in Rumanian the same sequence of sounds means 'windmill'. The stress in the Yiddish *mortshko* is on the second syllable, as in Rumanian and Slovak. *Shokl dekh* is, in all probability, to be interpreted as the imperative form of *shoklen zikh*: 'shake yourself'. *In* is either the preposition (rather implausible) or the conjunction (Standard Yiddish: *un*). I believe that *nem* has nothing to do with *nemen* 'to take', but is rather the Hungarian negative *nem* 'not'. In other words, *nem leyb* would signify 'do not live (imperative)'. Even so the whole phrase does not seem to make any sense. How can we relate 'do not live' with the shaking windmill or the unfortunate young maid, Mariska? And why is the whole an oath?

The same Buhúts informant cited another oath: *man khlyeptshe borsh!* A refugee from Dubové (Yid. Dfibeve), Carpatho-Russia, corrected it: *tsi man khlyeptshe borsh!* It does not take much deliberation to recognize the verb *khlyeptshe* 'to drink noisily' and its object *borsh!* 'beet soup'. But what connection is there between these words and swearing?

Another informant from Iršava (Yid. Orsheve), Carpatho-Russia, supplied me with: *katshkele, ftsel, htmshtoyb, . . .* She was certain that this was but a

¹ A tiny community, called in Czech and Rumanian Valehrad'e, located approximately 5 km NNW of Slatinské Doly (Yid. Solóvine); nearest post office in Slatinské Doly.

fragment of a longer oath, but try as she did, she was unable to remember the rest of the 'little duck, little foot, sky dust' sequence.

Another oath current in Buhúts was this: *man lóshekl in dan shkápkele, umeyn seyle!* 'my filly and your young mare, amen!'. By what devious means the animal pair got into this, and just how this odd mixture came to function as a protection against being cheated, is a curious problem.

Mr. L. K., an informant from Michalevice, Slovakia, now in New York, recalls his grandmother's admonition that the only permissible oath is: *udem a mentsh, katshke rik dekh!*, literally, 'Adam a man duck move'. Now this hardly analyzable phrase is often used as an answer to a preposterous statement, an immodest claim, and the like; Sholom Aleichem popularized it among many Yiddish speakers. But how did it come to function as a children's oath? Either the derisive idiom is the older and gave birth to the oath, or conversely, the oath, though today restricted regionally, is historically the source of the idiom. It would be worthwhile to consider three well-known facts at this point: (1) Some items in children's folklore are older than is usually imagined. I might even generalize: children's lore is blessed with longevity. (2) Present-day restricted geographic distribution of a fact need not reflect its former degree of dispersion. (3) The affectiveness and derisiveness of a saying are conducive to its wide diffusion. A word or an idiomatic saying that stings and bites can capture entire countries before one can say Jack Robinson.

Let us assume for a moment that the oath is older than the mocking phrase. Perhaps, once upon a time, when *odem a mentsh . . .* as the oath of small fry resounded in Jewish homes, someone was struck by the similarity between the naively solemn posture of children swearing about some trifle and the posture of the nobody who puts on airs. The comparison caught on to such a degree that the oath came to be regularly used in mocking the pretentious. Soon other people, unfamiliar with the original *odem a mentsh . . .* in its oath form, may have followed suit without understanding the reference to the pretentiousness of a child taking an oath. If this hypothesis is invalid, some other explanation remains to be found for the odd parallelism between the combination of 'Adam, the man' with the duck which is asked to move over and the combination of Maria (or the windmill) who is told to get moving but not to live. Other nonsensical children's expressions of a similar construction could be cited.

Be that as it may, we are faced here with instances of artificial speech distortion, and it is apparent that such phenomena are particularly common in the domain of children's oaths. They are motivated, of course, not by mischief, but from the interference of adults in the conduct of the children. The mother, an older sister, or a grandmother (as in Mr. L. K.'s case) forbade the use of the oath *kh'zol azoy leybn!* 'as this is true] so may I live' or other realistic oaths that might, perish the thought, come true. The adults thus supplied all the gibberish forms and stamped them as "proper" oaths in order to restrain the children from using dangerous "real" oaths.

There is, on the other hand, yet another possibility. Mrs. R. W. from Dracineți, Bukovina, Rumania, told me that in her town, when a child did not be-

lieve the statement of another, he would challenge *shver dekh!* 'swear it!'. The standard reply to this was: *bikslekh!* 'rifles (*diminutive*)!' Another variant (cited by Dr. J. G. from Siret, Rumania) runs as follows: *shverdlekh, shikslekh, bikslekh, ptu!* 'swords (*dim.*), gentile girls (*dim.*), rifles (*dim.*), *ptu!*' (The last element is a Yiddish interjection associated with spitting.) This strange oath and its string of variants probably developed from the pun *shver dekh—shverdlekh*. I doubt whether children's humor alone is responsible for the next step, since the result (*shver dekh—bikslekh*) is an oath, not a joke. I think I detect an adult hand. It's easy to visualize a grown-up who, on being challenged by a child: *shver dikh*, put on his best earnest expression and in a calm voice did swear—with an oath that was all stuff and nonsense. The youngsters, unaware of the adult evasiveness, accepted the so-called oath without appreciating the prank which was behind it.

The diversion of the challenge to swear is even more striking in an oath that found widespread currency in Old Rumania: *eylem, beylem, tu. . . , tseylem!* 'eylem, beylem, hindquarters, cross!' The first two "words" frequently serve as the beginning line in children's songs. The meaning of the other two is unequivocal. However, the four together are absolute and highly irreverent fiddle-faddle.

In sum then, nonsensical children's oaths should be catalogued either under "humor" or "linguistic taboo" or under both. In any case children are innocent of these creations which are attributed to them. They were either taught them consciously by adults, or the children picked them up from their evasive elders. In either case children did no more than adopt them. But while the adults, either seriously or as a prank, offered the children the linguistic vessel which the little ones filled with deeply felt emotions, they turned nonsensical gibberish into oaths which could weather the most arduous of tests. Some oaths are thus genetically the folklore of adults, while functionally they are children's folklore.

FOUR YIDDISH VARIANTS OF THE MASTER-THIEF TALE

BEATRICE SILVERMAN WEINREICH (New York)

INTRODUCTION

Yiddish folktales have been divided by scholars into two major "moral" tales,¹ i.e. those with ethical, religious, or edifying overtones and "secular" tales,² i.e. the non-religious ones told for amusement only. The former tales have been extensively studied; the secular tales have not shared the same fortune.

A number of attractive research problems are presented by the secular tales. After a thorough study of the individual tales in all their variants the task of characterizing the secular tales as a literary genre. Further individual tales could be compared in form and content with equivalent tales in other Old-World folklores, e.g. with German *Märchen* or Russian tales whose motifs they share. On this cross-folklore level, there is the ever-present problem of characterizing the specifics of this Yiddish form of the tale as contrasted, say, with the corresponding Russian genre. But the field is still untouched.

Any generalized statements regarding the genre *per se* or in contrast with similar genres in other folklores must, for methodologically obvious reasons, be preceded by detailed structural and content analyses of the individual tales. Here I have analyzed one secular tale, The Master Thief, in four of its variants in a framework that, I hope, will prove useful in a future study of the genre as a whole. I have limited myself to a discussion of plot, episode, and structure; plot motivation; and certain stylistic techniques of characterization. As points of departure, I utilized existing surveys of similar genres among other peoples,⁴ noting wherever appropriate and feasible, parallels from other

¹ Referred to in Yiddish folkloristics as *moralishe mayseyes*.

² Referred to in Yiddish folkloristics as *sekulere, a-moralishe mayseyes* or *mayseyes*. The nearest equivalent to this genre of tales is the *Märchen*-type as defined by Stith in *The Folktale*, New York, 1946, p. 8. The English term "Fairy-Tale" is unsatisfactory because it implies the presence of fairies. I have never come across a Yiddish tale that has fairies as characters; certainly the variants of the tale to be discussed in this paper have no fairies.

³ The original paper, written for a highly profitable folklore course with Gladys A. Reichard at Columbia University in 1953, contained much more on the variants themselves and studied stylistic features in great detail. Individual regional differences in narrative technique as well as cultural reflections in the tale to be scrutinized.

⁴ My principal general sources included: Y. M. Sokolov: *Russian Folklore*, 1950; V. Propp: *Morfologija skazki*, Leningrad, 1928; Max Lüthi: *Das europäische Märchen; Form und Wesen*, Berne, 1947; Stith Thompson: *The Folktale*, New York, 1946. Major sources concerning the Yiddish folktales were: Y. L. Cahan: *Shtudyes in Yiddish folkshafung*, Max Weinreich, ed., New York, 1952; Angelo S. Rappoport, *The Jews*, London, 1937.

MERRYMAKERS AND JESTERS AMONG JEWS

(Materials for a Lexicon)

By E. LIFSCHUTZ*

Originally published in *Arkhiv far der geschikhte fun yidishn teater un drame* (1930)

INTRODUCTION

A wedding in the Jewish ghetto was an event that occupied the attention of the entire community. The rejoicing was a communal one. Individual and communal worries were set aside and personal jealousies and hatreds were forgotten for the moment. The most important individuals were the bride and the groom and the principal concern was to make the wedding merry, imposing and prominent. This was done not so much for the sake of the bride and the groom as for the sake of the entire community, which regarded a wedding as a kind of carnival and festive holiday. All the complaints by the rabbis and the criticism of communal leaders that weddings were being transformed from sacred events to secular gatherings in which jest, humor, satire and dance were the most important components, were of no avail. The masses of people, yearning for amusement and frequently having to seek it outside the ghetto, seized upon a wedding as a legitimate opportunity for such amusement. Even the more prominent citizens also enjoyed a jest and a quip no less than the more humble Jew. The wedding celebration provided the Jew with practically the only opportunity for such recreation. This may possibly explain the reason why wedding merrymakers were not as a rule hounded as severely by community officials as actors. The theatre was considered to be an alien pest which was not to be tolerated under any conditions; merrymakers at weddings, however, were tolerated, although sometimes grudgingly.

* It is my pleasant task to express my thanks to Dr. Jacob Shatzky for the generous aid that he gave me and for his constant readiness to help his students.

Merrymakers at Jewish weddings occupied a prominent place already in the later Middle Ages. Their character, activity and significance changed with the social changes in the ghetto. Their influence was great and lasting and they became an indispensable component of every Jewish wedding, irrespective of local and state regulations. The merrymaker, whether he was a jester (*leyts*), *marshalik* or buffoon (*badkhn*), had one main task: to amuse the guests at the wedding and to increase the merriment. The means that he employed to that end were not always too refined and he aroused the anger of the Jewish religious leaders. His great popularity, however, ensured his survival for many generations.

The merrymaker was apparently quite prominent, for even the cantor envied his position¹ . . . and began to compose tunes for wedding songs, thus becoming a rival of the professional merrymaker. He thereby aroused the anger of the moralists and the love of the masses. The singer (*meshorer*), or, as he was then called, the *meshorer bagadol* (great singer), exploited the wedding even more than did the cantor. The *meshorer bagadol* was usually an itinerant singer who would be hired by a cantor for a period long enough to acquaint him with the tunes the singer had learned from other cantors. The singer, who had to earn his livelihood even when he was employed by the cantor, used the wedding as a source of income. The singer too sought to adjust himself to the tastes and wishes of the wedding guests. This meant to avoid synagogue music as much as possible and to sing more secular and piquant songs.

It is hard to determine when the merrymaker (*leyts*) first made his appearance at Jewish festivities. The first notice about Jewish jesters is found in the unpublished work of Rabbi Elijah of Carcassonne, *Asufot*,² which would indicate that Jewish merrymakers were known as far back as the 13th century. There is no doubt, however, that their history in the ghetto is much older. The meager notice in the *Asufot* gives no idea what the Jewish jester in the Middle Ages was like and with whom of the non-Jewish "vagantes" he should be compared.³ It is not until we reach the 16th and 17th centuries that we have fuller data on the character of the *leyts*.

¹ "Jüdisch-deutsche Poesie," in *Literaturblatt des Orients* (1845) 19.

² Berliner, A., *Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden*, vol. ii, p. 57.

³ Schipper, I., *Geshikhte fun yidisher teater-kunst un drame*, p. 29. Dr. Schipper points out that the Jewish jester of the Middle Ages, of whom Rabbi Elijah of Carcassonne spoke, may be compared to the French *puys*.

The term *leyts* (jester) signified a merry-maker, comedian, satirist and even a jongleur, whose function was to amuse the people at weddings (or other joyous occasions). Frequently the term also was used to denote a musician.⁴ Thus the Hamburg Esther poem (1590), referring to king Ahasuerus, says:

The king danced so merrily—with the beautiful maiden—that he became thirsty—he forgot all his cares—to the jesters he nodded—that they stop not too soon.⁵

A Yiddish story, *Maase bria vezimra*, written about the same time as the Esther poem (1580), refers to jesters in such a manner that it is difficult to tell whether musicians or merry-makers are meant: "They prepared a magnificent wedding. The Holy One, blessed be He, pronounced the blessing and the angels were the jesters."⁶ Rabbi Hayim Yair Bacherach in the 17th century referred to a musician as a *leyts*.⁷ The regulations of Hesse of 1690, which restricted extravagance at weddings and prohibited "the custom in vogue to date of riding to meet the bridegroom," as well as "crepe, gauze and livery-men," made an exception, however, for "waiters and jesters."⁸ The fact that this was a sumptuary regulations and nevertheless permitted jesters, indicates that the reference must be to musicians or to performers who were both musicians and merry-makers. We hear of such musicians and merry-makers in Prague, the classical city of Jewish merry-makers, when in 1651 "the poor Prague musicians and entertainers" petitioned the king for permission to "perform music" and to entertain on Sundays and on Christian holidays.⁹

In his *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, Schudt cites a regulation of Frankfurt of 1716 in which musicians are called *leytsanim* (jesters). The regulation reads:

No wedding shall have more than four jesters, and they should not play later than midnight. Those jesters playing beyond midnight shall not be employed any more within the year.

⁴ The Talmud already speaks of jesters as musicians. The passage reads: "... a fiddle, which the jesters play," *Sanhedrin* 101a. On jesters in the Talmud see Jacob Levi, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, and M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumin, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi* . . . , under "lez" and "lezon." See also the collection of rabbinic extracts by S. Ernst in *Arkiv far der geshikhte fun yidishn teatr un drame*, vol. i (Yivo 1930) p. 26-34.

⁵ Erik, Max, *Geshikhte fun der yidisher literature* (Warsaw 1928) p. 140.

⁶ Erik, Max, *Vegn altyidishn roman un novele* (Warsaw 1926) p. 171.

⁷ *Responsa Havot yair*, par. 205.

⁸ *Festschrift Hildesheimer*, Hebrew section, p. 93.

⁹ Nettl, Paul, *Alte jüdische Spielleute und Musiker* (Prague 1923).

According to an explanation given to Schudt by prominent Frankfurt Jews the name *leyts* was applied to musicians because their playing is mere mockery of the performance of the Levites in the ancient temple.¹⁰ That the term *leyts* also meant at one time merely a merry-maker and not a musician becomes clear from the case of Leybele Fürth. Leybele, who was a merry-maker only, called himself *Leyb possenmacher* (buffoon).¹¹ Nevertheless we may assume that most *leytsim* were merry-makers and musicians, although the term, just as the terms for other Jewish merry-makers, did not have definite limits. The *leyts* in one form or another, as merry-maker, musician or mostly both, was always synonymous with joy-maker. The *marshalik*, however, although identified with the merry-maker after the 17th century, was far from being that in earlier days.

There are several conjectures regarding the etymology of the word *marshalik*. Berliner was of the opinion that the word was a compound of "*schalk*" and "*mashal*" and was originally "*mashlik*," but later became corrupted to "*marshalik*."¹² Perles also accepted this theory.¹³ According to Berliner and Perles, it follows that the *marshalik* was associated with merry-making from the very beginning. Gudemann traces the term *marshalik* to its German root,¹⁴ which is philologically correct. However, if the fundamental difference between "*schalk*" and "*marshalk*" and their specific characteristics are not indicated, the meaning of *marshalik* is almost the same as given by Berliner.¹⁵ Several other writers offer explanations that are substantially the same. A clear indication of the evolution of the word *marshalik* was given by Israel Abrahams.¹⁶ It is worthwhile to dwell briefly on the origin of the word and to trace its evolution in Jewish life.

The word "*marschal*" (in Yiddish *marshalik*) had been used in Middle High German in the same sense as the less current word *marschall*, which gained the upper hand over *marschal* beginning with the 18th century. *Marschal* did not mean in Middle High Ger-

¹⁰ Schudt, J. J., *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv, 2, p. 100.

¹¹ See Source Materials, no. 2.

¹² Berliner, *op. cit.*, p. 34. In the second edition this supposition is omitted.

¹³ Perles, F., *Beiträge* . . . , p. 143.

¹⁴ Gudemann, M., *Kultur geshikhte* (Yiddish translation by N. Shtif) p. 222.

¹⁵ Hirsch, S. A., *Some Literary Trifles, A Book of Essays* (London 1905) p. 269.

¹⁶ Abrahams, I., *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 198. Dr. Schipper cites a designation for the *marshalik* as *Hochzeits Marschall* (*Geshikhte fun yidisher teater kunst un drame*, vol. i, p. 10). But his source, *Rechtseigentümer* is not correct. The correct source, cited below, does not contain this designation.

man the same as its root *schalc*. The latter meant a servant, serf or merry-maker, whereas *marschalc* was a title of a courtier, of an administrator of an estate, of a supervisor over amusements, mourning processions and the like.¹⁷ In this sense the word was used in the Middle Ages also among the Jews. In the *Gzeyre oyz oystrikh*, a *marschalc* is mentioned, whom the duke sent to announce the expulsion. In the *Bovo-bukh* the *marshalc* is mentioned in the same sense: king Armenian hands over the lad he ransomed from the sailors to the *marshalc* as a stable boy.¹⁸ This use of the term *marshalc* to mean administrator and master of ceremonies or processions points to the significance and functions of the *marshalik* at Jewish weddings.

It is also difficult to determine the date of origin of the *marshalik*. If we assume that his functions were more or less related to his original German name and look for parallels of such *marshalc*-administrators at German weddings, from which the Jewish wedding copied the function of the *marshalc*, we may make the conjecture that the flowering of the Jewish *marshalc* coincided with the flowering of the German *Spruchsprecher*, or master of ceremonies.¹⁹ This would mean that the Jewish *marshalc* in his original role of master of ceremonies and wedding administrator goes back to the end of the Middle Ages.

We do not know exactly what the original functions of the *marshalik* were. An idea may be gained from later reminiscences from places in which the *badkhn* (merry-maker) retained some of the functions of the *marshalik*. The functions of such a *marshalik*—merry-maker in the 1840's in Minsk are described by L. Levanda as follows:

The customs and ceremonies of Jewish weddings are so numerous that it is almost impossible to execute them in an orderly fashion and in consonance with tradition without a special leader and supervisor. The role of such a supervisor is usually assumed by the so-called *marshalik*. He is entrusted with the administration of the wedding, for he knows in detail what is demanded in each instance by tradition, from which one dare not deviate.²⁰

That the *marshalik* was originally a master of ceremonies is also clear from a report by von Klöden's that he saw in 1800 a Jewish merry-maker with a *pritsche*. The *pritsche* was a kind of scepter for the German master of ceremonies, which was in all probability taken

¹⁷ Grimm, Jacob, *Das deutsche Wörterbuch*, vol. iv, p. 1674.

¹⁸ Erik, *Vegn altydisbn roman un novele*, p. 75.

¹⁹ Hampe, T., *Fabrende Leute*, p. 60.

²⁰ See Source Materials, no. 18.

over by the Jewish master of ceremonies (*marshalik*). With the later merry-makers, however, it remained merely as a token. Similarly, Kalisch in his memoirs speaks of the *marshalik* as *Pritschmeister* and *Spruchsprecher*, i.e., a master of ceremonies.²¹

We have information from the 17th century about the *marshalik* as merry-maker. The first source is probably the Hebrew-Yiddish-Latin-Italian dictionary of Nathan Nata Hannover, *Safa berura*, which was published in Prague in 1660. (In 1701 the dictionary was issued in Amsterdam in five languages—French was added.) In *Safa berura*, the word *marshalkis* is rendered *buffon*, *buffone*, and in Latin *scurra*, that is merry-maker.²² In one of the sumptuary laws passed by the Lithuanian Council of Communities in 1673 mention is made of the *marshalik* in connection with limiting expenditures for weddings. It is difficult, however, to determine whether the *marshalik* referred to still retained his original functions or was merely a merry-maker.²³ Another regulation of the same Council, issued in 1761, indicates clearly that the *badkhn*, who was the successor of the *marshalik*, also assumed some of his functions.²⁴

The *marshalik* apparently lost his peculiar character as a result of the frequent regulations limiting expenditures at weddings. The wedding was reduced from a community festivity to a small family affair. What need was there for a master of ceremonies at the wedding when ceremonies were prohibited by provincial or local decrees? The *marshalik* as mere merry-maker encountered the competition of the *badkhn*, which was called forth by the circumstances of the 17th century.

The 17th century saw the flowering of a moralistic literature in Yiddish. Pious asceticism spread and sought to influence all aspects of life. After the Khmielnicki massacres the Jews of Poland became eager consumers of moralistic literature. The masses sought consolation for their great misfortunes and were led to believe that they had not been sufficiently pious and they had sinned excessively. In a

²¹ See Source Materials, nos. 10 and 15.

²² Perles, *op. cit.*, p. 143. E. Schulman, *Sefat yehudit ashkenazit vesafruta*, p. viii, cites from the *Lev tov* (ed. pr. 1620) a passage about the *marshalik*, which reads: "How many *marshaliks* there are that amuse the people. Some engage in arrogant and lascivious talk." I have examined five editions of the *Lev tov* in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which date from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, and have not found the quotation.

²³ *Pinkas medinat lita*, p. 168.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

period of national depression and search for sin the mere merry-maker was of course out of place.²⁵ What was needed was a merry-maker, who would not merely relate piquant jests or sing piquant songs but one who would know how to comfort the depressed and afflicted audience and assuage their troubles.

Such was the *badkhn*. He was more of a declaimer than a singer, and frequently only a declaimer. A morality preacher had to be a scholar after a sort and be familiar with the rabbinic literature, whence the *badkhn* drew his material. Hence only people with some learning took to the calling of *badkhn*.

To be sure the *badkhn* was not always a mere morality preacher, playing the pious role of a chaste humorist reciting rhymes or Talmudic parables. Frequently the *badkhn* was an entertainer according to all the rules of the art of the jester. This, however, cannot be said about all the merry-makers. Many of them regarded themselves as mere morality preachers and did not trespass their boundaries of their talent.

J. Zizmor tells the following in his memoirs about the *badkhn* Rabbi Eliezer Sislevitch, who flourished in the middle of the 19th century:

He was an eminent scholar, an ordained rabbi whose discourse was interspersed with sayings of the sages, quotations from the midrash, and homiletic interpretations based on numerical values of the letters of given words and mnemonic devices. He deftly interpolated the names of the parents of the bride and groom in a Biblical passage. Moreover, he was a God-fearing man, who always carried with him a volume of the Talmud.²⁶ He refused to participate in the ceremony known as *bazetsms* of the bride, for that would require his presence in the midst of women. He also never announced donations of wedding gifts because he said:

How would it look if I just got through a Torah discourse—and if it is in rhyme is it not Torah?—and then followed this with shouting out the wedding gifts like an auctioneer on the mart? It would be a desecration of the honor of the Torah.

This type of *badkhn*, however, was limited almost exclusively to

²⁵ The Council of 1650, which met in Selts, ordered "that no music should be heard in a Jewish home, except on the night of the wedding." The Council of 1655, which also met in Selts, renewed the prohibition, stating that "it is the duty to mourn over the great catastrophe in our land. No music should be heard in a Jewish home, not even at a wedding entertainment, for a period of one year from this day." *Haasif*, vol. vi, p. 172, cited after Idelsohn, p. 404.

²⁶ Zizmor, Jacob, "Fun mayne zikhroynes vegn badkhnim," in *Finkes*, ed. by Z. Reyzen (Vilna 1923) p. 875.

Poland.²⁷ He was not found in the ghettos of Germany. There the lusty and piquant merry-maker, the merry-maker-cantor or singer dominated the scene. There the merry-maker remained the "clown" (in German *Narr*).

Although the *Narr* had no specific roots in Jewish life and the term did not denote a special kind of merry-maker, the word nevertheless was very popular, especially among German Jews, as a synonym for merry-maker. This may have derived from the fact that the Jewish merry-makers imitated, at least in external appearance if not in essence, the German *Narr*. They wore the same kind of clothes, the well-known "dunce's caps," with bells and the other accouterments of the German clown. We have pictures of Jewish merry-makers dressed like the *Narr* from as early as the 15th century. In a manuscript dealing with customs and ceremonies of the 15th century, there is a representation of a merry-maker in dunce's cap with bells and underneath the legend: "The clown [*Narr*] rejoices on Purim *katan*."²⁸ A more original representation of clowns in full attire is found on a tablecloth or a matza cover which dates from the middle of the 15th century.²⁹ In the German list of the Jews of Prague, compiled in 1546, one person is listed as Simon *Narr*.³⁰ Mention is made of clowns and wedding clowns in the accounts of the various parades. We have proof from the 18th century that merry-makers at weddings wore special clowns' attire. One such merry-maker, Shlomo, was furnished a special clown's outfit for a wedding to which he had been specially invited.³¹ In the wedding songs the merry-maker frequently refers to himself as a *Narr*. In a wedding song of the 18th century the merry-maker pleads: "Give also gifts today to the clowns [*Narr*] and to the musicians."³² In another wedding song of the beginning of the 19th century, the merry-maker expounds the famous liturgical song

²⁷ The word *badkhn* derives from the Aramaic *badah*, *beduba*—merry, merry-maker. See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁸ Erik, Max, *Geshikhte . . .*, p. 136.

²⁹ *Die Haggadah von Sarajevo*, vol. i, p. 181.

³⁰ *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte d. Juden in Deutschland* (1856) 177. In the complete Czech list the following are registered with their occupation: Blazen, Kaffman, Ralman (undoubtedly Zalman) and a woman Ruza, Sara Lazara Salomunova syna žena s Ruži dcerou blaznovou a s Solomunem sirotkem. See Boudy-Dworsky, *Zur Geschichte den Juden in Mähren und Schlesien*, no. 526.

³¹ See Materials, no. 3.

³² Löwenstein, "Jüdische Volkslieder," in *Mitteilungen zur jüd. Volkskunde* (1899) no. i, p. 50.

abat veshalosh (one and three) thus: "The three are the *Narr*, the waiter and the cook."³³

The names mentioned above by no means exhaust the various appellations used by the Jewish merryman. In the *Seyfer midos* (published in 1542) we encounter the term *katov* (כַּטּוּב), from which we get the Yiddish word *katovesnik*, or jester.³⁴ Rabbi Moses Mentz in his *Responsa* (Cracow 1617) refers to "the *katosim* and preachers."³⁵ The aforementioned Leybele Fürth referred to himself as *Leyb basinmakher*. Glückel of Hammeln calls the merryman at her daughter's wedding in Cleve "masked people."³⁶ This term (*farshielte*) came to be applied later to all Purim players. . . .

Many merryman called themselves "merry Jews" (*freylekhe-yidn*). In a song in the Wallich collection Shlomo Singer refers to himself as "the merry Jew . . . Rabbi Shlomo of Prague."³⁷

The Jewish merryman did not occupy a prominent social position. He was feared on account of the rhymes which he freely utilized to his own purposes and frequently caused embarrassment. People exploited his friendship for their personal advantage, they were amused by his apt parables, paraphrases and merry songs and then proceeded to censure him as a sinner. As a rule he was considered a man who wasted his time on foolishness and they applied to him the Talmudic admonition: "Be not a fool in rhyme" (*Hulin* 95b).³⁸

The merryman had an implacable enemy in the Talmudic scholar, who was offended by the former's free and sacrilegious interpretation of Biblical and Talmudic passages. Echoes of the hostile attitude on the part of the scholars are found in the attacks of Rabbi David Levy, known as the TaZ³⁹ and Rabbi Hayim Yair Bacherach,⁴⁰ in the 17th century.

The moralistic books, the most ardent advocates of a seriousness

³³ *Ibid.*, no. xvi (1905) p. 107.

³⁴ *Seyfer midos*, 10b. I have used the copy in the New York Public Library.

³⁵ Cited after Judah A. Joffe, "Katoves or katovus?" in *Pinkes* (New York) vol. i, p. 129.

³⁶ *Zikbroynes moras glikl baml* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1896) p. 147.

³⁷ Erik, *Geshikhte . . .*, p. 157. It is worth nothing that this Shlomo Singer composed a special melody for *Lekha dodi* which was sung in the great synagogue in Prague, the Meisel synagogue (erected in 1592).

³⁸ "Jüdisch-deutsche Poesie," in *Literaturblatt des Orients* (1845) no. 19.

³⁹ See *Orah hayim*, par. 560.

⁴⁰ *Responsa*, par. 295. "A man who jests and amuses the people, such as is employed at wedding festivals in Poland. This is the seat of the scornful, for it is no raising but madness and folly."

and piety that almost verged on asceticism, were strong opponents of all forms of mirth, which in their opinion was the first step toward sin. . . . It is not surprising, therefore, that the moralists had no love for the free, irreverent and lusty merryman. The *Seyfer midos* inveighed against lascivious talk at weddings. This attack undoubtedly was aimed at the merryman and would indicate their prevalence in the 15th century. The passage reads:

It is a *mitsve* to amuse the bride and the groom. But they should not be amused with lascivious talk, or with levity, for modesty becomes both sorrow and mirth.⁴¹

Later moralistic works discuss this subject with ire and asperity. It is worthwhile quoting here a somewhat lengthy excerpt from the *Ets hayim*, which indicates that the cantors too indulged in singing merry songs.⁴² The passage reads:

The cantors should be warned against singing *kadish* and other sacred songs at festive meals. These cantors will surely receive their punishment, for it is permissible to sing at festive meals only the prescribed songs. . . . Above all the transgressors [jesters] that compose songs and rhymes from Biblical sentences or holy words should be rebuked and not tolerated. Concerning these our sages said: "The Torah girds sackcloth and complains before God: Thy sons have made a harp of me and sing songs of harlots and indulge in lascivious talk."⁴³

The *Lev tov* also speaks of the wantonness of the *marshaliks*, namely: "There are many *marshaliks* that amuse the people. Some speak impudently and indulge in lascivious talk." In the second volume of *Simhat hanefesh* (Fürth 1707) the author complains that when a scholar discourses at a wedding the audience is asleep, but "no sooner is the sermon over than the wanton songs are heard again. There is cheering, shouting and singing, clapping of hands, stamping of feet and jumping on the tables. Women and girls help out with shrieking like harlots." Therefore, "in order to banish the impudent songs," the author "composed this song for weddings and circumcision

⁴¹ *Seyfer midos*, p. 38.

⁴² Rabbi Shlomo Ephraim, son of Rabbi Aaron Lentshits writes in his moralistic work, *Amude shesh*, that the cantors are not thinking about the content of the prayers but how to please the audience with their pleasant voice, so that they be praised and amply rewarded with money and gifts and be invited to taverns where they will sing the song of God. Cited after I. Sosis, "Dos yidische sotsyale lebn un der muser in 16-18 yorhundert," in *Tsaytschrift* (Minsk) vol. i, p. 14.

The MaHaRSHaL speaks in his *Responsa* of cantors as vagabonds, whose life "is full of sin." Cited after J. Shatzky, "Di ershte geshikhte fun yidishn teater," in *Yivo Filologishe shtetn*, vol. ii, p. 226.

⁴³ *Ex bavim* (Fürth 1753) *bilkbot bazanus*, p. 56b.

rites."⁴⁴ The author, Elhanan Kirchhahn, wanted to draw away the people from the "impudent songs" by means of his pious song.

The merry-makers thus met with considerable resistance. The stubborn fight against them, however, did not bear an official communal stamp, as was the case with the theatre, which was combatted not only by scholars but also by means of legal regulations, which imparted to the struggle an official character.⁴⁵ The community as a whole did not oppose the merry-makers. On the contrary, it protected and cared for them, as manifest in the many regulations dealing with the merry-makers. The community administration knew quite well how beloved and popular the merry-maker was among the people and that he was considered indispensable at festivals. This the scholars and moralists also knew. Therefore says the author of the *Ture zahav* that "happy is the man who refrains from participating" in such festivals at which the merry-maker is welcome. The *Ets hayim* counsels that "he who rebukes the impudent and they refuse to listen to him, it were best for him to leave such festivities." The authors of both the *Ets hayim* and the *Ture zahav* felt that their authority would carry little weight in this respect and they wanted to save at least those that might be inclined to listen to them.

The Jewish merry-maker had much in common with the ex-clerics, the "vagantes" (in Poland, *Jacques*). He used Biblical and Talmudic texts similar to their use of Latin, the cultural language of the Middle Ages, and like the vagantes indulged in fictive, half-disguised or open merry songs. He was not exposed, however, to the same persecution as his non-Jewish colleague.⁴⁶ The Jewish merry-maker was a member, albeit not a respectable one, of the Jewish community and frequently even a part of the official community apparatus, a functionary like the cemetery watchman, the sexton and even the community scribe,⁴⁷ whereas his non-Jewish colleague was an outcast, like a leper.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Kirchhahn, Elhanan, *Simkhat hanefesh*, with an introduction by J. Shatzky (New York 1926) p. 17b, 13b.

⁴⁵ *Mitt. zur jüdischen Volkskunde*, no. xi (1903) p. 12; Schipper, *Geshikhte fun yidisher teater-kunst un drame*, p. 144, 145, and 192; Shatzky, "Di ershte geshikhte fun yidishn teater," p. 234 and 235.

⁴⁶ The Norman Synod of 1231 decreed that all arrested vagabonds should have their heads shaved as a mark of disgrace. In 1336 the Carow Councilmen (Radcy) resolved to forbid singers and rhymsters to appear at weddings. This resolution had the approval of King Casimir the Great. Cf. Lepszy, Leonard, *Lud wesolków w Polsce*, pp. 37, 41.

⁴⁷ Cf. Materials, nos. 1, 21, 30, 32.

⁴⁸ There are many resolutions of church synods and state decrees that ostracized the "vagantes" in particular and "wandering folks" in general. One could kill them

A NOTE ON THE SOURCE MATERIALS

The source materials offered here are mostly excerpts from memoirs and regulations governing wedding entertainers. I have excluded materials on humorists or Purim players from this collection. Nor have I made use of belletristic descriptions of wedding entertainers, although such descriptions are almost frequently taken from life (in the case of *Israel Zangwill*, Carl Emil Franzos, Masoch and others). Wedding songs found in non-Jewish memoirs without description of the author, *i.e.* the merry-maker, are not included (for example, Ginzburg's *Aviezer* and Mordecai ben Hillel Hacoheh's *Olami*). There are many such scattered bridal songs in various languages, which are badly transcribed if not translated, and it would be desirable to collect and publish them.

SOURCE MATERIALS

1

The Parade of the Jews of Prague in 1716

(In Honor of the Birthday of the Later King Leopold II)

... Anon one came riding with a long pole drawn in his hand wide-wise to keep the people out of the way. Then rode Wolf Nestler,⁴⁹ the community clown, dressed in tinsel as well as a red veil, the kind the women of Prague wore, and a blue cloak, tied from the neck over the entire length of the horse. His entire garment was bedecked with cookies in the shape of crescents, which he picked off, blew through them as if through a horn and then ate them. Then a huge barrel of beer was drawn by eight people and on top of it was seated a man with a tap in his hand. These were followed by four geese, not smaller than calves, looking as though they were alive. Then came eight Moors, stark naked, save for trunks, with black wands in their hands and a garland of feathers on their heads. Then rode the king of the Moors, on the pavement, a crown on his head and dressed in a yellow silk gown, the train of which was carried by four pairs of Moors. Then came six wild men. Then came eight sacks of wool in which there were people. This was a very delightful scene as even the notables admitted.

J. J. Schudt, *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, iv, iii, continuation, p. 143.

with impunity. This attitude on the part of the state and the church had prevailed not only during the Middle Ages, but as late as the 18th century. Cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 19, 51 and 102.

⁴⁹ Wolf Nestler attended in 1696 and in 1699 the Leipzig fair as a musician along with other Prague musicians. Cf. Freudenthal, Max, "Leipziger Messe-gäste," in *Monatsschrift* (1901) 460.

A Second Source on the Prague Parade of 1716

Wolf Selig the scribe and Meyer the artist arranged and carried out the parade.

In the parade participated:

(1) Four runners in beautiful garments with a staff in one hand and a package of letters in the other, who proclaimed Leopold's birthday.

(2) After them came a Jewish clown on a horse, attired in a garment bedecked with Prague cookies in the shape of crescents, through one of which he blew like a postillion.

(3) Then came a Jew half clownishly dressed—one half of his body was attired like a harlequin and the other half like an ordinary man. On his head he wore a dunce's cap and in one hand he carried a long staff to make way for those following him.

(4) Two clowns, a man and a woman, in black velvet garments, with golden hems. These were apart from the half-clown, so as to be distinguished.

(5) Three satyrs or sylvan gods, with goat's feet and horns, sat on barrels, decorated on both sides with foliage. Bacchus himself sat on a cask, supported by a fourth satyr.

(6) A dwarf, dressed in black velvet with gold embroidery, with a three-cornered hat, played the fiddle.

(7) Four gluttons, each one eight ells in circumference, celebrated with Bacchus on the barrel.

(8) Two curiously shaped ostriches, looking as if alive, were led by two yellow-skinned individuals in turbans.

(9) A Hindu prince, riding on a large horse, preceded by six naked, gaily ornamented black pages with crowns and feathers on their heads, with necklaces, and arrows in their hands. Two pages carried the prince's train, which was 13 ells long. One carried a large fan to shade the prince.

(10) Two fauns or wild men, their bodies artificially covered with hair, with long whips in their hands.

(11) A band of musicians in yellow-black garments, in Spanish style, and *peyes* [Jewish earlocks]. One of them, playing an oboe, held a ten-year-old boy on his head, who played a fiddle.

(12) Two Jews on very high stilts, representing Moses and Aaron dressed in Biblical attire.

(13) A chamber organ, on which was an elegantly attired Persian princess. The lady in waiting played the fiddle. In addition there were two ladies with harps and others.

(14) Finally a peasant wedding and musicians disguised as women.

Wilhelm Schramm, *Oestreichische Bausteine zur Kultur und Sittengeschichte* (Brünn 1905) p. 110-13.

Leybele Fürth

His real name was Jeremiah Aryeh. He was the son of the judge and proofreader Samuel Papitsch. In 1694 he completed his apprenticeship as typesetter, as we are informed in a note to the book *Ale dyona al s. sanbedrin, makot ushvuot*. In 1722 he was still a typesetter, as we hear from the conclusion to an edition of *Birkat hamazon*.

Leybele became famous because of his antics. He referred to himself as "The Jerusalemite, rabbi, cantor and famous singer Jeremiah, known by all as Leyb the jester or Leyb the buffoon."

Würfel, who brings the information on Leybele Fürth, in his book, *Historische Nachrichten von der Judengemeinde Fürth*, tells that the Fürth community regulations of 1728 stated that at those weddings at which Leybele and his assistants would entertain only three musicians might be employed. If he were not there four musicians might be employed.

This Leyb, writes Würfel, was very popular among the Fürth Jews for his comic antics. He was a son of the judge Rabbi Zanvel (he was probably named Samuel Zanvel.—E. L.). He had a daughter Feygele, who appeared together with him. Feygele was displeased with her father's mode of life. She, therefore, changed her song and flew away. . . . Even on his deathbed, when he should have made haste to save his soul, Leybele was still jesting. In January 1754, before he took ill, Freydl, the cook at Jewish weddings had died. Shortly after that he became sick. When he saw that his end was near he said mockingly: "Apparently a large wedding is taking place in heaven. After the cook had been summoned it was the turn of the jester."

Dr. Römer-Büchner, who undoubtedly heard from old people personal reminiscences about Leybele and who had such a high opinion of the Jewish merrymakers that he compares them to the Saxon court poet, Professor Taubman, tells of a riddle, which sheds light on Leybele's acumen. This is the story:

The merrymaker Leybele of Fürth propounded a riddle at a wedding and stipulated that whoever did not solve the riddle was to pay a gulden. None of the assembled guests found the solution and all paid a gulden. When Leybele's turn came he admitted that he did not know the answer either, and like all the other guests he paid a gulden. Then he collected the money and gave it to a poor Jew, who only the day before had in vain complained before the rich guests of his poverty.⁵⁰

Many stories circulate in the name of Leybele. One story tells that the

⁵⁰ We find the same manner of propounding riddles among later merrymakers in various places. Cf. Tauber, "Mein Urgrossvater," in *Busch's Kalender* (1847) p. 146; also *Materials*, no. 17, 26.

burgomaster of Fürth issued an evil decree, which the president of the Jewish community did not succeed in rescinding. Since Leybele was also popular among the non-Jewish population of Fürth, the president went to him and asked him to go and plead with the burgomaster to rescind the evil decree. When the president arrived in Leybele's house he found him sitting on some eggs, attempting to hatch them. Leybele declared his readiness to oblige but on condition that the president take his place and sit on the eggs. The president, anxious for Leybele to go, consented to this. Leybele betook himself to the burgomaster and brought him back to his house, where he found the respectable president sitting on eggs. The burgomaster was pleased with Leybele's wit and he rescinded the evil decree.

Another story is told of a prominent rabbi who arrived in Fürth. The community invited him to remain over the Sabbath and to deliver a sermon. The rabbi, however, insisted that he must leave on Friday. The community, wishing to detain the rabbi at any cost, applied to Leybele. He agreed to detain the rabbi, for a stipulated consideration. When the rabbi left the city on Friday and journeyed an hour's distance he was stopped by a policeman who demanded his passport. "I need no passport," the rabbi replied, "I am the rabbi of N . . ." "I am sorry," countered the policeman, "but you must return with me to Fürth." In Fürth the rabbi was taken before the burgomaster, the chief of police and other officials. Since they knew that it was a prank by Leybele they detained the rabbi until it was too late to depart.

To this day Leybele is no less popular among South German Jews than Hershele Ostropoler among East European Jews.

Leybele had a brother, Jacob, who was a typesetter and musician.

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3

Jewish Ceremonial

Jews are wont to thank God for all food, drink, pleasant odors, and unusual sights. Thus Rabbi Enoch praised a "clownish" Jew, born in

Poland and named Shlomo, for he was created by God to amuse the people. A wealthy Jew, named Eising, paid him for a short visit by ordering a clown's outfit for him.

Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremonial* (Nürnberg 1726) vol. ii, p. 54; A. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

4

A Regulation of Amsterdam, 1735⁵¹

Whoever makes a wedding in our community must employ local jesters or musicians only (if available), who must not receive more than the current remuneration.

Regulation of the Ashkenazic Community in Amsterdam, par. 78.

5

A Ban on Foreign Jesters, 1783

The Breslau exchequer (*Domänenkammer*) issued a circular on July 19, 1783, in which attention was called to the fact that Jewish merry-makers from abroad, having entered Silesia, appeared at Jewish weddings and later took the money abroad. The respective offices are called upon to bar entry to foreign entertainers and to deport those who had already gained entry.

Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

In 1787 the rabbinate in Lissa prohibited the wandering singers to appear in the synagogue, for they disturbed the services. Exceptions were made in rare cases.

As late as the 19th century the *marshalik* was still active in Lissa.

Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa* (Pinna 1904) p. 124.

6

Clowns among the Silesian Jews

The Jews in Silesia still engage a few clowns for their weddings to amuse the guests, as one of my friends told me who had often attended

⁵¹ Interesting is the attitude of the community toward jesters employed in dancing halls, which comes to the fore in these regulations, par. 72:

"No one shall maintain in our community gambling houses, dancing halls and the like. Certainly no one shall frequent such houses or be employed there as jester or dancing master. For said houses lead many to sin and are a great stumbling block in our community, for our great sins.

"Offenders against the above regulation will lose their standing as members of the community. Needless to say that they could never be recipients of charity.

"If said offenders are transients in the community they will never obtain membership in the community and certainly no aid from the communal charity. Both residents and transient offenders shall be barred from participation in public religious ceremonies. In addition their delinquency will be made public."

such weddings in Glogau. The clowns dress in ridiculous attire, mock one another in rhyme, leap over the tables and benches and one rides astride the other.

Karl Friedrich Flögel, *Geschichte der Hofnarren* (Liegnitz 1789) p. 79.

7

The Complaint in Silesia, 1795

In 1795, Abraham Moses Lichtwitz and Moses, the son of Rabbi Jacob Bartenstein, of Gleiwitz, complained that the foreign Jew, Abraham Mendel, wandered throughout the country without permission and deprived honest folks of their livelihood as entertainers at Jewish weddings.

The office in Gleiwitz to which the complaint was referred found out that Abraham Mendel was from Sakuchtel in Moravia (district of Hradisch) and that he had functioned at several weddings in Kassel, Tropowitz and Zilz without permission. He was about to get married there. He introduced himself as a bachelor but he had left in Hungary a wife and children and had to flee from there because of his debts.

The two plaintiffs appealed to the bureau to deny to Abraham Mendel the right of residence and also petitioned that foreign merrymakers should not be allowed to officiate at weddings. Bartenstein added that he was poor and if his petition would not be taken into consideration he would be unable to continue to pay his taxes.

Albert Wolf, "Fahrende Leute bei den Juden," p. 38.

8

Moses of Bodenheim (Frankfurt-am Main)

Toward the end of the last [18th] century there was not a wedding, an initiation into the covenant, or family festival at which Moses of Bodenheim was missing. He died some forty years ago (about 1814) and all his grandchildren are acrobats well-known throughout Germany.

Moses of Bodenheim was the Jewish entertainer not merely for Frankfurt but for the entire district of Hesse and Nassau.

Römer-Büchner, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

9

Mordecai Geviner or Mordecai Unglick (Frankfurt-am Main)

The successor of Moses of Bodenheim was Mordecai Geviner or Mordecai Unglick. Mordecai Geviner was popular not only among the Jewish population of Frankfurt but also among the non-Jews, because he was more of a general jester than a merrymaker, like Shay'ke Fayfer, Hershele Ostropoler and others, and because of his shady occupations. Besides

clowning, Mordecai Unglick was also a horse thief. A poem by the Frankfurt poet, Friedrich Stoltze, titled "Mordje Unglick," attests to his reputation in both fields and to the many jests attributed to him.

We shall cite a few characteristic passages from the lengthy poem:

Mordje Unglick, unnerm Himmel
Der berihmt'ste Rindvieh-Täuscher,
Der sich äch zugleich als Keuscher
Rosskamm sehr hat aagestrengt.

Mordje Unglick hat des Fuhrwerk
Um en hoche Preis gehannelt,
Is dann schnell mit fortgewannelt
Weil err's Geld wollt hole geh.

Dhats nu an dem schlechte Uhrwerk
Von seim alte Hankäs liche:
Dag un Woche sin verstriche,
Mordje liess sich net mehr seh.*

Mordecai Unglick died in Hamburg in 1841.

A large number of jests and quips that made Mordecai Geviner famous are cited by L. Lehman in *Jüd. Volksblatt*, 1856, No. 8.

The stanzas in this poem are cited from Friedrich Stoltze, *Gedichte in Frankfurter Mundart* (Frankfurt 1902, vol. i, p. 217. Cf. also Wolf, p. 39, 49.

10

Märkisch Friedland, Swabia, 1800

Then the parade to the synagogue place was organized. First came the musicians. But before them a hired merrymaker was cutting capers, a young Jew in a costume of a harlequin, with a half black mask, all scribbled up, and a wooden sword (*pritsche*) in his hand, with which he gesticulated in lively manner. He turned somersaults, dashed over to the

• Mordje Unglick, most celebrated
Horse-thief on earth,
Though he pretended mightily
To be an honest dealer.

Mordje Unglick purchased
A carriage for a high price
He then quickly disappeared
Presumably to fetch the money.

The cause of the delay
Lies in the old corruption
Days and weeks have passed
Mordje was no more seen.

old women who were lining the road and began to kiss them. In short, he attempted to evoke laughter. This he also succeeded. Finally the meal began and then the dancing, which lasted till dawn. The harlequin had to tell jokes throughout that time. They soon became flat, for it is difficult to be witty for a long time.

K. F. von Klöden, *Jugenderinnerungen* (Leipzig 1874); Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 40; R. M. Nathan, *Aus den Jugenderinnerungen*; Karl Friedrich von Klöden, in *Jahrbuch für jüd. Geschichte und Lit.* (Berlin 1917) p. 148; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* (1875) p. 324.

11

From the Regulations of Minsk:

a. May 23, 1799

There should be no more than three musicians at a wedding, besides the *badkhn* and his boy [probably his assistant—E. L.].

Brafman, *Kniga Kagala*, II (Document No. 129).

b. November 29, 1801

Sabbath, *Vayishlah*, 16 days in Kislev, 5562

... simultaneously be it resolved that Rabbi Isaac dare no longer be a *badkhn* at any wedding. (Document 326)

c. *Permission Issued to the Badkhn Rabbi Moses son of Simon*

On the basis of a unanimous resolution of the leaders and representatives of our community, Rabbi Moses son of Simon is granted equal right of residence with all other inhabitants in our city, without restriction in important or insignificant affairs whatsoever. Moses has paid up all his dues for this right to the community treasury. From this day on the said Moses is granted the right of permanent residence in our city and the freedom of any occupation he may choose, like all other residents of the city, without the least discrimination. It is understood that Moses has the right to be a *badkhn* in our city, without interference, on condition that Mendel, the *badkhn*, be his partner, in accordance with the written agreement between them and which Moses must fulfill without the slightest deviation. Besides, the said Moses is forbidden to recommend to any resident of the city any of the musician's bands. Whoever wants to engage musicians can choose his band. The said Moses and his heirs must bear all civic obligations without exception, like all the other inhabitants of the city. . . .

Tuesday, the second day of Tamuz, 5563 (June 9, 1803).
(Document 440.) This permit is also cited briefly in document 339, which is not reproduced here.

d. *Permission Granted to a Musician to Act as Badkhn*
The twenty-fifth day of Sivan, 5565 (June 10, 1805).

A resolution of the community.

Whereas many people have by all means demanded that the musician, Isaac, who had previously been enjoined by communal decisions from acting as *badkhn* in our city [see document 326], be allowed to function as *badkhn* at weddings in their families, it is resolved that said Isaac be permitted from now on to act in this capacity without interference, even in a case where the hosts engage him as a *badkhn*, he should function also as musician. If the host invites another *badkhn*, said Isaac can by no means function as *badkhn*. To which we affix our signatures as sextons and city trustees: Yuda Leyb Levit, sexton of the city of Minsk; Eliezer, son of Simon, sexton of the city of Minsk; Borukh, son of Tsvi, sexton." (Document 727.)

e. *Penalty for Slandering the Community Leaders*

The ninth day of Tammuz, 5565 (June 24, 1805).

A Resolution of the Community.

Whereas the *parnas* [community administrator] for the month has notified the community that the musician, Isaac, concerning whom we spoke above [document 727] declared in his home that he had spent ten ducats to obtain permission to act as *badkhn*, in reality, however, he had only spent three ducats, therefore it is resolved that the money which he paid into the community be returned to him, and therewith he also loses the right in question. (Document 734.)

f. *Concerning a Brawl among Merry-makers*

Monday, *Tavo*, 5565 (August 28, 1805).

According to a resolution of the community, the musicians who took part in beating the musician, Isaac, are excluded from the musicians' guild, for failure to obey the community administration, which wanted to arbitrate their differences (instead said musicians applied to the non-Jewish court) and above all, for committing an unheard of wrong in Israel by seriously injuring their colleague Isaac. Simultaneously, the injured Isaac is also penalized for his failure to obey the community administration and applying to a non-Jewish court. He is excluded from the musicians' guild and forbidden to act as *badkhn*. Besides, all the above persons are barred forever from the calling of musicians and no Jew is permitted to engage them as such or in the capacity of *badkhn* under any circumstances.

All this applies to the musicians who beat Isaac and to him as well. (Document 768.)

g. *Isaac Again Permitted to Function as Badkhn*

Sabbath, *Nitsavim*, 5565 (September 8, 1805).

According to a resolution of the community, the musician, Isaac son of Shalom Kohen Zedek, is again permitted to practice as a musician and *badkhn*. (Document 770.)

h. *Isaac is Forbidden to Practice as Badkhn*

It is also resolved from that day on [the first day in Marheshvan, 5567—October 26, 1807] to forbid Isaac son of Shalom to act as a *badkhn* in our city if there is another *badkhn* there. Violation of this decision, which will be announced in all synagogues, will bar the offender from functioning as a musician. Simultaneously, it is resolved that the *badkhn*, Moses of Samachwatowicz, share his income that he derives as *badkhn* in our city with Mendel son of Rabbi Shalom. (Document 958.)

12

Brody, Galicia

In Brody, Galicia, a peculiar and ridiculous custom prevails. Several hundred girls, dressed in their holiday attire, accompany the bride to the ritual bathhouse in broad daylight. The procession is led by a comedian, who sits on a horse, facing backwards, and amuses his dear public with all kinds of antics.

David Fränkel, "Über die jüdischen Heirathsstiftungen und Hochzeitsfeste," in *Sulamith* (Leipzig 1806) p. 231.

13

Leyb Lenzen

(Strassberg, Bohemia, in the beginning of the 19th century)

(107) As usual, this time, too, the merrymaker was in the place a day before the wedding. Today he especially amused the urchins on the street. He rode on a horse, led by another man, facing backwards. He held a sheet of paper and the horse's tail in one hand and in the other a pen, which he so manipulated that it seemed as if he were dipping the pen in the horse's rear and writing on the paper. Thus he rode through the streets surrounded by the noisy youngsters.

(109) In the pauses (at the wedding) the merrymakers recited something in rhyme, such as 'Be quiet for a while, look at my spectacle,' and so on, then 'The Locksmith's Apprentice' and finally 'The Peasants.' This was his entire repertory, never more nor less, which he recited at every wedding.

A. H. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin 1909) edited and published by Heinrich Loewe. The original was in yiddish (see Preface, p. v). Heymann

14

A. B. Golober

(Born in Staro-Konstantin, the Ukraine, 1811)

... The merrymaker, who at this point (before *balckns**) also became a preacher, rises and calls out: Silence! The women begin to make even more noise. The merrymaker begins his moralizing sermon in the horribly forced Yiddish rhymes, lacking sense and meaning, pairing remote subjects in incoherent phrases. He tells the bride, in rhyme, that it is her day of atonement, and that she must pray that she be spared suffering; that it is her night of vigilance and that her groom is the handsomest of men, therefore she should lift up her voice like a trumpet in weeping and mourning to pray that both be forever bound together, and therefore all maidens should rejoice in dance and all young men in song, and similar nonsense. Suddenly he forgets that he had begun on a sorrowful note and changes over to a gay tune. He always concludes with a stock saying or expression, such as: He [the groom] will follow you into fire, and you will follow him into water.

When the *badkhn* finishes, the musicians strike up a gay tune. The women suddenly become very gay, dancing and skipping, although the tears are still running down their cheeks and their noses are running from excessive crying.

At the same time the men gather around the groom. There the *badkhn* displays his acumen in homiletical interpretations of words based upon the numerical value of the letters, initial and final letters of words, and the like. There is no limit to his foolishness, until the rabbi or one of the scholars, jealous of his sagacity, rebukes him and puts a stop to him. Then the groom is led to the *badekns*... Having entered the room, the musicians strike up a gay tune and the *badkhn* calls out: *Vivat!*...

Between meals the groom begins his discourse. At this point the *badkhn* interrupts and begins a mock discourse. Then he calls out: Wedding gifts! ... The *badkhn* announces the names of the donors and the kind of gift, until the ceremony is over.

After the wedding supper the bride and groom are seated on chairs (in some places both are seated on one chair) in the middle of the room and the *badkhn* begins to recite his rhymes. He calls upon the relatives to dance with the bride and proves from the initials of the names of those called that they are just suited to dance with the bride. At the conclusion of his recitation the musicians play a *vivat* and the *badkhn* calls out *Shabes!*** which are the initials of *shames* [beadle], *badkhn*, *sarver* [waiter].

* The ceremony of covering the face of the bride by the groom.—Ed.

** In *Hakarmel*, vol. ii, no. 21, I read that in Persia too it is customary to call out, "shabash!"—meaning: "Make way!" Perhaps we have adopted it from the Persian Jews—A. B. G.

These divide among themselves the money they had received from the guests during the dancing. Then the musicians play a polonaise and thereafter a gay tune and all except the bride leap and skip, drinking more and more and becoming hilarious. At this point the *badkhn* abandons his recitation and becomes a comedian. He stands on his head, puts on his fur coat inside out, walks on his hands and feet, growls like a bear and performs tricks. He carries on in this way until dawn.

A. Fridkin, *Avrom Ber Gotlober un zayn epokhe* (Wilna 1925) p. 44-47.

15

Polish Lissa, Prussia, in the First Quarter of the 19th Century

A very interesting figure was the *marshalik*. This name, corrupted from the word *narrenschalk*, was given to the merryman who functioned at festivities. He took the place of master of ceremonies or *Spruchspracher* and had free rein to tell the most unpleasant truths to the outstanding people in the community, even the rabbi. Of course, such truths had to be masked in humorous garb. Naked truth is never and nowhere acceptable, particularly at festivities. His task was not easy. He had to improvise, parry every attack wittily, and be conversant with the Bible and the Talmud. The *marshaliks* were, as a rule, dissipated geniuses, who despite their gifts did not attain respectability in their community. They were welcome at festivities and people were amused by their witticisms, but nevertheless they were looked down upon as mere comedians. . . . Once a *marshalik* delivered a mock discourse at a wedding and interspersed the discourse with quotations and sayings from the Talmud and the Midrash. The rabbi, astonished by his erudition and at the same time grieved over his free use of Talmudic passages, turned to the *marshalik* and said: 'A pity that such excellent wine is contained in such a poor vessel.' To which the clown replied defiantly: 'Better good wine in a poor vessel than bad wine in a good vessel.'⁵²

Ludwig Kalisch, *Bilder aus meiner Knabenzeit* (Leipzig 1872) p. 142; R. Jonas, "Personen des Spiels," in *Zeitschrift der Hist. Ges. für die Provinz Posen* (1885) p. 73.

16

Motke KhaBaD, Vilna

Old folks in Vilna still remember the popular wit, Motke KhaBaD. The old Vilna band leader, Marcus Stupel, now in the Polish army, tells

⁵² The German *Pritschmeister* frequently functioned also as poet and wit in addition to being master of ceremonies and in charge of maintaining order. He whipped the guests with a specially fashioned whip, which made a loud noise but did not hurt.

me that Motke KhaBaD was probably born in the beginning of the 19th century. He lived in Meyerke's courtyard (Gitke Toybe's Alley, No. 3). He made his living as a waiter at prominent weddings, and by telling jests and cutting capers, such as impersonating an army officer. He was shaved, spoke Polish and Russian well, but, apparently, knew little of things Jewish.

The old Hebrew and Yiddish writer, Zvi Nisan Golomb, also remembers Motke KhaBaD. According to him, Motke made his living by acting as wardrobe attendant at weddings and festivities. Occasionally, he received a small gratuity for a jest. He died childless in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Z. R. in *Yidishe filologye*, vol. i, p. 239.

. . . In the same courtyard (where I. M. Dick lived, *kleynstefangas*; the house belonged to a certain Nathanson) I saw the famous wit, Motke KhaBaD. He was a middle aged man, erect and slightly taller than medium size. He always wore a long brown coat with two buttons in the back and carried a heavy cane. In Isaiah Balterman's *kheyder* I heard the following story about him: He had permitted himself an innocent joke at the expense of his teacher. The teacher uttered the curse that he should draw his livelihood from KhaBaD [a Hassidic movement whose Hebrew initials stand for the words wisdom, understanding and knowledge] that is, as a wit.

Once, when I went home from *kheyder*, across Kleynstefan Street, I chanced to walk behind him. I passed him and called out: Motke KhaBaD!

He ran after me for a little distance with his cane—possibly only in jest. But I ran faster than he did.

Ab. Cahan, *Blater fun mayn lebn* (New York 1926) vol. i, p. 121-22.

17

Khaykel

Every *badkhn* or orchestra wit must also be an improviser. At *badekns* he declaims his improvisations extemporaneously with pathos and gesticulations, to the accompaniment of the orchestra. The rhymes are usually so clumsy that no sensible person can refrain from laughter. Nevertheless, the women and the bride sob. I shall translate, as an example, several of Khaykel's rhymes, which were the rage then. After a melancholy prelude by Leyb, Khaykl goes through the gestures of a speaker, coughs several times, wipes the perspiration off his forehead and begins in a heart-rending voice:

[Here come several stanzas in Russian of a *badkhn's* song, which do not merit translation, for besides the well-known pattern there is nothing original in it.]

The people sobbed and wept. Then Khaykl began to improvise about me. The improvisation appeared to me so ridiculous that it was only with great effort that I retained a serious mien (p. 242-43).

The unbearable din was augmented by the intoxicated Khaykl and his drum, which he twisted around his head, pounded with his fists and scratched with the nail of his thumb so that it produced a screech that sent chills down the spine (p. 244).

"Let the *badkhn* recite something, otherwise we shall not dance," several of the guests turned to the band leader. Khaykl danced a *kazatske* like a clown and turned to the guests:

"Gentlemen, I shall deliver a discourse the like of which you have never heard. I shall place my drum on the table and whosoever is pleased with my discourse will put a few pennies in it. This money, incidentally, is for Leyb's daughter. She wanted to get married a long time ago, but had no dowry. . . ."

Then Khaykl dished out such a Talmudic potpourri—mixing up, distorting and expounding comically Talmudic passages—that the guests, both those who understood him and those who did not, became joyful and lively and donated liberally. . . .

"Khaykl, dear friend, recite some more," the guests pleaded on all sides.

"Well, friends, I shall propound riddles and you will have to answer them. Whoever does not give a sensible answer, will have to pay a penalty of ten *grosbn*. Ten *grosbn*, that is not much."

"Alright, ask, we agree" (p. 246-49).

[After he had asked several well-known witty riddles] "Gentlemen, one more question, the cleverest, the most philosophical, the . . ."

"Ask, ask!"

"No, gentlemen, this is not a riddle of the ordinary kind. I cannot make it for ten *grosbn*. I myself have to pay more for it. Whoever cannot answer this question will pay twenty *grosbn*."

"That is too much."

"As you like. We shall offer our wares to other buyers."

"Alright, let it be. Ask."

"Agreed then to twenty *grosbn*?"

"Twenty, twenty!"

"What question is more questionable than all other questions?" asked Khaykl, placing his finger on his nose.

The Jews began to think in all earnest.

"Yes," many of them said, "this is a difficult question."

"You don't know the answer? If you are honest people pay up, as agreed."

All paid promptly.

"Now, you tell us, Khaykl!"

"Gentlemen, you don't know?"

"Of course we don't know."

"Well, I don't know either, and I will pay the penalty. Here are twenty *grosbn*, according to our agreement" (p. 248).

G. Bogrov, *Zapiski evreya* (St. Petersburg 1874). The author was born in Poltava and recalls the said Khaykl from his earliest years, devoting to him considerable space in the first volume of his memoirs.

Old Jewish Wedding Customs in Minsk⁵³

. . . The customs and ceremonies at Jewish weddings are so numerous that it is almost impossible to adhere to them in accordance with the demands of tradition without a special leader and supervisor. The role of such supervisor or master of ceremonies is generally assumed by the so-called *marshalik*. He is entrusted with the conduct of the wedding, for he knows to the last detail what the traditional custom, from which one must not deviate, demands in each instance.

The *marshalik*, in the limited sense of the word, is merely a partner and leader of the musicians, who are engaged "to play a wedding." But because of his special knowledge and multiform skills he becomes at once the soul, the chief director of the entire wedding, which becomes in his quick and experienced hands a harmonious and well-planned entity. He needs this array of skills because in the course of the wedding he has to assume the various roles of master of ceremonies, speaker, improvisator, singer, comedian, juggler and performer of similar arts. And just as in every profession and in every art there are true artists and ordinary practitioners so in the *marshalik* art there are true masters and ungifted dabblers, who frighten the wedding guests. Therefore people are far from indifferent to the question: Who will be the *marshalik* at the wedding? a gifted person or a dolt? No expenses are spared in order to obtain the services of the former "so that God and men should rejoice" (p. 121-22).

During the wedding feast the musicians delight the ears of the guests with selections from operas or the tunes of famous cantors who excelled in composition. The *marshalik*, on the other hand, recites satirical or humorous rhymes, or performs tricks, or, garbed in a fantastic attire and disguised, he climbs on a table and enacts a monodrama composed by himself, with a sudden beginning, an unexpected end and incredible action in the middle. Frequently the *marshalik* dresses as an Italian bandit or a cruel Zaporozhe Cossack, and sings Schiller's *Sehnsucht* or Schubert's *Ständchen*, with the intonation and sentimentality of a Gretchen or a Lischen with

⁵³ This description undoubtedly refers to the childhood years of the author, L. Levanda, who was born in 1835.

blue eyes and blonde hair. The strange combination of a Rinaldo Rinaldini or a Stenka Razin with *Sehnsucht* and *Nocturne* shocks no one. The guests find it very natural, are delighted, applaud, call out, "Bravo!" and "Bis!" and pour copper and silver coins into the plate of the performer (p. 133).

L. Levanda, "Starinnye evreiskie svadebnye obychai," in *Perezhitoe*, vol. iii.

19

Prerau, Czechoslovakia

... To wealthy weddings there came, upon invitation or on their own initiative, the so called *Schalksnarren* [performers], who throughout the wedding supper caused embarrassment to the bride and groom and to many of the guests by their captivating homespun rhymes and imitations. Their most important task was to call out the wedding gifts, which were arranged in the dining hall, show them to the guests with proper comments, and announce the names of the donors.

They were rewarded according to their achieved results. In the mood of intoxication many a caustic expression passed unnoticed.

Ignatz Briess, *Schilderungen aus dem Prerauer Ghetto-leben vom Jahre 1838-1848* (Brünn 1902) vol. ii.

20

Berl Bass

(Hunsdorf, Czechoslovakia, in the 1840's)

... Berl Bass was a universal genius, "a man of all accomplishments." He was employed by the community as a "liberer," a functionary who attended to the religious aspect of a funeral. As such he was also the watchman of the cemetery. ... He was also the owner of the *bekdesh*, the shelter for homeless Jewish transients. ... Berl Bass often entered into transactions with the guests that had to be concluded in the dark. But the poor wretch had seven small children.

In addition he fixed umbrellas and parasols, washed floors, cut hair and sold a gold-salve, mixed with whitewash, used for ritual shaving.

Above all, he was a waiter at weddings and his function consisted in donning a white (?) apron, placing a white towel over his shoulder and with an original saying invite the wedding guests, adding that each one bring his own knife and fork. He waited on the tables and announced the wedding gifts, which demanded a special procedure.

Like a second Midas, everything turned to gold under his hands. Here Rabbi Itsik Rosenwasser, a relative of the groom, gives two golden candlesticks as a wedding gift. Relatives of the groom! Relatives of the groom! Then came the turn of the relatives and friends of the bride. Relatives of

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the bride! Relatives of the bride! The announcements were accompanied by witty remarks. Finally came the waiter's wedding gift—amulets to guard a lying-in woman against evil. The last brought forth peals of laughter from the guests and compelled the bride to lower her eyes.

Berl Bass was also the wedding clown, just as he was generally the merry-maker of the community, the *marshalik*, who improvised rhymes about the bride and every one of the guests, and accompanied their recitation by playing on his fiddle. He was aided therein by his face, which was as if made of rubber, and which he could stretch into all kinds of grimaces. Especially on Purim he attracted attention. He had original ideas in disguising himself. I recall a prank that he played one Purim. Several days before Purim he announced that impersonating Moses he would split the sea at two o'clock in the afternoon of Purim. Young and old gathered at the given hour in the assigned place, awaiting the great event. Berl Bass came disguised as Moses, the way he is portrayed in the old prayer books, with serious mien, carrying a long staff, in imitation of Moses' staff, and approached the large pool that extended throughout the main square like a sea, drying out only during the summer. Then, however, it was fairly broad and deep because of the melting snow. He recited a long passage from the Bible and then struck the mud with the staff, bespattering everyone from head to foot. It was fortunate that in Hunsdorf the people believed in the saying, "Purim is no holiday." Thus they saved their holiday garments from ruin.

Arnim Schnitzer, "Jüdische Kulturbilder," in *Bloch's Österreichische Wochenschrift* (1904) p. 124; also, in part, A. Wolf, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

21

Pinke of Kapule

(Minsk province in the 1840's)

... Speaking of the bathhouse it would be a crime indeed not to say a few words about Pinke the bathhouse keeper, particularly since he was a peculiar and versatile person. In addition to his two positions as bathhouse keeper and manager of a candle factory, he combined in his person two more offices, which were diametrically opposite in character: undertaker and *badkhn*. I don't know what kind of an undertaker he was. I suppose, however, a pretty good one, for it was not known that any of the people he had buried ever came back. A *badkhn*, however, he was of the first order. Before he had led the bride and the groom under the wedding canopy he preached to them, pointing out the great significance of this step in their life and admonishing them not to rejoice excessively, for everything in life passes like a dream. If the bride and groom were orphans he would remind them of death to prove to them that man is like

a flower of the field: today it flourishes and grows up and tomorrow there is no trace of it. All this he would recite with great pathos in sonorous phrases, so that not only the bride and the groom, but all the assembled would shed bitter tears.

After the wedding ceremony, when the bride and groom and the prominent guests were seated around tables covered with all kinds of food and drink, Pinke the *badkhn* and preacher would suddenly be metamorphosed into a juggler, a wit, who so amused the guests that they would literally split their sides laughing. Emptying glass after glass (to this he had a threefold right as bathhouse keeper, undertaker and *badkhn*) and waxing more ecstatic all the time, he would sing folk songs to the accompaniment of the musicians, relate merry tales and anecdotes, tell jests, indite epigrams and puns, occasionally very felicitous ones, which were aimed originally to hurt the "silken guests," the rich and the saintly—and everything extemporaneously and in rhyme only. He would also perform all kinds of tricks, swallow ribbons, and the like. He could also impersonate the two-faced Janus, dividing, as it were, his face in two, with one half of which he laughed and with the other he cried, thus symbolizing his two offices, that of an undertaker and a *badkhn*.⁵⁴

A. J. Papierna, *Zikbroynes* (Warsaw 1923) p. 29-31; previously published in Russian in *Perezhivoe*, vol. ii, 22-23.

22

Brest Litovsk, 1848

Now begins the ceremony of the so called *bazetsns* and *badekns*. . . . The wedding guests, who only a little while ago danced, remain silent. Everyone lapses into a sad mood. The *badkhn* or *marshalik*—as the speakers on these occasions were then called—reminds the bride that this is a significant day in her life, that she is entering a new period, that this day should be as sacred to her as the Day of Atonement and that she should pray to God to forgive her sins. . . .

And now the wedding gifts from the parents, relatives and friends are brought in. The *badkhn* becomes active again. Now he appears in a more

⁵⁴ In his "Zikhronot ushmuot" (*Reshumot*, vol. i, p. 152-153) Papierna tells in the name of Rabbi Ch. A. Danzig, a son of the author of *Haye adam*, a parable of a *badkhn* who was famous for his rhymes and was invited to the wealthiest weddings.

Once he was invited to a "modern" wedding. A wealthy man of Berlin married off his daughter in Vilna. Our *badkhn* was invited but met his Waterloo. His rhymes did not please anyone. When he was later asked why he had not succeeded with his rhymes, he replied that he had been accustomed to rhyme Jewish names: Berl, Shmerl, Trayna, Brayna, and similar names. Here he was called upon to rhyme German names that were unfamiliar to him, such as: Friedrich, Rudolf, Christian, Maria, Elizabeth, and similar names. "But if God will call me to other German weddings, I will learn to speak in German and also to rhyme Friedrich, Rudolf, Maria, Elizabeth, and deliver discourses that will please the audience."

agreeable mood. He amuses the guests with various comic antics and improvises anecdotes and rhymes, coins a *bon mot* about each of the guests, appropriate also to his gift, and entertains the bride and groom with jests and bitter truths, garbed in a humorous form. . . .

[Among the *badkhnim* there were frequently people of extraordinary ability. One of them, Alexander Fidelman, left an extensive collection of his merry songs.⁵⁵ Fidelman was "active" in Minsk, whereas in Vilna Motke KhaBaD and Eliakum Zunser were popular.]

The *badkhn* got up on a chair and announced loudly the wedding gifts, raising each object, and the names of the donors, and praised the value and the unique qualities of each gift. His witticisms he intoned in a kind of singing recitation, which called forth the hearty laughter of the guests. These antics went on till late in the night. . . .

Then began the "kosher-dance." . . . The *badkhn* called on one of the men to dance with the bride. The bridesmaid slipped into the hand of the bride one corner of a handkerchief and the other corner she handed to the dancer. Thus they danced around twice and the *badkhn* announced: "They danced already!"

Pauline Wengeroff, *Memoiren einer Grossmutter* (Berlin 1913) vol. i, p. 178-81.

23

Kempen (Posen), Middle of the 19th Century

The *marshalik* took care of the entertainment, by telling all kinds of anecdotes, which he presumably heard from the preachers of Dubrow and Karnitz, two itinerant preachers then known for their witticisms. If the *marshalik* repeated known jests too frequently, the guests would not refrain from sarcastic remarks. This added point to the table talk and maintained the gay atmosphere. As soon as the *marshalik* opened his mouth to announce the wedding gifts, a penetrating "sha!" was heard, which was aimed at silencing the chatter at the tables. In announcing the wedding gifts, making thorough use of the art of recitation, the *marshalik* celebrated his greatest triumph. By means of various remarks, he characterized each donor and his gift, which called forth outbursts of laughter, sometimes to a dangerous degree.

J. Kastan, "Al Kempen," in *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* (1923-24).

24

The District of Vilna

(In the Beginning of the 1850's)

I also recall a Jewish wedding celebrated in a place several miles from

⁵⁵ On Fidelman see *Tseytsbrift* (Minsk) vol. i, p. 126-259.

us. A Jewish innkeeper married off his daughter, aged fourteen or fifteen, to a young man, aged fifteen or sixteen. Such weddings were no rare occurrence among Jews in those days. But what confusion! In one room, to be sure, a large one, were some thirty or forty invited guests. There also the wedding ceremony took place, there people ate and drank, there the musicians played by clashing cymbals, the *badkhn* preached seriously on Talmudic and Biblical texts and indited humorous improvisations in rhyme, and there also a homespun play was performed in honor of the young couple. And what is there that was not presented on the improvised stage? One could see generals in shining epaulets, grandmother Yaga, bears, and all kinds of tricks. . . . All were very much interested and all said that the wedding was a success.

A. G., "Iz zapisok evreia," in *Istoricheski Vestnik* (1903) 989. The author is the Hebrew writer Uri Abraham Kovner.

25

Presburg

I recall that late in the 1850's I saw at a traditional Jewish wedding a middle-aged *Schalksmarr*, who announced and showed off the wedding gifts, accompanied his announcements with all kinds of witticisms.

Sigmund Meyer, *Ein jüdischer Kaufmann, Lebenserinnerungen* (Leipzig 1911) p. 58.

26

The Kobryn Band in the 1850's
Todres

. . . They (Shepsel, the musician, and his band) also had a *badkhn*, one named Todres. He was an exceptionally gifted person, and would indite at each wedding new couplets, indicating the names of the relatives of both the bride and groom. During the *badekns* ceremony he spoke so movingly that had the audience been made of steel they would have melted in tears. Add to this Shepsel's playing!

At each rich wedding the cries and weeping at *badekns* would rend the heavens, the women, as it were, melted in tears, until the guests began to plead with Todres and Shepsel to cease for the women were exhausted crying.

Ruvele

The band also had its wit, Ruvele, an elderly man, at whose jests at the wedding supper the people split their sides laughing. The women would laugh so much that they would remain breathless. Again the guests pleaded with Ruvele to cease for the women were exhausted laughing.

Once, at a wedding in our family—I was a little boy then—Ruvele said at the wedding supper:

"I will propound a riddle and whoever will fail to find the correct answer will pay ten kopecks."

A plate was put on the table and Ruvele said:

"Gentlemen, how could four people divide three apples and each one receive a whole apple?"

Of course, no one knew the answer and each one put ten kopeks in the plate. When there were eighteen rubles in the plate, Ruvele emptied it calmly into his pocket. Then he put back the empty plate on the table and said:

"Gentlemen, I don't know either. Here are my ten kopecks, as agreed."

Kotik, *Mayne zikhroynes* (Warsaw 1912) vol. i, p. 39.

Rabbi Dovidl Talner reminded me of the Karlin rabbi, Rabbi Asher, and of the royal wedding of Rabbi Asher's daughter with the son of the rabbi of Trisk. . . .

The wealthy men of Pinsk and Minsk used their influence with the governor to permit hasidim to dress up as Cossacks. The wedding called for Cossacks. It was necessary to have a squad of hasidim, dressed up as real Cossacks, with long spears and whips, riding near the bridegroom's chariot. . . .

Our enthusiastic Rabbi Israel (a hasid from Brest Litovsk) composed a Cossack march, and the son of the rabbi of Kamieniec, Simha, purposely traveled with the march to Karlin to teach it to the would-be Cossacks. . . .

Of course, I remember the march to this day, for every Simhat Torah when the hasidim went from the *shtibl* [conventicle] to my father's house, they sang it. . . .

[The music for the march is found on the indicated pages of Kotik's *Zikhroynes*.]

Kotik, *Mayne zikhroynes*, vol. ii (Warsaw 1914) p. 248.

27

Eliakum Zunser

(Born October 28, 1836, in Vilna, died September 22, 1913, in New York)

(The following excerpts about Eliakum Zunser refer merely to his activity as *badkhn*. We have therefore omitted many discussions, evaluations and even memoirs dealing with Eliakum Zunser as poet or man, which have no bearing on our problem.)

a.

In Kovno I spent a year, and so great was my success that I could exist without resort to smuggling. I returned to Vilna, where my songs had

earned a good reputation for me, and I began to go to weddings as *badkhn*. This was in 1861, when I published my first work, *Shirim badashim*. . . .

In the beginning I earned very little at my new "business," for two reasons. First, I was called only to poor weddings and I was poorly paid and, second, I had to have music to accompany me in the recitation of my songs and the musicians would take all the earnings from my pocket. If they could not do this at the wedding itself, they would fall upon me in the street, when I was going home from the wedding, push me against the wall and rob me of my money. Later on, my situation improved. I was invited to wealthy weddings where I was well paid. At that time each band of musicians had its own *badkhn* and the wealthy people engaged for their weddings only those bands that had contacts with me.

Before my songs became popular Moses of Warsaw had glittered like a star in the "firmament of the *badkbonim*." He had been invited to all wealthy weddings and had earned much respect and much money. My rise in the same "firmament" was a thorn in his side. I became a dangerous competitor. . . . Through some of his good friends I was persuaded to enter into partnership with him and we signed a contract. Later on, I found out that he included in the contract a paragraph stating that I was employed for a period of three years at eight guldn a week. Naturally, I left him. . . . He brought suit against me for breach of contract. . . . If I was invited to a wedding, Moses of Warsaw would come with the police and bar me from the wedding. Things reached the stage where people would no longer invite me for fear that the wedding would be disturbed by a raid of Moses of Warsaw with the chief of police and the sheriffs. . . . Rabbi Yudel Opatow (a wealthy man in Vilna) promised to help me and he also fulfilled his promise. Shortly afterwards that contract was declared invalid and Moses of Warsaw had to leave Vilna.

Zunser's biografye, geschribn fun im aleyh (New York 1905).
(For a closer acquaintance with Zunser's biography see Sol Liptzin's *Eliakum Zunser*, New York 1950.)

b.

. . . That winter (1877) I heard Eliakum Zunser for the first time at a wedding. . . . I have always been anxious to hear "Elyokumke," as the Vilna Jews called him. His songs were extremely popular and I heard many stories about the unusual feats he performed as *badkhn* and singer of his own works. . . .

In addition to praising his performance as a *badkhn* and his songs, the people would also speak of his other accomplishments. It was said that he was highly educated and spoke Russian, German and French.

Zunser lived at that time in Minsk, where he kept a store, a dry goods

store, I believe. But he never gave up his practice as *badkhn*. From time to time he would stir the Jewish world with a new song, which was sung in every home and in every shop, not merely in the district of Vilna but all over Lithuania and also Volhynia and Poland. The *badkbonim* of all countries entertained guests at weddings with Zunser's songs. . . .

I had come some time before the ceremony began. Zunser reclined on a bench in an adjacent room napping. So I thought. It turned out, however, that he only pretended he was asleep. He lay and thought, inditing the rhymes he would recite at the *bazetsns*.

When the ceremony began and he addressed himself to the bride, greeting her and preaching to her, his words were based upon her name, the name of the bridegroom and the names of their parents. Of every letter in their names he made a word, and thus he spun his web endlessly. His phrases were smooth, interesting and very felicitous. So, at least, I thought. All this he composed in a few minutes, reclining on the bench and presumably sleeping. I could not get over it!

Later on, during supper and at the announcement of the wedding gifts he sang several of his songs, which were then very popular. As he sang he would beat time with his foot, and in his singing his sense of rhythm came clearly to the fore. This rhythm and the accompaniment of the musicians merged into a musical harmony that enchanted me. I see him as if he were standing before me—not a tall nor a stout person, with a thin brown-blond small beard and pale face—singing, beating time with one foot and motioning with both hands to the band. The rhythm of Zunser's song electrified the audience. All joined in the song, without words, and beat time with him.

Herein lay the main secret of his success: in the unparalleled rhythm of his songs.

Ab. Cahan, *Bleter fun mayn lebn*, vol. i, p. 360-62.

c.

Zunser is now a printer in Rutger's Square, and has largely given up his duties as *Badchen*, but at one time he was so famous in that capacity that he went to a wedding once or twice every day, and made in that way a large income. His part at the ceremony was to address the bride and bridegroom in verse so solemn that it would bring tears to their eyes, and then entertain the guests with burlesque lines. He composed the music as well as the verses, and did both extempore. When he left his home to attend the wedding there was no idea in his head as to what he would say. He left that to the result of a hurried talk before the ceremony with the wedding guests and the relatives of the couple.

Hutchins Haggood, *The Spirit of the Ghetto* (New York 1909) p. 91-92.

d.

The greatest ornament of the "seven days" of the festival" were the recitations of Eliakum Zunser (the reference here is to a wealthy wedding—E. L.). He introduced himself to me with the following words: "I occupy the place that among you was occupied by Schiller." The comparison would have been more appropriate with Hans Sachs in his wander years. . . .

J. H. Bondi, *Aus dem jüdischen Russland vor vierzig Jahren* (Frankfurt 1927) p. 39.

e.

. . . This type of *badkhnim* (the ignorant and the jugglers—E. L.) have degraded the status of the art of the *badkhn* in the eyes of modern and educated people, and no matter how hard Zunser, of blessed memory, attempted to rehabilitate it, to win the favor of the new generation, it was of no avail. The people had become accustomed to operas, operettas, the ballet, and they were little interested in Zunser's songs and melodies. Once, early in the morning on a summer day I met him coming from weddings. He complained to me: "Brother, things are bad. If the best people, the cream of the public, leave Eliakum on the platform and retire to a room to play cards, there is no longer any room for me here." Six months later he left for America.

Jacob Zizmor, "Fun mayne zikhroynes vegn badkhnim," in *Pinkes far der gesbikhte fun vilne in di yorn fun milkbome un okupatsya* (Vilna 1922) p. 878.

28

Note David and Black Judah

(Motele, near Pinsk, Polesie, about the beginning of the 1870's)

. . . When the bride and bridegroom were led to the wedding, Note David the *badkhn* preceded them, clashing a pair of brass cymbals and beating out time. (This is the origin of the saying "to go with cymbals.")

Note David was the moving spirit of the Teleran-Motele Orchestra. A Jew with a long beard, long ear locks, a typical Jew—and the main trick of this Jew consisted in disguising himself as a non-Jew. If all the non-Jews in the world had gathered, each one contributing his characteristic trait and an artist had combined all these traits into one portrait, the composite might have looked like Note David when he disguised himself as a non-Jew to amuse the guests.

His changed face, like that of a typical *goy*, his shirt covering his linen trousers, his moccasins, his hairy chest visible through his open shirt, his manner of speaking and his gestures, his scratching the back of his head when thinking, his drinking and eating, his dancing when he was merry, his will before his death—all these were truly enchanting! . . .

The Pinsk orchestra was also famous for its *badkhn*, "a *badkhn* for modern men," if one could say so. This was Black Judah.

Judah was also the first violinist of the band and performed unusual feats in this respect: he played with gloves on or holding the fiddle on his back. As *badkhn* he excelled in wit, originality, and witticisms that became popular among the people and which were on a higher level than the products of the average *badkhn*.

Besides, Black Judah would also treat his audience to "serious" subjects. In those days the Yiddish song introduced by Eliakum Zunser made its appearance. . . . Our Black Judah was one of his first customers. He would obtain each new song before it had been published and the audience would literally swallow it. And how Judah sang the songs of Eliakum! With great enthusiasm, beating time and accompanying his song on the fiddle wherever required, modulating his voice according to the subject in order to interpret the song to the audience. In sum, "an interpreter," a matchless artist.

And Judah had indeed talent and the soul of a genuine artist. In his boyhood he was a student of the Karlin cantor, Rabbi Baruch, in whose choir he sang without remuneration.

Hayim Chemerinsky (Reb Mordkhele), "Ayarati Motele," in *Reshumot*, vol. ii, p. 70-71. Cf. "Dovid badkhn fun bober," in *Tsaytskrift* (Minsk) vol. i, p. 258.

29

Velke the Marshalik and Shmuel Nisn the Dancer

(Second Half of the 19th Century; from the Town of Liadi, Province of Mogilev)

In his memoirs, titled *Zekher lenishkahot* (*Reshumot*, vol. i, p. 158), A. Z. Rabinowitz mentions a *badkhn* named Velke, the *marshalik*.

He was already an old man at that time and famous in the entire surroundings for his satire and wit. Mondays and Thursdays Velke would go from door to door to collect "bread for poor people." He would collect it in one house and leave it in another. One the eve of the Sabbath and holidays he would collect besides bread also eggs and the other things needed for the Sabbath and holidays. This he did all his life with the utmost simplicity. He never boasted of his deeds nor did he demand praise or commendation.

Rabinowitz also mentions Shmuel Nisen the dancer, who danced at all weddings. His dancing was really remarkable. It possessed a kind of suppleness that one sees only among acrobats. He would infect all those present with gaiety. He never danced by himself. All had to dance with him. From time to time, however, he would make a circle and demonstrate to the people some new step but suddenly he would rise to his full height and call all the people to dance with him.

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Israel Iser Katsovich

(District of Minsk in the 1870's)

In the middle of the winter I have two weddings to attend. Uncle Leyb marries off his daughter to my brother and at the same time he also marries off an orphan girl, his sister's daughter. . . .

. . . A band of musicians was brought down from Minsk along with Sender the *badkhn* (Sender Fidelman—E. L.), who goes only to the weddings of the wealthy. First came the wedding of the orphan girl. . . . On the morning following my brother's wedding supper somebody began to demand that I should recite some rhymes. Some of the people seized me, placed me on a table and ordered the musicians to play. I began to rhyme in the traditional tune of a *badkhn*:

Ikh, Yisroel Iser ben Meyer Tsvi,
Az ikh tu sikh ersht gefinen do hi,
Hob ikh sikh genumen in zinen
Di simkhe tsu badinen . . .
etc.

I finished my rhyming and was asked to sing about the lost *kapores** I sang, and the people enjoyed my song immensely. When I finished, Sender the *badkhn* applauded and asked me to sing another song. I sang about the yeshiva student who eats his meals at various homes on each day. I saw my mother weeping bitterly and Sender the *badkhn* embraced me and asked me to sing another song. I began to sing my song, "The Yeshiva Student as Bridegroom," without realizing that this was hardly the place for it. . . .

Suddenly a tumult ensue. The bride began to sob bitterly. I suddenly realized the folly I had committed and leaped off the table.

. . . Once on a Sunday evening, while we were engaged in our studies, the beadle came in and told me that I was summoned by the head of the yeshiva and the warden to come to the latter's house. To my question: "What for?" he replied with a smile: "You will find out there." How surprised was I when I entered the house of the warden and found there quite a number of people. The warden asked me to be seated and treated me to a glass of brandy and a piece of cake, while the head of the yeshiva informed me that the warden is marrying off a poor orphan to a widower. Both the head of the yeshiva and the warden wanted me to perform the ceremony of *bazetsns*, for the beadle had told them that I was skilled in

* *Kapores* refers to the traditional practice of using a cock or hen as a vicarious atonement on Yom Kipur eve.—Ed.

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that art. I refused at first, but the head of the yeshiva told me that it was a great *mitsva* and that I should do it.

I went over to the bride and in the tune of a true *badkhn* I began the ceremony of *bazetsns*. I told the bride that before the wedding a woman should pray for a happy future and for good and pious children. The women were sobbing. The bit of brandy and the women's tears gave me courage. I raised my voice and leaped straight to paradise. I began to portray how the parents of the bride stood before the Throne of Glory imploring the Almighty on behalf of their poor child and how their souls would soon descend and lead their daughter under the wedding canopy. The sobbing of the women grew louder. The men were wiping their tears and the bride began to faint. It occurred to me that I had gone too far and I finished with many blessings.

At the wedding supper I sat next to the groom. I was asked to entertain the bride and the groom and I sang my alphabetical song about a yeshiva student, his meals at the homes of various members of the community, and his marriage. The people beamed with joy. Before going home the warden gave me a ruble and a half.

Israel Iser Katsovich, *Zekhtsig yor lebn* (New York 1919) p. 81-86.

31

Sanye the *Badkhn*

(Bialystok 1850-1928)

a.

. . . Sanye the *badkhn* or, as his real name was, Israel Zadrinsky, was born in Bialystok in 1850. Because he was an only son his parents concealed his real name and called him Sanye. . . . When he was ten years old, the first public school opened in Bialystok, including two grades of gymnasium. . . . In two years Sanye completed the course and was ready for admission to the third year of *gymnasium*.

Because he could not furnish the requisite birth certificate and other documents he was not accepted in the *gymnasium*.

When he was twelve years old, his father died. He had no opportunity to study with private teachers and therefore remained in the public school for another two years, officially not as a student but as an assistant, whose duty it was to sweep the classrooms, take care of the books and writing supplies, and supervise the students. But he also studied. At the age of fourteen he became a teacher, giving lessons in Yiddish, Russian, German and arithmetic. At the age of seventeen, about to be drafted into the army, he left for Odessa.

At the age of fourteen Sanye began to write poetry and adapt tunes to them. He had a fine voice and sang the songs very beautifully. His first

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song was "The *Baiten*," and soon his songs were passing from mouth to mouth and were sung everywhere.

When he arrived in Odessa he could not find employment as a private tutor and not knowing any other trade, he began to visit the wine cellars and to sing his songs. There he made the acquaintance of the well-known singer in the wine cellars, Grodner. The latter recognized Sanye's talents. He engaged him and paid him ten kopecks a night. Thus began Sanye's career as folk singer and *badkhn*.

When Goldfaden came to Odessa in search of actors for his planned Yiddish theatre he heard Sanye sing and offered him a position in his troupe. Sanye accepted. The troupe was scheduled to go to play in Bucharest, Rumania. Sanye had no passport and could not cross the boundary. . . . After spending several years in Odessa, he toured with numerous singers the towns of Russia. Thus he sang with Finkel, Toger, Khaimovitch and Heine, until he returned to Bialystok.

Upon his return to Bialystok he staged a Purim play. He also wrote an operetta "Samson the Strong," which he produced with great success, with himself in the role of the hero. . . .

Sanye's popularity increased. He was invited to various private entertainments, at which the people were well amused. For in addition to his fine voice and his feeling for music, he also dramatized his songs. . . .

At the time that Sanye decided to become a professional *badkhn*, that position was occupied in Bialystok by old Monye Kass.⁵⁶ Sanye's growing popularity as *badkhn* put old Monye in the shade. In order not to deprive the old man of his livelihood they entered into partnership. Sanye plunged into the work, writing songs and composing the melodies to them. No sooner had Sanye sung a song than it became popular and was heard in every Jewish house in Bialystok.

In the course of fifty years Sanye wrote numerous songs. Only ten of these were published some twenty years ago. Many of his songs were lost. After he had memorized the song he no longer kept the manuscript. Forty of his songs he gathered in a book in 1900. . . . Because of the revolutionary movement he was not permitted to sing at weddings songs that had not been censored. . . .

Many of his songs, such as "The Son and the Father," "The Charlatan in His Youth and the Charlatan in His Old Age," "The Stingy Bachelor Wants to Marry," and "The Stingy Bachelor Doesn't Want to Marry," were written for two or three roles. In his songs "The Son-in-law," the

⁵⁶ J. Zizmor writes the following about Monye Kass: "In Bialystok there was a *badkhn* named Rabbi Monye Kass, an accomplished linguist, and particularly fluent in Hebrew. For a while he was a teacher of Hebrew in Bialystok (the brothers Kass the musicians, one of whom is a band leader, are his sons)."

פאר ים שטיינ

М.БЕРЕГОВСКИЙ



ЕВРЕЙСКИЕ НАРОДНЫЕ МУЗЫКАЛЬНО- ТЕАТРАЛЬНЫЕ ПРЕДСТАВЛЕНИЯ

(2001, V 8, 7)

דער פראַפעסיאָנעלער טעאָטער, ווי אויך דער פּאָלקס־טעאָטער, איז אַ סינטעטישער קאָמפּלעקס, וווּ דאָס טאַנישע (וואָרט און קלאַנג), מאַטאָרישע און די אַפּבײַנדליקע קונסט זײַנען צוזאַמענגעגאַסן אין איין גאַנצקײט. דער פּאַרשער און היסטאָריקער פֿון טעאָטער וואָלט באַדאַרפֿט זײַן אַ ספּעציאַליסט אין יעדן באַשטייטייל פֿון דער טעאָטראַלער קונסט. אַזעלכע אויספֿאַרשונגען זײַנען פֿאַראַן זײער ווייניק. געוויינטלעך איז דער אויספֿאַרשער אַ ספּעציאַליסט נאָר אין איין פֿעלד, און ער שטיצט זיך אויף די אויספֿירן פֿון אַנדערע געלערנטע אויף די אַנדערע שטחים.

אַנהייבנדיק אין די 20ער יאָרן פֿון איצטיקן יאָרהונדערט האָבן זיך באַוווּן אַ גאַנצע רײ ספּעציעלע אַרבעטן וועגן דער געשיכטע פֿונעם ייִדישן טעאָטער בכלל און פֿון פֿורם־שפּילן בפרט.⁹ אין דער ערשטער רײ דאַרף מען אָנווייזן אויף די פֿאַרשונגען פֿון י. שיפּער, דעם מחבר פֿון אַ צווייבענדיקער אַרבעט וועגן דער געשיכטע פֿונעם ייִדישן טעאָטער. דער צווייטער באַנד פֿון דאָזיקן ווערק איז אין גאַנצן אָפּגעגעבן די פֿורם־שפּילן.

אויפֿן ערשטן בליק קען י. שיפּערס אַרבעט זיך אויסווייזן זײער אַ פרטימדיקע. אויפֿן סמך פֿון אַ דעטאַליזירטן דורכשטודירן די פֿורם־שפּיל־פּיעסעס פּרוּווט ער אָנצוצײכענען די הײפּטליניעס פֿון דער אַנטוויקלונג פֿונעם ייִדישן פּאָלקס־טעאָטער. אָבער ווען מע באַקענט זיך טיפּער מיט שיפּערס אַרבעט וויזט זיך אַרויס, אַז זײַנע אויספֿירן זײַנען ניט באַגרינדט. מיר האָבן שוין אויבן אָנגעוויזן, אַז דער היסטאָרישער וועג פֿונעם ייִדישן פּאָלקס־טעאָטער קען באַלײכט ווערן בעיקר אויפֿן סמך פֿון טיפּער און דעטאַליזירטער אויספֿאַרשונג פֿון די פּיעסעס אַליין, וואָרעם דאָקומענטאַלער מאַטעריאַל איז פֿאַראַן גאַר גאַר ווייניק. שיפּער האָט געהאַט אין זײַן רשות זײער אַ קליינע צאָל וואַריאַנטן פֿון פֿורם־שפּילן. ער האָט נישט געהאַט קײן צוטריט צו די אַלטע כתב־ידן און געדרוקטע אויסגאַבעס פֿון 18טן יאָרהונדערט און אויך אין אַ גרויסער מאָס נישט צו די פּאָלקס־אויסגאַבעס פֿון 19טן און 20סטן יאָרהונדערט. שיפּער באַמערקט, אַז ער האָט געהאַט אין זײַן רשות פֿאַר זײַן אַרבעט אין גאַנצן בערך 30 פֿאַרשיידענע וואַריאַנטן פֿון פֿורם־שפּילן. פֿון דער דאָזיקער צאָל זײַנען נישט ווייניקער פֿון 10 געווען קורצע פֿראַגמענטן, און געוויסע פֿון זײ באַשטייען אין גאַנצן פֿון עטלעכע שורות.¹⁰

הײַנט ס'פֿעלן פֿרײַערדיקע מאַגאַנאַראַפּישע אַרבעטן אין דעם פֿעלד, האָט זיך שיפּערן נישט אַינגעגעבן ריכטיק צו באַלײכטן די פּראַבלעמען וואָס ער האָט באַרירט. די סכּעמע וואָס ער האָט פֿאַרגעלייגט איז צוגעקלערט און ניט באַגרינדט, און זײַן פֿאַרשטעלונג וועגן דער צײַט ווען ס'איז אויפֿגעקומען די „אַחשוורוש־שפּיל“ איז נישט ריכטיק. אַ ביסל ווייטער וועלן מיר זיך אָפּשטעלן וועגן דעם ענין.

איבערגעזעצט פֿון רוסיש — שמואל גאַלדענבערג

מע דאַרף אַנווייזן אויף נאָך איין פּאַקט: אַלע פּאַרשאַרבעטן אָפּגעגעבן דעם ייִדישן פּאַלקס־טעאַטער וואָס זײַנען פּובליקירט געוואָרן בײַז איצט, האָבן זיך אָפּגעגעבן מיט דער אויספּאַרשונג פֿונעם ליטעראַרישן אָספּעקט פֿון די פּיעסעס און טיילווייז אויך מיט דעם טעאַטראַלן אָספּעקט. קײנער פֿון די פּאַרשערס האָט נישט געהאַט קײן מיגלעכקײט צו פּאַרשן די מוזיק (דאָס געזאַנג) פֿון די פּור־שפּילערס, און דעריבער איז דער אָ זײער וויכטיקער באַשטייטייל פֿון אַלטן ייִדישן פּאַלקס־טעאַטער געבליבן אויסער דעם זעקריז פֿונעם היסטאָריקער. דאָס אינגאַרײַן אַט דעם אויסערגעוויינטלעך וויכטיקן קאָמפּאַנענט פֿון די פּאַלקס־פּיעסעס האָט געמאָזט זיך אָפּשלאַגן אויף דער גאַנצקײט פֿון די אויספּאַרשונגען און, ווי מיר וועלן ווייטער זען, אויך אויף אַ סך פֿון זײערע אויספֿירן. וואָס אַן אמת, האָט יעדער פּאַרשער וואָס האָט געהאַט אַ שײכות צו דער פּראָגע זיך באַמיט אַנצוווייזן די וויכטיקע ראַלע און דעם אָרט פֿון דער מוזיק אין ייִדישן פּאַלקס־טעאַטער.¹¹ אָבער די מוזיק פֿון די פּור־שפּילן איז נישט געווען מעגלעך אויסצופּאַרשן שוין נאָר דערפֿאַר, וואָס בײַז אַהער איז אַרויסגעגעבן געוואָרן נאָר איין וואַריאַנט פֿון „אַחשוורוש־שפּיל“ (דער ווילנער) מיט נאָטן צו אַכט נומערן, אַ נישטיקער טייל פֿון דער דאָזיקער פּיעסע.¹² מען קען נאָך צוגעבן צו דעם עטלעכע פּראָגמענטן פֿון אַט דער „אַחשוורוש־שפּיל“ מיט נאָטן (וואַרשעווער וואַריאַנט) וואָס זײַנען געדרוקט אין זאַמלבוך פֿון י. ל. כּהן, ייִדישע פּאַלקס־לידער, באַנד II, זײ 215-220. מיט דעם שעפּט מען אויס אַלע פּובליקאַציעס פֿון די נאָטן צום „אַחשוורוש־שפּיל“. וועגן דער מוזיק פֿון אַנדערע פּיעסעס פֿונעם פּור־שפּילערס רעפּערטואַר איז בײַז הייַנט נאָך גאַרנישט פּובליקירט געוואָרן.

דער פּאַלקלאַר־אַפּטייל פֿון קאַבינעט פֿאַר דער פּאַרשונג פֿון דער ייִדישער ליטעראַטור, שפּראַך און פּאַלקלאַר בײַז דער וויסנשאַפּט־אַקאַדעמיע פֿון דער אוקראַינישער סאַוועטישער סאַציאַליסטישער רעפּובליק (קײזער), פֿון וועלכן איך בין געווען דער ראַש בײַז יאָר 1949, האָט זיך געשטעלט די אויפּגאַבע צו פּאַרשרייבן און זאַמלען אויף וויפּל ס'איז מעגלעך מערערע וואַריאַנטן פֿון די פּור־שפּילן מיט מוזיק. בײַז 1941 האָבן מיר באַוווּן צונויפּזאַמלען און צו פּאַרשרייבן מיט מוזיק 16 גרויסע וואַריאַנטן און 4 פּראָגמענטן פֿון פּאַרשיידענע פּיעסעס. די מוזיק פֿון אַ גרויסן טייל פּור־שפּילן האָבן מיר פּאַרשרייבן פּאַנאָגראַפֿיש פֿון געוועזענע פּור־שפּילערס, וואָס האָבן אַ סך יאָרן אַנטייל גענומען אין די פּיעסעס. די פּראָגמענטאַרישקײט פֿון אַ צאָל וואַריאַנטן דערקלערט זיך פּאַרשיידנדיק: אַ מאָל דערמיט, וואָס אינעם זכרון פֿון דעם אָדער יענעם פּור־שפּילער זײַנען פּאַרבלײבן בלויז עטלעכע שטיקלעך פֿון דער פּיעסע וואָס זיי האָבן געשטעלט מיט 30-40 יאָר פּרֿיער. אין אַנדערע פּאַלן האָט מען די פּיעסע געשטעלט אין אַ געקירצטער פּאַרם און דורכגעלאָזט אַ סך טיילן. איין וואַריאַנט איז טאַקע אַ קורצע איבעראַרבעטונג פֿון דער פּיעסע (גענויער, פֿונעם ערשטן אַקט), וואָס די פּור־שפּילערס האָבן געשפּילט בײַז טאַג בעתן „גאַסטראַלירן“ איבער די הייַזער פֿון זײערע מיטגלייביקע.

דער מאַטעריאַל וואָס מיר האָבן צונויפּגעזאַמלט איז ווייט נישט אויסשעפּיק. דאָ ווערט פֿולער פּאַרגעשטעלט דאָס „אַחשוורוש־שפּיל“ (7 וואַריאַנטן און 3 פּראָגמענטן). אויב מיר וועלן נאָך צוגעבן צו דעם די פּרֿיער פּובליקירטע נאָטן־פּאַרשרייבונגען פֿון דער פּיעסע, באַקומט זיך שוין אַ נישקשהדיקער מאַטעריאַל, וואָס כאַפּט אַרום אַ גענוג

ברייטע טעריטאָריע (אוקראַינע, וויסרוסלאַנד, מיזרח־גאַליציע, ליטע און פּוילן). אויפֿן סמך פֿון דעם מאַטעריאַל קען מען שוין איצט באַקומען נישט נאָר אַ פֿולע פּאַרשטעלונג פֿון דער מוזיקאַלישער שפּראַך, כאַראַקטער און סטיל פֿון דער פּיעסע, נאָר אויך אין אַ גרויסער מאָס רעקאָנסטרוירן איר לכתחילהדיקע מוזיקאַלישע רעדאַקציע, וואָס גייט צוריק צו דער צײַט ווען די פּיעסע איז אויפּגעקומען. אַזוי אַרום באַקומט מען אַ מעגלעכקײט גענויער פֿעסטשטעלן די אויפֿקום־צײַט פֿון די אָ פּיעסעס.

די איבעריקע פּיעסעס פֿונעם פּור־שפּילערס רעפּערטואַר זײַנען פּאַרטראַטן מיט אַ קלענערער צאָל וואַריאַנטן, וואָס באַשווערט אין אַ גרויסער מאָס זײער אויספּאַרשונג. די אַרבעט איבער די אַ וואַריאַנטן דאַרף מען האַלטן פֿאַר אַ דערווייזליקער, און די אויספֿירן דאַרפֿן געמאַכט ווערן זײער פּאַרזיכטיק. כּוועל ברענגען איין מוסטער: ווען כּהאַב זיך באַקענט מיט דער מוזיק פֿון די וואַריאַנטן, האָט זיך בײַז מיר געשאַפֿן אַ פּאַרשטעלונג, אַז דאָס „אַחשוורוש־שפּיל“ איז אַ רײן מוזיקאַלישע פּיעסע, וווּ דער גאַנצער טעקסט, אויסער צוויי־דרײַ אינטערמעדיעס, ווערט געוונגען פֿון אַנהייב ביזן סוף, און דאָס האָט זיך באַשטעטיקט בײַז אַ מער דעטאַליזירטער אויספּאַרשונג פֿון דער פּיעסע. די איבעריקע פּור־שפּילן, ווידער (די „חכמה פֿון שלמה המלך“, „מכירת יוסף“, „עקידת יצחק“, „דוד און גלית“ א״אַנד), האָבן אונדז אויסגעזען ווי רײד־פּיעסעס (אין פֿערזן) מיט אַ גרעסערער אָדער קלענערער צאָל וואַקאַלע און אינסטרומענטאַלע נומערן. אויף אַזאַ אַרפֿן האָבן מיר זיי פּאַרגעשטעלט יעדן באַזונדערן וואַריאַנט פֿון די אָ פּיעסעס. די פּיעסע „עקידת יצחק“ איז געווען אין דרייַ וואַריאַנטן, און ווען מיר האָבן געפּרוּווט צו פּאַרגלייכן די וואַריאַנטן האָט זיך באַקומען דאָס ווייטערדיקע: אַ טייל פֿון די רעפּליקעס וואָס זײַנען אינעם ערשטן וואַריאַנט אויסגעפֿירט געוואָרן אָן מעלאָדיעס, האָבן זיך אין צווייטן און אין דריטן וואַריאַנט אַרויסגעוויזן פֿאַר וואַקאַלע. בײַז צונויפֿפֿירן אַלע מעלאָדיעס פֿון אונדזערע דרייַ וואַריאַנטן איז אויסגעקומען, אַז די גאַנצע ערשטע סצענע זינגט זיך פֿון אַנהייב ביזן סוף. אויב מיר קענען איצט נישט מאַכן קײן סך־הכל פֿון אַנדערע פּיעסעס, איז עס נאָר צוליב דעם וואָס מיר האָבן נאָך צו ווייניק פּאַרשרייבענע וואַריאַנטן פֿון די פּיעסעס מיט מוזיק. דעריבער איז קלאַר, אַז מען דאַרף אַנווענדן אַלע מיטלען צו אַקטיוויזירן דאָס זאַמלען מאַטעריאַלן אין תּחום פֿון ייִדישן פּאַלקס־טעאַטער. אַט דער זשאַנער איז אויף אייביק פּאַרשוונדן פֿון פּאַלקס טאַג־טעגלעכקײט. ס'זײַנען שוין פּאַרבלײבן גאַר אַ קליינע צאָל מענטשן, וואָס געדענקען נאָך דעם פֿולן טעקסט פֿון די פּיעסעס אָדער טייל סצענעס; דעריבער טאַר מען נישט אַפּלייגן דאָס זאַמלען.

די פּור־שפּילן מיט נאָטן וואָס מיר פּובליקירן דאָ האָבן אַ גרויסן באַטייט פֿאַר דער פֿולער און טיפּער אויספּאַרשונג פֿון דער געשיכטע פֿונעם ייִדישן פּאַלקס־טעאַטער. אונדז דאַכט זיך אָבער, אַז זיי האָבן אַ גרויסן ווערט אויך פֿאַר דער געשיכטע פֿון מוזיק בכלל, ספּעציעל פֿאַרן אויספּאַרשן די מוזיקאַליש־טעאַטראַלע פּאַרשטעלונגען בעת דער תקופֿה איידער די אָפּערע איז אויפּגעקומען. קרעטשמאַר, דער מחבר פֿון דעם בוך „די געשיכטע פֿון אָפּערע“, באַמערקט, אַז דער אָפּערע־היסטאָריקער געפֿינט זיך נאָך איצט אין אַ שווערן מצבֿ בײַז אויספּאַרשן דעם בידגליוק־תּקופֿה, ווייל אויף יעדן שריט שטויסט ער זיך אָן אויף היפּשע פּראַבלעמען.¹³

נאך ערגער האלט עס ביים אויספארשן די מוזיקאלישטע אטראלע שאפונגען פון די יארהונדערטער פארן אויפקום פון דער אפערע. דער פרווז פון ר. ראלאן אויסצונצן פאר דעם צוועק די איטאליענישע מיפאלקסשפילן האט געגעבן פאזיטיווע רעזולטאטן. אבער די איטאליענישע מיפאלקסשפילן זינען נישט די איינציקע פארעם פון „אפערע ביו צו דער אפערע“ (לויטן אויסדרוק פון ר. ראלאן). די יידישע פורים-שפילן, און באזונדערש דאס „אחשוורוש-שפיל“, גיבן א מעגלעכקייט צו באהאנדלען אויך אנדערע, מער פארשיידנדיקע פארמען פון מוזיקאלישטע אטראלע פארשטעלונגען פון די פארפערע-פארמען, וואס זינען געבויט נישט נאר אויפן ליד (סאלא און בארליד) און אויף דער פארעם וואס איז נאענט צו דער אריע (אריאזע), נאר אויך אויפן רעציטאטיוו. פורים-שפילן, נייע און יונגע שפראצלעך אויפן באדן פונעם מוזיקאלישן טעאטער פון פארן אפערע-פעריאד, וואס זינען דערצו נאך ארויסגעוואקסן אין ספעציפישע באדינגונגען פונעם אלטן יידישן לעבנסשטייגער אין די דייטשע לענדער, האבן בשום אופן נישט קיין שייכות צו אזא מין שאפונג, וואס וואלט געקענט שפילן א וועלכע ס'איז נישט-פארמיטלטע ראלע אין דער געשיכטע פונעם מוזיקאלישן טעאטער. אבער אין די דאזיקע ספעציפישע באדינגונגען, וואס זינען דערצו נאך אריבערגעטראגן געווארן אין די סלאווישע לענדער ווי די יידן האבן איבערגעוואנדערט אין די לעצטע יארהונדערטער, האבן די פיעסעס זיך געקענט אויפהיטן ביזן היינטיקן טאג ווי לעבעדיקע רעפערטואר פיעסעס פאר פורים-שפילערס. אזוי ארום איז דערגאנגען צו אונדז א שפילטער פון מוזיקאלישן טעאטער וואס איז געשאפן געווארן מיט פיל יארהונדערטער צוריק און וואס האט אויפגעהיט א סך אייגנקייטן פון דער פארעם און סטיל פון מוזיקאלישע פארשטעלונגען פון לאנגלאנג פארגעסענע צייטן. דורך די פורים-שפילן, געבויט אויפן מוסטער פון די מוזיקאלישטע אטראלע פאלקס-פיעסעס וואס זינען געווען פארשפרייט בעת דער תקופה פון זייער אויפקום (בעיקר דייטשע), איז דערגאנגען ביו אונדזערע היינטיקע טעג די הויפט-פארעם און סטיל פון דער צייט, ווען זיי זינען אויפגעקומען.

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די הויפט-אויפגאבע פון דער איצטיקער ארבעט איז דאס פובליקירן די פיעסעס פונעם רעפערטואר פונעם יידישן פאלקס-טעאטער, וואס מיר האבן געזאמלט און פארשריבן מיט זייער פולן מוזיקאלישן טעקסט. מיר לעבן מיט דער האפענונג, אז אט דער מאטעריאל וועט דינען ווי א יסוד פאר דער פולערער און טיפערער אויספארשונג פונעם יידישן פאלקס-טעאטער.

אין עטלעכע פארצייכענונגען, וואס מיר גיבן ווי אן אריינפיר צו אט דער ארבעט, האבן מיר געשטרעבט צו באלייכטן די באדינגונגען און די פארעם פון די פארעמע מוזיקאלישטע אטראלע פיעסעס, וואס זינען פארבליבן אין דער מינדלעכער טראדיציע. מיר האבן זיך באמיט אנצוהוייזן אויף די ווארצלען פון יידישן פאלקס-טעאטער און מאכן עטלעכע באמערקונגען וועגן איר אנטוויקלונג. מיר האבן אבער נישט געקענט שטעלן פאר זיך א ציל צוגעבן א פולע היסטארישע פארצייכענונג איבער דעם יידישן פאלקס-טעאטער. מיר האבן פאר זיך א נישט-אפערעגלעכן פאקט, אז דער א פאלקס-

טעאטער עקסיסטירט אין זיין טראדיציאנעלער פארעם ביו היינט. דער מאדערנער יידישער פראפעסיאנעלער טעאטער איז אויפגעקומען ערשט אין דעם לעצטן פערטל פון 19טן י"ה. אבער דער רעפערטואר בעליפה איז נאר א טייל, כאטש א באטייטיקער טייל פונעם גאנצן רעפערטואר פונעם יידישן פאלקס-טעאטער. מיר האבן שוין אנגעוויזן, אז אין 18טן י"ה באווייזן זיך געדרוקטע אויסגאבעס פון א צאל פיעסעס, וואס האבן זיך אונטערשיידט אין א גרויסער מאס פון די טראדיציאנעלע פורים-שפילן. די אפגעדרוקטע פיעסעס זינען אנאנימע, פונקט ווי די פיעסעס וואס זינען אויפגעהיט אין דער טראדיציע און זינען געשריבן אויף די זעלבע ביבלישע טעמעס. דאך זינען דאס פיעסעס פון אן אנדערער קאטעגאריע, און זיי זינען נישט אריין אינעם רעפערטואר פונעם פאלקס-טעאטער. א טיילווייזע השפעה פון די א פיעסעס אויף די מינדלעכע וואריאנטן לאזט זיך לייכט באמערקן. ביים היינטיקן טאג איז נישט מעגלעך אויסצוקלארן אט די פראבלעם צוליב דעם וואס די פארבליבענע זעלטענע עקזעמפלארן פון די אויסגאבעס פונעם 18טן י"ה זינען צעווארפן איבער ביבליאטעקן פון פארשיידענע לענדער אין אייראפע און אמעריקע.

דעם הויפטאקצענט פון דער דאזיקער ארבעט האבן מיר געשטעלט אויף דער אויספארשונג פון דער מוזיקאלישער שפראך פון די פורים-שפילן. די שפראכלעכע און טעאטראלע טיילן האבן מיר געהאט אין זינען צו בארירן אויף אזוי פיל ווי דאס איז געווען נייטיק פאר דער פולער באלייכטונג פון דער ראלע און דעם באטייט פון דער מוזיק אין די פיעסעס.

דאך האט די דעטאליירטע אויספארשונג פון דער מוזיקאלישער שפראך פונעם „אחשוורוש-שפיל“, וואס איז ביי אונדז פארגעשטעלט מיט דער גרעסטער צאל וואריאנטן, צו וועלכע כ'האב געקענט צוגעבן די נאטן-פארשרייבונג פון ווילנער און ווארשעווער וואריאנטן, האט אונדז דערפירט צו א גאנצער ריי אויספירן, וואס שטימען אין גאנצן ניט מיט די אויספירן פון פריערדיקע אויספארשערס. דאס האט אונדז געצוונגען זיך צו פארנעמען מיט דער גענעזיס-פראגע פון דער פיעסע א סך ברייטער, ווי מיר האבן לכתחילה זיך פארגעשטעלט.

עטלעכע ווערטער וועגן טערמינאלאגיע. דער עלטערער יידישער פאלקס-טעאטער האט געהייסן „פורים-שפיל“. אט דער טערמין האט א צווייטן באטייט. ער ווייזט אן דירעקט אויף יענע פיעסעס, וואס זייער שושעט באשטייט פונעם אינהאלט פון מגילת אסתר, ד"ה אויף געשעענישן, וואס זינען פארבונדן מיטן יום-טוב פורים¹⁴ אבער מיט דעם טערמין באצייכנט מען געוויינטלעך אויך פארשיידענע אנדערע אלטצייטישע טעאטראלע ווערק (אלע אויף תנכישע טעמעס), ווייל מען האט זיי אלע געשפילט אין טאג פון פריילעכן יום-טוב פורים. ס'ווארט „טעאטער“ האבן די פורים-שפילערס זיך באמיט אין גאנצן אויסצומיידן, ווייל אפילו ביו היינט טרעטן די רעליגיעזע רעדל-פירערס ארויס קעגן דעם „זינדיקן“ טעאטער; דעריבער האבן די פורים-שפילערס אנגערופן זייערע פארשטעלונגען „ווארע געשיכטע“, (אמתע פאסירונגען), „פורים-שפיל“, „שפיל“ אאו"וו. א מאל רופן זיי דעם נאמען פון דער פיעסע, וואס זיי וועלן שפילן: „עקידת-יצחק אפצורייכטן זינען מיר געקומען“ (פון אונדזער וואריאנט), זייע געסטע צו געפעלן ווערן

וויר „יצאת מצרים“ פֿאַרשטעלן.¹⁵ און אַ מאָל באַטאַנען זיי אַפֿילו:

מיר זינען ניט געקומען פֿאַרזושטעלן טעאַטער,
און נאָר צו דערציילן פֿון דוד — אונדזער פֿאַטער.¹⁶

פונקט אזוי דער טערמין „פֿאַסטנאַכט־שפּיל“ איז געוואָרן דער אַנגענומענער נאָמען פֿאַר פּיעסעס, וואָס מ'האַט געשפּילט אויף „מאַסלעניצע“ קאַרניוואָל, און דערנאָך איז ער געוואָרן אויך אַ ספּעציעל ליטעראַריש־טעאַטראַלער זשאַנער. נאָר די פּיעסעס אַליין פֿלעגט מען אויפֿפֿירן ביי יעדער געלעגנהייט, און נישט נאָר אויף „מאַסלעניצע“. אזוי אויך וועלן מיר דעם טערמין „פּור־שפּיל“ באַנוצן ווי אַ סינטעטישער נאָמען פֿאַר אַלע פּיעסעס פֿונעם אַלטיזייטישן ייִדישן טעאַטער. מיר ווילן דערמאָנען, אַז די פּור־שפּילן איז טאַקע נישט אויסגעקומען אַפּצוטיילן פֿונעם יו־סו־ב פּורים.

פֿון די פֿאַראַנענע טערמינען צו באַצייכענען פֿאַרשיידענע מינים פּיעסעס פֿון מיט־עלטערלעכן, שפּעטערלעכערן טעאַטער (ליטורגישע דראַמע, מיסטעריע, פֿאַסטנאַכט־שפּיל, פֿאַרס, סינגעט־שפּיל פֿון די ענגלישע קאָמעדיאַנטן, שפּעטערער זינגשפּיל אַאָ"וו) שטימט קיין איינער פֿון זיי נישט מיטן כאַראַקטער און פֿאַרעם פֿון פּורים־שפּילן, ווייל די לעצטע האָבן אין זיך סימנים פֿון עטלעכע מינים טעאַטראַלע פּיעסעס בעיקר פֿון מיסטעריעס און פֿאַסטנאַכט־שפּילן, נאָר זיי זינען אויך נישט געבליבן אָן דער השפּעה פֿון די פֿאַרשטעלונגען פֿון די „קונדסי־אַסאַציאַציעס, קאָמעדיע דעל אַרטע“, דעם רעפּערטואַר פֿון די ענגלישע קאָמעדיאַנטן, שפּעטער פֿון דער יעזוויטישער דראַמע אַאָ"וו). אַט דאָס האָט אונדז סטימולירט זיך אַפּצושטעלן אויפֿן ספּעציפֿישן טערמין „פּורים־שפּיל“. די אַקטיאָרן וועלן מיר אַנרופֿן מיטן ייִדישן פֿאַלקסטערמין, „פּורים־שפּילער“, ווייל אויך דאָ איז די פֿאַראַנענע טערמינאָלאָגיע נישט אין גאַנצן פּאַסיק צו דעם באַגריף. די פּורים־שפּילערס זינען נישט געווען קיין פּראָפּעסיאָנעלע אַקטיאָרן. דאָס איז געווען אוממעגלעך שוין נאָר דערפֿאַר, וואָס זיי פֿלעגן שפּילן נאָר איין טאַג אין יאָר. אָבער זיי פֿלעגן באַקומען געלט, וואָס די שפּילערס האָבן מיינסטנס צעטיילט צווישן זיך. מיר געפֿינען נישט־ווייניק „טרופּעס“, וואָס זינען באַשטאַנען פֿון נאָענטע קורבֿים, וווּ די שפּילערס האָבן איבערגענומען זייער רעפּערטואַר און שפּילמאַניר פֿון זייערע עלטערן, זיידעס אַאָ"וו.

מיר האָבן שוין באַמערקט, אַז אין 19טן י"ה זינען פּורים־שפּילן שוין נישט געווען דער פֿירנדיקער זשאַנער און תּחום פֿון ייִדישן טעאַטער. שוין צום סוף פֿון 18טן יאָרהונדערט האָבן די משכּילים געקעמפּט פֿאַר אַ נייעם טעאַטער, וואָס זאָל ווערן אַ פּראָפּאַגאַנדע־מכּשיר פֿאַר זייערע אידעען אין דער ייִדישער סבֿיבֿה. אין דער קדמה צו זיין פּיעסע לנכּטזין און פֿרעמעלע (1798) שרייבט אַהרן־באַלע וואָלפּסאָן: „דער איצטיקער פּרווּו צו שאַפֿן אַ קאָמעדיע, וואָס נאָך אים וועלן קומען אַנדערע, אויב ער וועט אַרויסרופֿן די הסכּמה פֿונעם געבילדעטן לייענער און וועט זיין ניצלעך, ווי אַ פֿאַרוויילונג אין אונדזער יו־סו־ב פּורים, אַנשטאַט די אַרלעקינאַדעס, וואָס ווערן געוויינטלעך אויפֿגעפֿירט אָן אַ טעם, אָן אַ זינען און וואָס פּאַסן נישט דעם ציל. איך האָף אַז ער וועט נישט געטאַדלעט ווערן, דורך

קיין שום מענטשן, וואָס האָט ליב דעם אמת“,¹⁷ דאָס וואָרט „פּורים־שפּילער“ איז געוואָרן אַ זידלוואָרט אין מויל פֿונעם אַקטיאָר פֿונעם נייעם ייִדישן פּראָפּעסיאָנעלן טעאַטער. מיר, אָבער, טאָרן נישט פֿאַרגעסן, אַז בשעתו האָט דער פּורים־שפּילער, אַ באַשיידענער פֿאַלקסאַקטיאָר געהאַט דעם כּוח אויסצוקעמפֿן אין ייִדישן לעבנס־שטייגער אַן אַרט פֿאַרן טעאַטער, זאָל זיין פֿאַרן איינזאַגיקן טעאַטער, נאָר פֿאַר אַ טעאַטער וואָס האָט נישט אויפֿגעגעבן זינע פּאַזיציעס אין משך פֿון יאָרהונדערטער.

אַחוץ קליינע אויסנאַמען זינען אַלע וואַריאַנטן פֿון „אַזשוורוש־שפּיל“ וואָס זינען איינגעשלאָסן אין דעם ערשטן טייל פֿון דאָזיקן בוך, פֿאַרשריבן געוואָרן אין די יאָרן 1937-1940. אין יענע יאָרן איז שוין נישט געווען לייכט צו געפֿינען אַזעלכע מענטשן, וואָס האָבן געדענקט נאָך די טעקסטן און די מעלאָדיעס פֿון די פּורים־שפּילן. און אויב מיר האָבן דאָך באַוווּן צו פֿאַרשרייבן אַ נישט־קליינע צאָל וואַריאַנטן פֿון פֿאַרשיידענע פּיעסעס, איז דאָס אין אַ גרויסער מאָס אַ דאַנק דער אויסערגעוויינטלעך איבערגעגעבענער און פֿליסיקער אַרבעט פֿון אונדזערע פֿריינד און קאָרעספּאַנדענטן פֿון דער פֿאַלקלאָר־אַפּטיילונג ביים קאָבינעט פֿאַר ייִדישער קולטור פֿון דער אוקראַינישער וויסנשאַפֿט־אַקאַדעמיע. באַזונדערש וויל איך אָפּגעבן אַנערקענונג די פֿאַרדינסטן פֿון חבֿר מ. ברייטער — אַ שרייבער און אַ לערער אין דער מיטלשול אין דער קאָלאָניע אינגוליעץ (דניעפּראַפּעטראָווסקער ראיאָן); חבֿר ש. קופּערשמיד, אַ לערער אין דער מיטלשול אין בעלאַצערקאָוו (קיעווער ראיאָן), און אויך פֿון ד"ר פֿריש פֿון קאָלאָמיי. אין מיין גאַנצער לאַנגיאַריקער און סיסטעמאַטישער מוזיקאַליש־פֿאַלקלאָריסטישער זאַמל־אַרבעט קום איך אַ דאַנק אַ סך חבֿרים, וואָס האָבן גערן, מיט גרויס גרייטקייט און ליבע געהאַלפֿן אונדז אין דער אַרבעט. באַזונדערש האָבן איך געפֿילט די דאָזיקע ווערטיקע הילף בעת דער זאַמלונג און פֿאַרשרייבונג פֿון לאַנג פֿאַרגעסענע פּיעסעס פֿונעם רעפּערטואַר פֿון ייִדישן פֿאַלקס־טעאַטער.

כ'האַלט עס פֿאַר מיין אַנגענעמען חובֿ אויסצודריקן מיין האַרציקסטן דאַנק די אַלע אַקטיאָרן, וואָס האָבן אָפּגעגעבן אַ סך מי און ענערגיע כדי ווידער אויפֿצושטעלן אין זייער זכּרון פּיעסעס, וואָס זיי האָבן געשפּילט מיט 20-30 יאָר פֿאַר דער צייט פֿון אונדזער פֿאַרשרייבן; און כדי צו פֿאַרשרייבן לויט זייערע מעגלעכקייטן די קלענסטע דעטאַלן פֿונעם טעקסט, מעלאָדיע, מאָניר פֿון שפּילן אַאָ"וו. זיי האָבן זייער גוט פֿאַרשטאַנען, אַז אין רעזולטאַט פֿון אונדזער צוזאַמענאַרבעט וועט די סאָוועטישע וויסנשאַפֿט באַרייכערט ווערן מיט נייע מאַטעריאַלן, וואָס האָבן אַ וויכטיקן באַטייט נישט נאָר פֿאַר דער געשיכטע פֿונעם ייִדישן פֿאַלקס־טעאַטער.

הערות

1. פורים פֿיערט מען לזכר די יידן וואָס זיינען אָפּגעראַטעוועט געוואָרן פֿון המן הרשע, וואָס האָט אויסגעפּוועלט ביים פּערסישן קיניג אחשוורוש (אַרטאַקסערקס) אַ באַפֿעל אויסצוהרגענען די יידן. אַ דאַנק דעם קיניגס פֿרוי – אַסתר און איר פֿעטער מרדכי איז די גויה אָפּגעשריגן געוואָרן און המן איז אויפֿגעהאַנגען געוואָרן. דער יום־טובֿ ווערט געפּראַוועט דעם פֿערצנטן טאָג פֿון חודש אָדר – אַ חודש פֿאַר פּסח.
2. „מאַסלעניצאַ“ – ביי די סלאַווישע פֿעלקער אַ יום־טובֿ, וואָס אין משך פֿון זיבן טעג ווערן איינגעאַרדנט פֿאַרשידענע פֿאַלקסשפּילן, פֿאַלקסטענץ אַזױ,ו, מ'עסט בלינדעס און אַנדערע מאַכלים – איבערזעצער.
3. אין געגעבענעם פֿאַל איז פֿאַר אונדז נישט וויכטיק די גרעסערע אָדער די קלענערע נאַענטקייט פֿון פֿאַרשיידענע טעאַטראַלע עלעמענטן צום טעאַטער אין ענגערן זין פֿון וואָרט. אַ רעליגיעזער ריטואַל, אָדער באַזונדערע מאַמענטן פֿון גאַטסדינסטקולט זיינען צוגעבונדן צו אַ געוויסער צייט און אָרט, און ווייסן כּמעט נישט פֿון קיין אַנטוויקלונג. זייער איספּירונג איז קאַנאַזירט. אין פֿאַלקסשפּילן זיינען אַזעלכע באַגרענעצונגען אין אַ היפּשער מאָס ווייניקער און זיי דערלאָזן גאַנץ אָפּט צו אַן אַנטוויקלונג, און אַ מאָל גייען זיי אַפּילו איבער אין לעבן־שטייגערישע סצענעס. זע א. בעלעצקי: „דאָס אַלטערלעכע טעאַטער אין רוסלאַנד“ (רוסיש), מאַסקווע, 1923, ז' 19-20.
4. א. וועסעלאָווסקי: „דרײַ קאַפּיטלעך פֿון דער היסטאָרישער פּאַעטיק“, היסטאָרישע פּאַעטיק (רוסיש), לענינגראַד, 1940, ז' 317.
5. אויך אין די פֿאַלקסשפּילן, ריטואַלן אַזױ,ו, ד"ה אין דער טעאַטראַלישקייט פֿון דער צייט פֿאַר דעם אויפֿקום פֿון טעאַטער ווי אַזאַ, קען מען נישט איינזען העלכע סאַזאָ אויסגעהאַלטענע אַנטוויקלונגס ליניע פֿון דורכויסקער נאַציאָנאַלער אייגנאַרטיקייט, וואָס ווערט איבערגעריסן דורך דער השפּעה פֿון „פֿרעמדן“, געקומענעם פֿון דרויסן, טעאַטער. סײַ שפּילן, סײַ ריטואַלן אד"גל, ווי אויך אַלע אַנדערע פּאַרמען פֿון פֿאַלקס־קולטור און קונסט, פּילן אויף זיך די השפּעה פֿון אַנדערע פֿעלקער, און פֿון זייער זייט זיינען משפּיע אויף דער קולטור און קונסט פֿון אַנדערע פֿעלקער.
6. נאָר אויך אין דעם פֿאַל איז נישט פֿאַרבליבן קיין סך מאַטעריאַל, וואָס איז וויכטיק צו דער פֿאַרשונג פֿון דער טעאַטער־געשיכטע. עס זיינען אָנגעוויזן די דאַטעס פֿון די פֿאַרשטעלונגען און אויך די נעמען פֿון די פּיעסעס, אָבער נישט אַלע פּיעסעס זיינען אויפֿגעהיט געוואָרן.
7. אין אַנדערע באַדינגונגען קומט פֿאַר אין ראַטן־פֿאַרבאַנד דער אויפֿקום־פּראָצעס פֿון נייע נאַציאָנאַלע טעאַטערס ביי פֿעלקער, וואָס האָבן פֿרייער נישט געהאַט קיין טעאַטער. די סאַוועטישע נאַציאָנאַלע פּאָליטיק העלפט מיט אַלע מיטלען דעם אויפֿבלי פֿון נאַציאָנאַלער קולטור ביי אַלע פֿעלקער פֿונעם ראַטן־פֿאַרבאַנד, און אַ נייער נאַציאָנאַלער טעאַטער זוכט שוין פֿון די ערשטע טריט דעם וועג צום אַרגאַנישן צוניפֿאַס פֿון זיין פֿאַלקס־טעאַטראַלישקייט מיט די העכסטע דערגרייכונגען פֿון סאַוועטישן טעאַטער. דער טעאַטער פֿון דער פֿעאַדאַלער עפּאָכע, ווי אויך פֿון דער קאַפיטאַליסטישער, האָט נישט געהאַט אַזעלכע באַדינגונגען צו וואַקסן.
8. א. גורשטיין: „דער יידישער טעאַטער אין די 60ער יאָרן פֿון 19טן יאָרהונדערט“. זע די זאַמלונג מענדעלע און זיין צינט. מאַטעריאַלן צו דער געשיכטע פֿון דער יידישער ליטעראַטור אין 19טן יאָרהונדערט. מאַסקווע, פֿאַרלאַג „דער עמעס“, 1940, ז' 198-197.
9. לאַמיר אָנווייזן די הויפּט־אויספֿאַרשונגען: ד"ר י. שיפּער: געשיכטע פֿון יידישער טעאַטער-

- קונסט און דראַמע פֿון די עלטסטע צייטן ביז 1750, בענד 1-2, וואַרשע, 1923-1925; אויך זיין: יידישע פֿאַלקס־דראַמאַטיק, וואַרשע, 1928; ד"ר י. צינבערג: „פורים־שפּילן אין פֿאַרשידענע צייטן“, די צוקונפֿט, ניריאַרק, 1923, נ' 1; אויך זיין: די געשיכטע פֿון דער ליטעראַטור בני יידן, באַנד VI, קאַפּיטלען 11 און 12, ווילנע, 1935, ז' 335-384; ד"ר י. שאַצקי: רעצענזיע אויפֿן ערשטן באַנד פֿון י. שיפּערס בוך, טעאַליט, ניריאַרק, 1924, נ' 3; „די ערשטע געשיכטע פֿון יידישן טעאַטער“, [מאַקס וויינרייך, „צו דער געשיכטע פֿון דער עלטערער אחשוורוש־שפּיל“, דאַרטן, ז' 425-452], פֿילאָלאָגישע שריפֿטן, באַנד 2, ווילנע, 1928 [ז' 215-264]; נ. פּרילוצקי: „פֿאַר וואָס איז דאָס יידישע טעאַטער אויפֿגעקומען אַזױ שפּעט?“, אינעם זאַמלבוך: אונטערוועגס, ווילנע, 1940.
10. י. שיפּער, ז' 7-6. איבער די געדרוקטע „אחשוורוש־שפּיל“־אויסגאַבעס פֿון 18טן י"ה זעט די אויבן אָנגעוויזענע אַרבעט פֿון מ. ווינרייך. דאַרטן איז דאָ אַ באַשרייבונג פֿון פּיעסעס, פּובליקירט אין 1718, 1720, 1763 און 1774, ווי אויך אַ כתב־יד־עקזעמפּלאַר „אַקטאַ אַסתר“ Acta Esther, וואָס געפֿינט זיך אין דער אָקספֿארד־ביבליאָטעק. ווינרייך ברענגט אַ צאָל פֿראַגעמענטן פֿון אָט די פּיעסעס. זעט אויך די אָנגעוויזענע אַרבעט פֿון צינבערג: „פורים־שפּיל אין פֿאַרשידענע צייטן“.
11. שיפּער האָט זיך באַמיט אויסזוכן יענע רעפּליקעס אינעם פּורים־שפּיל־טעקסט וואָס דערווייזן, אַז מע האָט די פּיעסעס געוונגען. ער ווייזט אויך אָן אויף דער טראַדיציע, אַז די פּורים־שפּילערס האָבן געוונגען זייערע ראַלעס. אָבער וועגן דער מוזיק אַליין רעדט ער גאַרנישט.
12. אחשוורוש־פורים־שפּיל. פֿאַלקס־אַפּערעטע אין דרײַ אַקטן, פֿאַרשריבן פֿון ווילנער פּורים־שפּילערס מיט באַמערקונגען פֿון די שפּילערס, פֿון א. ליטוין. אַראַנזשירט פֿאַר געזאַנג און פּיאַנע פֿון מ. געלבאַרט, ליטעראַרישער פֿאַרלאַג, ניריאַרק, 1916.
13. קרעטשמאַר: „די געשיכטע פֿון אָפּערע“, רוסישע איבערזעצונג אונטער דער רעדאַקציע פֿון ב. אַסאַפּיעוו, לענינגראַד, 1925, ז' 17.
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(1940, "НЛС ГИЛ") ГЭЕ - 96) - 30001

ПРОДАЖА ИОСИФА

Записано от Хаима Мербойма, 63 лет, синагогального служки в г. Коломые, Станиславской области. До 1914 года Мербойм был маляром, после войны 1914–1918 гг. поступил на службу в синагогу. Пьесу эту он называл «Иосиф-шпиль». В прологе в реплике Иосифа она названа «Продажа Иосифа» («Мэхирас Иосиф»). Эту пьесу Мербойм перенял от старых пуримшпилеров в Коломые и, начиная с 1892 года (когда ему было 15 лет), участвовал в постановках этой пьесы. Играл различные роли. Некоторые номера, по сообщению Мербойма, сочинены местными пуримшпилерами. Руководил труппой Борух Красуцкий, портной, впоследствии эмигрировавший в Америку.

Репетиции начинались в конце декабря, вскоре после праздника Маккавеев (Ханука). В неделю устраивали пять репетиций: в воскресенье, во вторник, в пятницу вечером, в субботу днем и вечером. Руководитель разучивал с каждым в отдельности его роль с голоса. Мербойм заверяет, что ни у кого из исполнителей не было ни рукописных, ни печатных экземпляров этой пьесы или отдельных ролей. Каждый из участников должен был заботиться о своем костюме. Согласно указаниям руководителя покупали соответствующий материал и отдавали шить костюмы.

Последние восемь дней до праздника Пурим репетиции происходили ежедневно. Играл в костюмах и в гриме. Зрители, присутствовавшие на этих репетициях, восторженно принимали постановку.

В течение всего дня праздника Пурим пуримшпилеры ходили по домам более или менее зажиточных евреев и исполняли отдельные отрывки пьесы. Платили им 5–10 австрийских крэйцеров. На вечер они снимали зал и публику пускали по билетам (от 50 крэйцеров и дороже). Билеты частично разносили по домам, большей же частью брали в кассе. В городе были расклеены афишы (чаще печатные). Обычно ходила молодежь. Играл только в вечер праздника Пурим. Постоянного театра тогда в Коломые не было.

Во время спектакля все исполнители все время находились на сцене (в частных домах – у стены или в углу, где происходило представление). Те, кто не играли в данном явлении, стояли в стороне и участвовали в хоре. При пении хора руководитель не дирижировал рукой, а делал указания глазами.

В последний раз они ставили эту пьесу в 1910 году. Другая компания пуримшпилеров, функционировавшая в Коломые и исполнявшая пьесу «Ахашверош-шпиль», играла, по словам Мербойма, до 1930 года*.

Текст и фонограммы записаны в Коломые, Станиславской области в августе 1940 года. Фонографические валики №№ 1214–1227. Расшифровал М. Береговский.

ДЕЙСТВУЮЩИЕ ЛИЦА

Иаков – в цветной турецкой бекеше (халате), опоясанный турецким поясом, в соболевой шапке, в черных полуботинках и в белых чулках. Длинная белая борода (из крепа), в руке длинный посох с загнутой ручкой.

Одиннадцать сыновей – все в красных брюках и в красных рубашках, носят мечи, красные конфедератки (четыреугольные). На околыше шапок написано имя каждого из сыновей.

Иосиф, 17 лет, одет, как братья, но рубашка шелковая. Без меча. На его шапке нашита полосочка белой овчины. В Египте – в царском одеянии.

* Мербойм ошибся. Хаим-Лейб Гайферман, бывший руководитель второй компании пуримшпилеров в Коломые, от которого мы тогда же записали исполнявшийся его труппой вариант «Ахашверош-шпиля», сообщил нам, что в последний раз они ставили эту пьесу «по всем правилам старинной традиции» в праздник Пурим 1939 года.

Фараон – в царском одеянии: поверх мундира красный плащ, лента через плечо, корона из золотой бумаги (по образцу короны, надеваемой на свитки Торы). В руке длинная палка с головкой (скипетр). На пальце кольцо. Бакенбарды. Лакированные сапоги. Слуга – в красном мундире, шапка из синей (нижняя полоса) и красной (верхняя полоса) бумаги. Носит меч, на ботинках шпоры.

Два турка – в красных широких турецких шароварах, на ногах лапти из сыромятной кожи, от которых идет ременный переplet. Поверх рубахи носят пелерины, на голове турецкие фески, в руках арапники.

Из реквизита исполнители носили с собой прямоугольный ящик с высокой передней стенкой, изображающий гроб Рахили.

ПРОЛОГ

Слуга вызывает на сцену Иакова и его 12 сыновей. Входит Иаков с сыновьями. Он ведет за руку младшего сына, Вениамина. Все становятся в полукруг и поют. Хоровая песня. Иосиф приветствует зрителей. Они сюда пришли показать шпиль «Продажа Иосифа». Он представляется зрителям и просит их успокоиться.

ДЕЙСТВИЕ ПЕРВОЕ

1-е явление

Иаков представляется зрителям. Он тяжело работал у Лавана. Теперь у него 12 сыновей, самый красивый из них Иосиф. Сыновья собираются уходить в поле. Иаков благословляет каждого в отдельности. Сыновья кланяются ему. Уходят. Остаются Иаков и Вениамин.

2-е явление

Иаков посылает слугу за Иосифом.

3-е явление

Слуга передает Иосифу приказ отца.

4-е явление

Иосиф рассказывает отцу, что братья его себя плохо ведут, они едят сырое мясо, развратничают, с детьми Билы и Зильпы, своими сводными братьями, они обращаются, как с рабами. Иаков посылает слугу созвать всех сыновей.

5-е явление

Слуга передает сыновьям приказ Иакова. Рувим говорит, что они тотчас придут.

6-е явление

Иаков упрекает сыновей в плохом поведении. Иосиф просит разрешить ему рассказать свой сон. Он и братья вяжут снопы в поле. Его сноп поднялся, стал, а все остальные снопы стали ему кланяться. А в прошлую ночь ему снилось, что солнце и одиннадцать звезд кланялись ему. Иегуда возмущен – Иосиф хочет стать над ними господином, а они, братья, должны стать его рабами. Если он и впредь будет над ними издеваться, они с ним рассчитаются. Иаков упрекает Иосифа. Он должен помнить, что Рахиль, мать его, давно умерла, она из гроба не встанет, чтобы за него заступиться. Подобные рассказы Иосифа вызывают ненависть к нему со стороны братьев. Иаков призывает сыновей не обращать внимания на сны Иосифа, пойти в поле пасти овец. Все уходят.

Продажа Иосифа

7-е явление

Иаков посылает слугу за Иосифом.

8-е явление

Слуга передает Иосифу слова отца.

9-е явление

Иаков посылает Иосифа проведать братьев. Иосиф изъявляет свою готовность выполнить приказ отца.

10-е явление

Песня Иосифа. Он идет к братьям, хоть и знает, что они могут его убить. Вдали виден ангел, который приближается к Иосифу.

11-е явление

Ангел спрашивает Иосифа, кого он ищет, зачем он лазит по высоким горам. Иосиф отвечает, что он ищет своих братьев. Ангел говорит, что они ушли в Досан. Он советует Иосифу вернуться домой, братья убьют его. Иосиф отвечает, что голову сложит, но приказ отца выполнит.

12-е явление

Братья в поле. Песня за обедом. Симон предупреждает их, что среди братьев есть один, который кривит душой. Это Иосиф. Он доносит отцу об их дурных поступках. Симон готов с ним расправиться. Издали показывается Иосиф.

13-е явление

Иосиф подходит. Иегуда хватает его за рукав и тянет к себе. Иосиф приветствует братьев. Рувим и Симон отказываются здороваться с ним – он доносит отцу об их дурных поступках. Они его убьют. Иосиф молит отпустить его к отцу. Симон уговаривает братьев не поддаваться фальшивым словам Иосифа. Рувим против того, чтобы Иосифа убили. Пусть снимут с него шелковую рубашку и бросят его в змеиную яму. Иосиф молит пощадить его. Если старый Иаков узнает о его смерти, он вырвет из своей седой головы все волосы. Симон соглашается с тем, чтобы бросить Иосифа в яму. Это выполняют. Рувим отправляется к отцу. Он молит Бога, чтобы Иосиф остался невредим. Рувим вытащит его из ямы и спасет ему жизнь.

14-е явление

Иосиф в яме. Он плачет и молит бога спасти ему жизнь во имя благих деяний его прадеда Авраама, деда Исаака и отца Иакова. Авраам подвергся обряду обрезания в 90 лет, Исаак взошел на алтарь, дал себя связать и готов был умереть. Но ангелы подняли шум, и Авраам остался с ножом в руках. Иаков тяжело работал у Лавана 14 лет и за это получил Рахиль, мать Иосифа, в жены. Иосиф закликает огненных змей не трогать его. Появляются турки и вытаскивают Иосифа из ямы.

15-е явление

Братья продают Иосифа туркам.

16-е явление

Турки укладываются на землю и засыпают. Иосиф видит на горе Хеврон могилу своей матери Рахили. Он будет плакать и рыдать, может, она его вызволит. Песня Иосифа. Турки просыпаются и отгоняют Иосифа от могильного камня. Голос Рахили (из могилы) утешает Иосифа. Отец его Иаков тоже подвергся тяжелым испытаниям. Пусть идет с турками без страха. Он попадет в Египет и станет там царем. Иосиф просит ее предстать перед

Всевышним и требовать справедливости. Слыхано ли, чтобы брат продавал своего брата в рабство.

ДЕЙСТВИЕ ВТОРОЕ

1-е явление

Иаков говорит Рувиму, что если тот не приведет домой Иосифа, он его проклянет.

2-е явление

Рувим с братьями в поле. Он обращается к Иегуде, Симону и Леви с просьбой сказать ему, куда делся Иосиф. Без этого он не может вернуться к отцу, он уйдет куда глаза глядят. Иегуда заверяет его, что они не убили Иосифа. Симон предлагает бросить жребий, кому из братьев выпадет сказать отцу о пропаже Иосифа. Иегуда советует зарезать козочку и в ее крови смочить рубашку Иосифа, отнести ее отцу и сказать ему, что хищный зверь растерзал Иосифа. Рувим объявляет Иегуде, что жребий пал на него. Сыновья отправляются к Иакову. Во главе идет Иегуда, он несет окровавленную рубашку. У дома Иакова все остаются на улице. Иегуда входит в дом.

3-е явление

Иаков спрашивает Иегуду, почему он так плохо выглядит. Иегуда отвечает, что уже три дня и три ночи как он не имел ничего во рту. Иаков требует, чтобы все сыновья зашли в дом.

4-е явление

Иегуда рассказывает, что они три дня и три ночи рыскали по всем дорогам. Вот окровавленная рубашка, не Иосифа ли эта рубашка? Иаков подтверждает. Он сам виноват, он не должен был посылать Иосифа. Иаков падает в обморок. Дети брызгают на него водой, и он приходит в себя. Песня Иакова. Он посылает сыновей привести к нему первого зверя, которого они встретят. Один из сыновей выходит. За сценой слышен выстрел. Ушедший возвращается со зверем.

5-е явление

Иегуда передает отцу зверя. Иаков упрекает зверя в том, что он растерзал Иосифа. Не мог он разве зарезать овцу? Зверя следует убить. Зверь плачет – у него самого пропало единственное дитя. Иаков тронут его горем и велит отпустить зверя. Зверя он просит разузнать, кто растерзал Иосифа.

ДЕЙСТВИЕ ТРЕТЬЕ

1-е явление

Фараон на троне. Он приказывает привести всех мудрецов и кудесников со всей страны, чтобы они растолковали его сон. Того, кто растолкует сон, он щедро наградит – отдаст ему корону и кольцо, и тот будет править всей страной. Слуга говорит, что у Пентефрия есть очень толковый слуга из страны евреев. Они вместе пасли овец. Слуга знает, что тот разумно растолковывает сны. Фараон приказывает привести Иосифа.

2-е явление

Слуга передает Иосифу приказ Фараона.

3-е явление

Иосиф растолковывает сон Фараона. В стране будет семь лет голод. Надо заблаговременно заготовить хлеб. Фараон награждает Иосифа короной и кольцом. Иосиф садится на трон.

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4-е явление

Иосиф приказывает слуге выполнять все его приказания. Всех, кто войдет в городские ворота, он приказывает записывать.

5-е явление

Рувим сообщает отцу, что у них нет хлеба. Все теперь ездят в Египет и покупают там дешевый хлеб. Иаков дает детям деньги и отправляет их в Египет. Он им приказывает по одному входить в каждые из десяти городских ворот, дабы их не сглазили. Так же по одному войти в каждые из десяти дверей дворца – может, они встретят пропавшего Иосифа.

6-е явление

Слуга докладывает Иосифу, что в городские ворота вошло десять человек. Иосиф приказывает привести их к нему.

7-е явление

Слуга приводит братьев. Иосиф спрашивает, откуда они и зачем сюда приехали. Он стучит своим волшебным кубком и заявляет, что они приехали высмотреть всё в стране. Рувим отвечает, что они не шпионы, а честные люди. Они из страны Ханаанской и приехали купить рожь. Иосиф требует объяснений, почему они по одному входили в каждые из десяти городских ворот и десяти дверей дворца. Рувим объясняет. Иосиф приказывает арестовать Симона. Он его будет держать заложником, пока они приведут самого младшего брата Вениамина. Песня Симона. Он будет плакать и рыдать, чтобы отец услышал его голос. Они наказаны за то, что бросили Иосифа в яму. Иегуда говорит, что они пойдут к отцу и будут его упрашивать, чтобы он отпустил с ними Вениамина.

8-е явление

Иегуда умоляет отца отпустить с ними Вениамина. Иаков не соглашается: Симона нет, Иосифа нет, а теперь может погибнуть и Вениамин. Иегуда клянется, что он доставит Вениамина домой. Иаков спрашивает Вениамина, хочет ли он пойти с братьями. Вениамин верит слову Иегуды и готов идти с ним. Иегуда просит Иакова благословить их.

9-е явление

Иегуда говорит Иосифу, что он привез Вениамина. Иосиф приказывает освободить Симона, а братьев отвести на хлебный склад и отпустить им рожь. Потихоньку он велит слуге вложить кубок в мешок Вениамина. Слуга должен также задержать братьев.

10-е явление

Слуга приказывает братьям вернуться к Иосифу, так как исчез кубок Иосифа.

11-е явление

Иосиф упрекает братьев. Они заверяли, что среди них нет воров, а меж тем исчез его кубок. Иегуда возмущен. Если окажется, что кубок будет найден у кого-либо из них, тот должен быть убитым, а они все будут вечными рабами. Иосиф приказывает слуге развязать мешки и обыскать их. Слуга докладывает, что кубок обнаружен в мешке Вениамина. Иосиф приказывает задержать Вениамина, а остальные могут уехать. Иегуда выхватывает свой меч и заявляет, что они перебыют всех жителей города. Иосиф подходит к нему и велит ему успокоиться. Он их брат Иосиф. Братья требуют какой-нибудь знак в подтверждение слов Иосифа. Иосиф рассказывает все, что с ним произошло. Он приказывает послать десять верблюдов и десять карет, чтобы привезти сюда Иакова и все его добро.

12-е явление

Дети у Иакова. Песня Нафтале. Бог умножил их богатства, а Иосиф царствует в Египте. Иаков рад – он увидится с Иосифом. Он думал, что Иосиф погиб, а тот жив и здоров.

ЭПИЛОГ

Хоровая песня. Хозяину дома, жене его и детям желают всяческих благ. Туримшпилеры просят хозяев не скупиться и щедро им заплатить, за это им Бог пошлет здоровья и все удовольствия. Желают хозяевам доброй ночи (днем – доброго дня).

PROLOG

12/09

Badiner

He-rajn, he-rajn, he-rajn! Cve-lef švo-tim
 lu-stik of-ge-špilt. Jan-kev mit di kin-der cum blat geštelt

Xor

Mit un-dze-re šof un rin-der tu' mir cu-za-men
 gejn, fa-ru al-tu fo-ter Jan-kev tu' mir grod štejn. Of
 un-dze-re kem-len tu-en mir rajtn, mit un-dze-re
 zeb-len tu-en mir štrajtn, mit fajl un boj-gu
 tu' mir zix ba-ve-ru, di gan-ce štot Šxem ibercukern.

Badiner: Herajn, herajn, herajn!
 Cvelef švotim lustik ofgešpilt!
 Jankev mit di kinder cum blat geštelt.

(S'kumt arajn Jankev mit di cvelef zin. Jankev firt Binjominen far der hand. Ale štelu zix ojs in halbkrajz un zingen).

Xor:

5. Mit undzere šof un rinder tu' mir cuzamen gejn,
 Farn altn foter Jankev tu' mir grod štejn.
 Af undzere kemlen tuen mir rajtn,
 Mit undzere zeblen tuen mir štrajtn,
 Mit fajl un bojgn tu' mir zix bavarn
 Di gance štot Šxem ibercukern.

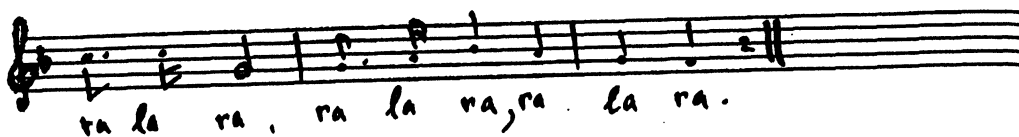
12/32

Josef

He-ru un da-men, a-le be-za-men,
 Jan-kev der al-ter man mit zaj-ne cve-lf šta-men.

ja la ra, - ja la ra, ra ra ra ra ra ra,
 ja ra ra, ra la ra, ja la ra, ra ja ra.
 A šej-nem gu-tu a-bud da van-čen mir-
 i-nem fir a-le laj-te. Vir ze-nem da-
 hir ge-ko-man, vir ze-lu ejs der-čej-lu
 me-xi-ras. Jo-sef = spi-le, ix bin Jo-sef ka-va-lir.
 Ja-ra ra ra ra ra ram, ra ra ra ra ra ra,
 ra la la la ra la ra. Švajgt štil, švajgt štil,
 naj-ne li-be laj-te! ščajet ge-duld, ščajet ge-duld af
 aj-ner kuroer čaj-te. Ščet eol ve-ru euge-šajt
 a-le fir zaj-te. Šer al-ter fo-ter Januv iz a-
 rajn-ge-ko-man mit zaj-ne eve-ľf laj-te. Ja la ra,
 ja la ra, ja la ra ra ra ra ra. Ra ra ra

Продажа Иосифа

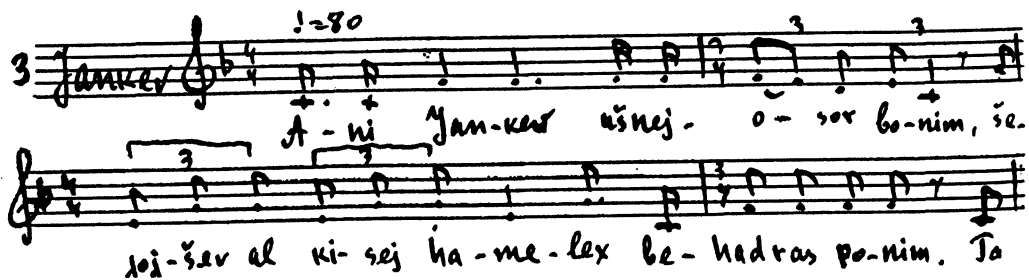


- Josef: 10. Heren un damen,
Ale bezamen.
Jankev der alter man
Mit zajne cvelef štamen.
- Xor: Ja la ra, ja la ra,
Ra la ra, ra ra ra,
15. Ja ra ra, ra la ra,
Ja la ra, ra ja ra.
- Josef: A šejnem gutn abend
Da vunčn mir inen für ale lajte,
Vir zajnen dahir gekomen,
20. Vir vel' mir ajx ercejlen
Mexiras-Josef-špile.
Ix bin Josef kavalir.
- Xor: Ta ra ra ra ra ram
Ra ra ra ra ra ra,
25. Ra la la la
Ra la ra.
- Josef: Švajgt štil, švajgt štil,
Majne libe lajte!
Blajbt geduld, blajbt geduld
30. Af ajner kurcer cajte.
Ject zol vern cugešojt
Af ale fir zajte.
Der alter foter Jankev iz arajngekomen
Mit zajne cvelef lajte.
- Xor: 35 Ja la ra, ja la ra
Ja la ra, ra ra ra ra,
Ra ra ra ra la ra,
Ra la ra, ra la ra.

ERSTER AKT

1-te scene

(Jankev zect zix af dem štul, vos iz far im cugegrejt. Er halt Binjominen far der hant. Di iberike zin štejen arum im.)



Jankev:

Ani Jankev ušnejosor bonim,
Šejošev al kisej hamelex behadras ponim.
Dos bin ix der Jankev mit zajne cvelef kinder,
A štul hob ix in ganejdn, s'iz gor a vunder.

45. Ta ra la, la ra la ra,
Ra la ra ra, ra la ra.

Ani Jahkev mimivxar ševoves,
Mirvovojs hakojdeš liškojn baaroves.

50. Ta ra la...
Ix bin mir aher arajngekumen mit majne kinderlex ajntajnen,
Un di cure fun majn zun Josef tut aropšajnen.

Ta ra la...
Azojne cvelef kinder vi ix hob dox cuker-zis,
A štul hob ix in ganejdn af fir gildene fis.
Ta ra la....

1296

Jankev

A-tem u-vo-nej-xem ve-xol ke-roj-voj-xem,
Bro-xo ve-hae-lo-xo be-xol masej jodej-xem. Fercn
jor hob ix ge-ho-re-vel ba Lovonen in dem feld, ba-
tog hot mix far-breut di zun un ba-naxt di kelt.
Tra ra ra ra ra ra ram, ra ra ra ra ram,
tra ra ra ra ra ra ra, ra ra ra ra ram.

Jankev:

55. Atem uvonejxem vexol kerovejxem,
Broxo venacloxo bexol masej jodejxem.
Fercn jor hob ix gehorevet ba Lovonon in dem feld,
Batog hot mix farbreut di zun un banaxt di kelt,

(di kinder grejtn zix avekcugejn. Jankev hejbt zix uf funem štul, lejgt zajn hant af jederns kop un
benčt di kinder. Jeder zun nojgt zix tif).

Parlando ♩ = 69

A - eind maj-re li-be kinder-lex, gejts in
feld a-rajn un tut di šof hi-tu un le-ernt di
toj-re, vos ix tu ajx ge-bi-tru gejts in feld arajn
un far-gest nit i-nem le-ben di-ku got un
halt zajn ge-bot

Jankev: Acind, majne libe kinderlex, gejts in feld arajn un tut di šof hitn,
60. Uh lernt di tojre, vos ix tu ajx gebitn.
Gejts in feld arajn un fargest nit on dem lebedikn got
Un halts majn gebot.

(Di kinder gejen avek. S'blajbn Jankev mit Binjominen).

2-te scene

♩ = 112

Ge-lojbt iz got, vos s'iz šojn next, ver
vult mir a-her majn zun Jo-sef ge-braxt?..

Jankev: Gelojbt iz got, vos s'iz šojn next
Ver vult mir aher majn zun Josef gebraxt?
65. Badiner, badiner, breng mir im aher,
A štikl vegs vil ix im šikn,
Kedej ix zol mir majn harc derkvikn.

Вариант 1

3-te scene

Paslando 1 = 78

Badiner

Jo-sef, o-vi-xo ŝo-lax ba-a-vi-
 re-xo, ki me-ca-pe li-roj-s po-ne-xo. Jo-sef pa-
 ta-te t'dix ge-ŝikt ru-fu, er vet dix der-zen, vet ima-
 sim-xe-be-grif-nu.

Badiner:

- Josef, ovixo ŝolax baavirexo
 Ki mecape lirojs ponexo.
 70. Josef, der tate t'dix geŝikt rufn,
 Er vet dix derzen, vet im a simxe begrifn.

4-te scene

1 = 84

Josef

ŝin-ei-ker fo-ter! X'hd ut far-ge-su in dem
 le-be-di-ku got, a-zoj ŝtej ix do cu dajn gebot.
 O-x, o-vi, o-vi, a-ni a-xa-bed a-xa-
 bed-xo be-xol naf-ŝi u-ve-xol le-vo-
 vi ki a-to hu bal ho-rax-min, haŝ-
 lex le-ho-vi. O-x, ta-te, ta-te, ix vel ŝojn dajn

122

ko-ved er-lex hal-tu mit majn gane hanc un mit majn
 gane fe-bu, far ha-šem jis-bo-rex vel iy di hav-
 to-xe op-ge-bu. Tra la ra la, ra la ra, la ra
 ra la ra ra ra ra ra ra.

Josef: Ejnciker foter! ix hob nit fargesn in dem lebendikn got,
 Azoj štej ix do cu dajn gebot.

(Er bojgt zix far Jankevn)

- Ax, ovi, ovi, ani axabed axabetxo bexol nafši ubexol levovi,
 75. Ki ato hu bal horaxmim, hašlex lehovi.
 Ox, tate, tate, ix vel šojn dajn koved erlex haltu mit majn ganc hanc un
 mit majn ganc lebn,
 Far hašem jisborex vel ix di havtoxe opgebn,
 Ta la ra la, ra la ra,
 Ra la ra, ra ra ra ra ra.
80. Hanimšl loejo veonu lapojrojs,
 Uvonexo hojlxim im nošim axejrojs,
 Oj tate, tate, vi kenstu azelxe cores derlajdn,
 Az dajne hejlake kinder tuen znus trajbn.
 Ta la ra la...
85. Veejn ani jojdeja bojre ojлом imaj vealmaj,
 Uvonexo ojxlim ejver min haxaj.
 Ejver min haxaj tuen dajne kinder esn,
 Un dem lebendikn got tuen zej fargesn,
 Ta la ra la...
90. Oj tate, tate, ix vel dix nox fregn dos ejne, ci s'iz azoj gerext.
 Az benej Bilo Vezilpo rufn zej knext.

Andante ♩ = 80

Ba-di-ner, ba-di-ner, zej rufmira-
 rajn di kin-der-lex fu-nem fra-jem feld,

vajl s'hot zix mir ge-xo-lemt a xo-lem, vos iz nit ge-herht ge-vo-ru un ge-daxt ge-vo-ru af der gancer velt. Ti-di ra ra ra ra ra, ra la ra ra, ra la ra ra ra, ra ra ra ra ra, ra la ra ra ra. Zolst zej xo-gu, az izol zej af mir gor nit fardri-su. vajl ix hob mit zej o-do a groj-su sod cu šmi-su. Ti-di ra ra ra ra ra, ra la ra ra ra la ra ra ra, ra ra ra ra ra, ra la ra ra ra.

Jankev:

Badiner, badiner, gej ruf mir arajn di kinder fun dem feld,
 Vajl s'hot zix mir gexolemt a xolem, vos iz ništ gehert gevorn un
 gedaxt gevorn af der gancer velt.

95. Ti di ra ra ra ra,
 Ra la ra ra, ra la ra ra
 Ra ra ra ra ra,
 Ra la ra ra ra.

100. Zolst zej zogn az s'zol zej af mir gornit fardrisn,
 Vajl ix hob mit zej ot do a grojsn sod cu šmisn.

Tidi ra ra...
 Du zolst zej zogn, az zej zoln cunojf trajbn di šof mit di rinder,
 Vajl x'hob gehert zogn, az zej zajnen gevorn zejzer šlexte kinder.
 Tidi ra ra....

5-te scene

Badiner (melodie 9): Der tate hot ajx gešikt ahejmrufrn fun dem feld,
 105. Vajl s'hot zix im gexolemt a xolem, vos iz nit gehert gevorn un nit edaxt

gevorn af der vajter velt.

Tidi ra ra ra...

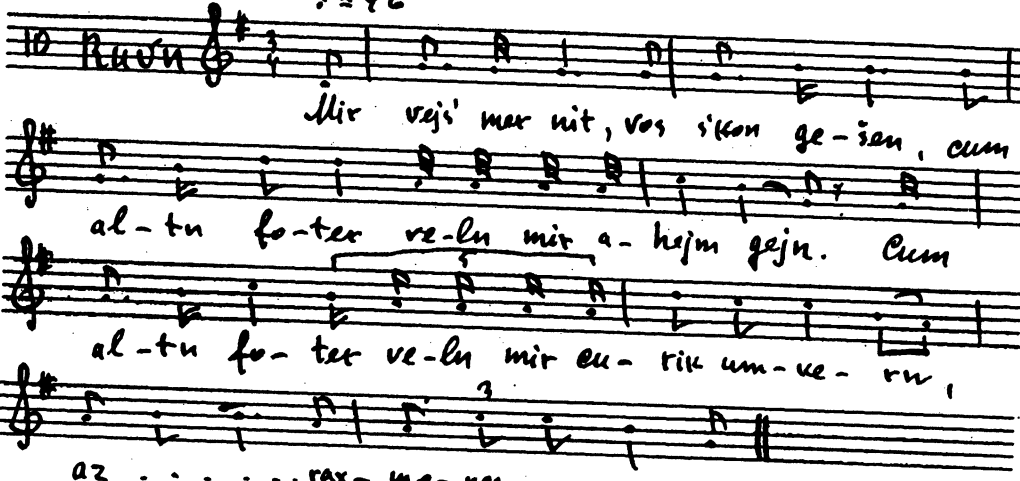
Er hot ajx gebetn, s'zol ajx afile gor nit fardrisn,
Vajl er hot mit ajx indrerhejm a grojsn sod cu šmism.

Tidi ra ra ra...

110. Er hot gezogt, ir zolt cunoftrajbn ale šof un rinder,
Vajl er hot gehert zogn, ir zajnt gevorn zejer šlexte kinder.

Tidi ra ra ra...

♩ = ♩♩

10 Ruvn 

Mir vejs' mer nit, vos s'kon ge-šen, cum
al-tu fo-ter ve-lu mir a-hejm gejn. Cum
al-tu fo-ter ve-lu mir eu-rik um-ve-ru,
az rax-mo-nes

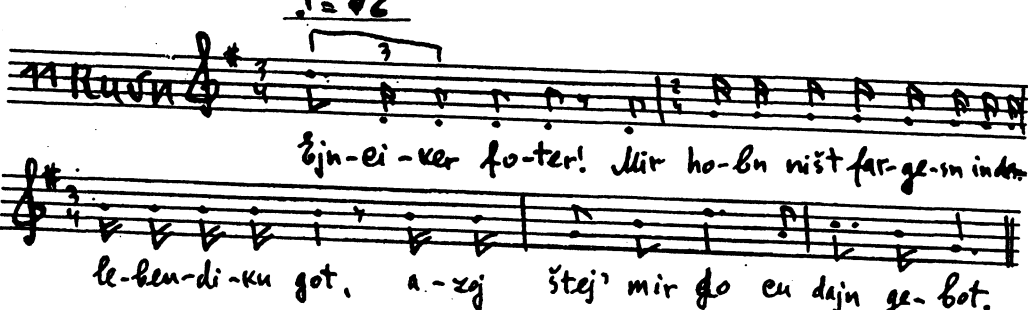
Ruvn:

Mir vejs' mer nit, vos s'kon gešen,
Cum altn foter ahejm veln mir gejn,

115. Cum altn foter veln mir curik umkern,
Az raxmones

6-te scene

♩ = ♩♩

11 Ruvn 

Šjn-ei-ker fo-ter! Mir ho-bn ništ far-ge-sm in dem
le-ben-di-ku got, a-zaj štej' mir do cu dajn ge-bot.

Ruvn:

Ejnciker foter! Mir hobn nit fargesn in dem lebedikn got,
Azoj štej' mir do cu dajn gebot.

Jankev:

Iber dem, majne libe kinder, hob ix ajx gešikt ahejm rufn funem feld,
120. Vajl s'hot zix mir gexolemt a xolem, vos iz nit gehert gevorn af der vajter velt.

Tidi ra ra ra...

Iber dem, majne libe kinder, hob ix ajx gebetn, s'zol ajx af mir gornit fardrisn,

Vajl ix hob mit ajx ot do a grojsn sod cu šmism.

Tidi ra ra ra...

125. Iber dem hob ix ajx gebetn, ir zolt cunoftrajbn di šof mit di rinder,
Vajl ix hob gehert zogn, ir zajnt gevorn zejer šlexte kinder

Tidi ra ra ra...

Erštns majne libe kinder, vil ix ajx zogn, az se štejt in der hejliker
tojre, az s'iz ništ azoj di rext,

Az ejn bruder dem andern zol rufn knext.

Tidi ra ra ra...

130. Cvejtns, majne libe kinder, vil ix ajx zogn, az kajn znus tor men ojn nit
trajbn,

Vorem der menč, vos tut znus trajbn, muz avade xibed hakejver lajdn.

Dritns, majne libe kinder, vil ix ajx zogn, az kejn ejver min haxaj tor
men ojn nit esn,

Vajl der menč, vos tut esn ejver min haxaj,

135. Iz fun ojlem habe farbaj.

Josef (gejt cu cum fofer un nejgt zix far im):

Ovi, ovi, ani adaber xalojmojsaj, šexolamti balajlo haze.

Jankev:

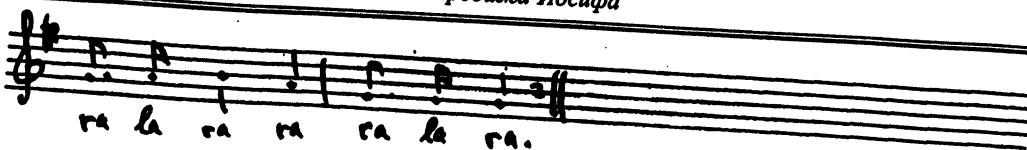
Daber.

Parlando ♩ = 66

Josef

A-ni jo-kan-ti al mi-tu-si ha-laj-lo ha-ze, ve-ki-neya o-nax-nu me-el-mim a-lu-mim be-tojx-ha-se-de Ef-šor hot ir ge-her, Bri-der, vos hot zix mir ge-xo-lent di next, mir ho-bu in feld snopet tu-e ge-mact... A-zoj hot zix ge-ton en mir di zan mit der le-vo-ne a bi-sl a-vek-ru-ku un di e-lef ite-ru ho-bu zix ge-ton en mir bu-ku. Ji di ra la la ra la ra,

Продажа Иосифа



Josef:

Ani jošanti al mitosi halajlo haze,
Vehinej anaxnu mealmim alumim betojx hasode.

140. Tidi ra la la ra la la,
Ra la ra ra ra la ra.

Ešer hot ir gehert, brider, vos s'hot zix mir gexolemt di naxt,
Mir hobn in feld snopes tvue gemaxt.
Tidi ra la la...

145. Vehinej, komo alumosi vegam nicovo,
Hot zix majn snopekl tvue ufgeštelt un iz geblibn štejn
Un ale ajere hobn geton arum majnem arumgejn.
Tidi ra la la...

Azoy hot zix geton majn snopekl tvue avekrukn,
150. Un ajere cvelef arum majns hobn zix geton cu im bukn
Tidi ra la la...

Ešer hot ir nit gehert dem xolem fun der eršter naxt,
Vel ix ajx dercejln dem xolem fun der anderer naxt
Tidi ra la la...

155. Der xolem fun der anderer naxt hot zix mir geton topl mol mern,
S'hot zix cu mir gebukt di zun un di levone un di elef šteren.
Tidi ra la la...

Azoy hot zix geton cu mir di zun un di levone a bisl avekrukn,
Un di elef šteren hobn zix geton cu mir bukn.
160. Tidi ra la la...

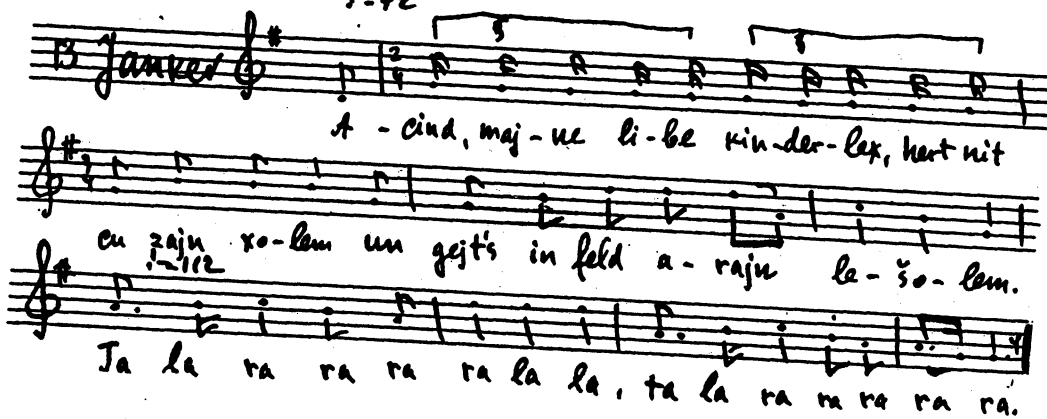
Jehudo:

Hamojšel timšojl bonu,
Kerstu nit mejnen, az du vest iber undz zajn a har,
Un undz i' mir ba dir knext?
Du vest fun undz špotn un laxn,

Jankev (redt):

170. Mir veln zen gix un bald fun cir an ek cu maxn.
Štil nor, du narišer jung!
Mer zolstu cu mir mit azelxe xalojmes nit kumen cugejn.
Dajn muter Roxl iz šojn lang geštorbn,
Zi vet ojs ir kejver nit ufštejn.

175. Du tust dajne xalojmes ojsšrajn af di gasn,
Iber dem tuen dix majne brider hasn.



Вариант 1

Acind, majne libe kinderlex, hert's ništ cu zajn xolem
Un gejt's in feld arajn lešolem.

180. Ta la ra ra ra la la,
Ta la ra ra ra ra
Gejts in feld arajn un tut di šof hitn,
Un lernt di tojre, vos ix tu ajx gebitn.

Ta la ra ra...
Gejt's in feld arajn un fargest nit on dem lebendikn got
185. Un halt's majn gebot.
Ta la ra ra...

(di kinder gejen avek).

7-te scene

Jankev (melodie num. 6): Gelojbt iz got, vos s'iz šojn next.
Ver volt mir aher majn zun Josef gebraxt.
Badiner, badiner, breng mir im aher,
190. A štikl veg vel ix im šikn,
Kedej er zol mir majn harc derkvikn.

8-te scene

Badiner (melodie num. 7): Jojsef, ovixo šolax baavurexo,
Ki mecape lirojs ponexo.
Josef, der tate hot dix gešikt ahejm rufn,
195. Er vet dix derzen vet im a simxe bagrifn.

9-te scene

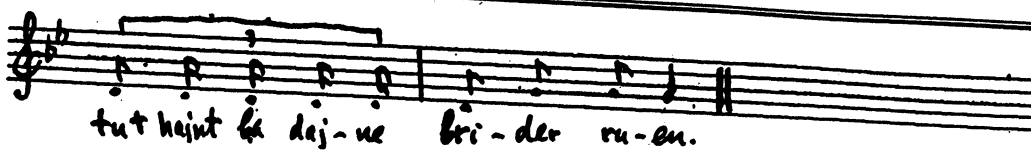
Josef (melodie num. 8): Ejnciker foter, x'hob nit fargesn on dem lebendikn got,
Azoj štej ix do cu dajn gebot.

Jankev: Josef beni, tejelejx lidrojš bišlojm axexo.
Josef: Ovi, ovi, ani hajojm uvxol jojm lišmojr es kvojdexo.

Handwritten musical score for the song "Josef (melodie num. 8)". The score is written on four staves in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 104$. The lyrics are written below the notes.

14 Jankev

Ve-soj-di- ej-ni es div-rej-kem, ki je
rej-si pen ma-lex Ha-nan soj-ne a-lej-hem. Un
du majn zis le-bu, zolst ku-men gix un ge-irind cu
fli-en, vejł ix hob moj-re, az der ma-lex Ha-nan



tut hajnt ba daj-ne bri-der ru-en.

Jankev:

200. Vesojdiejni es divrejhem,
 Ki jorejsi pen malex Hanan xojne alejhem.
 Un du, majn zis lebn, zolst kumen gix un gešvind cuflien,
 Vajl ix hob mojre, az der malex Hanan
 Tut hajnt ba dajne brider ruen.

Josef

Ox, o - vi, o - vi, a - ni a - xi - bed a - xa -
 bed - xo be - xol naf - xi. u - ve - xol le - vo - vi, ki
 a - to hu bal ho - rax - mim le - haš - lex le - vo - vi.
 Ox, ta - te, ta - te! ix vel šojn dajn ko - ved
 er - lex hal - tu mit majn gane hare un mit majn
 gane le - bn, far ha - šem jis - bo - rax vel ix di haf
 to - xe op - ge - bn.

Josef:

205. Ox, ovi, ovi, ani axabed axabedxo bexol nafsi uvexol levovi,
 Ki ato hu bal horaxmim lehašlejx levovi.
 Ox, tate, tate! ix vel šojn dajn koved erlex haltn mit majn ganc harc un
 mit majn ganc lebn,
 Far hašem isborex vel ix di haftoxe opgebn.
 Oj, tate, tate, ix zol šojn visn, az ix vel mix fun di brider nit konen
 opvendn,
 210. Far ajn koveds vegn vel ix gortn di lendn.
 Oj tate, tate, ix zol šojn visn, az di brider veln mix afile fun der velt
 umbrengen,
 Far dajn koveds vegn-vel ix mix lozn ufhengen.

Jankev: Lex lešolem!

10-te scene

f = 120

Handwritten musical score for 'Lex lešolem!' in G major, 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the notes.

ix gej un gej un dos hare tut mir zo-gu,
 ix hob moj-re, di bri-der zo-lu mix hajnt af
 tojt nit der-šlog-ge. ix gej un gej mit a-za
 bi-te-re šrek, ix hob moj-re di bri-der zo-lu mix nit
 šlo-gu toj-te šlek.

Josef:

215. Ix gej un gej un dos harc tut mir zogn,
 Ix hob mojre, di brider zoln mix hajnt af tojt nit deršlogn
 Ix gej un gej mit aza bitere šrek,
 Ix hob mojre, di brider zoln mix nit šlogn tojte šlek.
 Ix gej un gej un vejs ništ vuhin,
 Halevaj majn mame Roxl zol zix far mir hajnt in kejver mien.

f = 120

Handwritten musical score for Josef's part in G major, 3/4 time. It consists of four systems of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the notes.

Šor-tu fun-der-vaj-tu ze ix an
 en-gel raj-tu. Te ra-i-ra, ra-i-ra ra-i-ra ram.
 Šor-tu fun-der-vaj-tu ze ix an en-gl štejn, ix
 mux en maj-ne bri-der gejn.

220. Dortn fundervajtn
 Zej ix ajn engl rajtn
 Te ra ira ra ira
 Ra ira ram.
 Dortn fundervajtn ze ix ajn engl štejn,
 225. Ix muz cu majne brider gejn.
 In a kurcer cajt
 Vel ix baštimt dort zajn.

11-te scene

- Malex: Josef, ma tevakejš,
 Vemen tustu do zuxn,
 230. Vos du tust af azelxe hojxe berg arumkrixn?
 Josef: Es axaj onojxi mevakejš,
 Majne brider tu ix zuxn.
 Derfar tu ix af azelxe hojxe berg arumkrixn.

♩ = 80

Daj-ne bri-der zaj-non ge-fo-ru kajn Doj-sn,
 dix fun bri-der-šaft ve-lu zej op-štoj-sn. Tra la la
 la la ra, ra la ra la ra la ra. Jo-sef. Jo-sef,
 gej nit a-hin, ge-denk du bist lam tate Jan-ker zej in ge-
 lib-ster zum Jo-sef. Jo-sef, gej nit ge-lu daj-ne
 bri-der kajn so-lem, zej vi-lu dix nar-ge-nen
 do-rex dajn so-lem.

- Malex: Dajne brider zajnen gegangen kajn Dojns,
 235. Dix fun bridersšaft veln zej opštojsn.
 Ta la la la la ra, ra la ra ra la ra.

- Josef, Josef, gej ništ ahin,
Gedenk, du bist barn tate Jahkev zajn gelibster zun.
240. Josef, Josef, gej ništ gebn dajne brider kajn šolem,
Zej viln dir hargenen dorex dajn xolem.
Josef, Josef, gej ništ hajnt.
Ix rot dir, vi a guter frajnt.
Liber zaj fun der gancer zax poter,
245. Un ker zix um cu dajn altn fofer.
Frajnt, frajnt! Ix zol visn, majn kop vert af cvejen cešpaltn,
Majn tata Jankevs gebot muz ix haltn.

Josef:

12-te scene

(di brider in feld)

Ruven:

- Acind, brider, iz af undz kajn nojt,
Lomir zix zecn trinken vajn un esn brojt.
250. Trinkt's, trinkt's, libe menčn,
Got vet undz benčn.
Mitog est, mitog est.
Mitog, mitog, mitog est.

1-er Bruder
Vi šejn un vi fajm mir ze' mir
menčn, mi-tog est vet undz got ben-čn. Ra la la
ra la ra, ra la ra la, ra la ra.

- 1-er bruder: Višejn un vi fajm mir ze' mir menčn,
255. Mitog est, vet undz got benčn,
Xor: Ra la la, ra la ra,
Ra la ra la, ra la ra.
- 2-ter bruder: Vi šejn un vi fajm mir ze' mir brider,
Mitog est veln mir zingen lider.
- Xor: 260. Ra la la...
- 3-ter bruder: A gancn tog hobn mir zix geton genug bamien,
Mitog est, veln mir abisl ruen.
Xor: Ra la la...
- 4-ter bruder: Lomir dahir nit štejn, lomir dahir ništ blajbn,
265. Di šof un rinder cum vaser trajbn.
Xor: Ra la la...
- 5-ter bruder: Lomir dahir nit štejn, lomir dahir nit blajbn,
Lomir di šof un rinder cuzamen trajbn.
Xor: Ra la la...
- Xor: 270. Ki hinej ma tojv uma nojim ševes axim gam joxad.

Šimen: Vi šejn un vi fajm iz cu undzer nomen.
Es helft ništ, cvišn undz iz do ejner, vos er hot in zix falše zinen.

Ruvn: Ver iz er mit zajn nomen?

Šimen: Josef der ejner rexiles-trajber,

275. Blut vil er zen in undzere lajber.

Blut ve' mir in im zen.

Brider, kejn šum šlexts vet undz ništ gešen.

Brider, mir zolt ir glojbn,

Menčn zajnen mir vi di lejbn.

280. Ox, tog und her,

Vi krig ix im aher.

Azovji und zic' mir do un es' mir brojt,

Krig ix im on – iz bald zajn tojt.

Ruvn: Vos zogt er den?

Šimen: 285. Er zogt fort gevis,

Az undz trajbn mir znus.

Er zogt gut un getraj,

Undz esn mir ejver min haxaj.

Krig ix im on – iz er bald farbaj.

290. Vi a hering vel ix im cerajsn,

Mit di cejn vel ix im cebajsn.

Ix zol visn lebn im cu farlirn dem gancn kojex, –

Špaltn vel ix im zajn mojex.

Brider, vibald mir veln zajne xalojmes nit gevor vern,

295. Azoj muz er fun undzere hent geštroft vern.

(Josef gejt fundervajtns)

Jehudo: Hinej bal haxalojmojs haze bo.

Kinder, der boxer iz šojn do!

Maxt's ajx šarf un grejt,

Undzere hercer vern bald derfrejt.

300. Imdu, imdu mimkojmosxem

Veal tiroi es bal xalojmojsxem.

Libe brider, štejt nor uf,

Af vemen mir hobn arojsgekukt hot undz got cugešikt.

13-te scene

(Josef kumt on. Jehudo nemt on Josefn farn arbl un git im a šlep cu zix)

Josef: 305. Ox, frid cu ajx, majne libe brider. Der tate hot mix cu ajx gešikt opgebn
dem gut morgn.

Ruvn: Štil nor, du ejner rexilestrajber, du host far undz vejnik vos cu zorgn.

Josef: Frid cu ajx, majne libe brider! Der tate hot mix gešikt opgebn dem

šolem.

Šimen: Švajg nor štil, du bal haxolem!

Aza roše vi du, tor nit gebn kajn šolem.

310. Un dos mojł zolstu ba dir haltn,

Ix vel dir dajn kop af cvejen cešpaltn.

Josef (hejbt on cu vejnen far

Na ra ra ra la ra, na ra ra ra ra,
na ra ra ra la ra, na ra ra ra ra.
ra ra ra ra ra ra. Oj-je, vej, vej! Ge-denkt in dem
le-be-di-kn got, vos hi-mel un erd un mix ba-
ša-fn hot. Bri-der, brider, brider un bri-
der! ge-denkt in got mit der-ba-rem-kajt, vos
er zict oj-bn un šojt in der ni-der-kajt. la
ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra.

Josef:

Na ra ra ra ra, la ra, na ra ra ra ra,
Na ra ra ra la ra, na ra ra ra ra,
Na ra ra ra ra ra

315. Oje, vej, vej!
Gedenkt in dem lebendikn got,
Vos himl un erd un mix bašafn hot.
Brider, brider, brider un brider!
Gedenkt in got mit derbaremkajt.
320. Vos er zict ojbn un šojt in der niderkajt.
La ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra.
Brider, brider, gedenkt in got un in dem foter Jankev dem altn,
Un loz zix nor in ajx abisl der kas ejnhaltn.
Oj vej, vej, gedenkt in dem lebedikn got,
325. Vos himl un erd bašafn hot.
Brider, brider, brider, oj brider!

Hot raxmones af mir un af majn biter gevejn,
 Un lozt mix nox cum altn foter ahejm gejn.
 La ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra.

Šimen

Bri-der, brider! Hert nit cu cu zajn ge-vejn un
 lozt im nit a-hejm gejn; Ra ra ra la ra,
 ra ra ra ra ra la ra

Šimen: 330. Brider, brider!
 Hert ništ cu cu zajn gevejn,
 Un lozt im ništ ahejm gejn.
 Ra-a ra-a ra la ra,
 Ra ra ra ra la ra.

Josef

Bri-der, bri-der, bri-der, oj, bri-der!
 Hot rax-mo-nes af mi-ger un af maj-ne bluti-ke tren-
 ren, un lozt mix nox fun dem tojt op-ve-rr ge-
 denkt in dem le-be-di-ken got, vos hi-mel un
 erd un mix ba-ša-fn hot.

Josef: 335. Brider, brider, brider un brider!
 Hot raxmones af mir un af majne blutike trenn,
 Un lozt mix nox fun dem tojt opvern.
 Gedenkt on dem lebendikn got,
 Vos himl un erd un mix bašafn hot.

23 Šimen $\text{♩} = 112$

Bri-der, bri-der, tut im nit ojs-ke-ru, voram
fals iz er mit zaj-ne tre-ru. Ta ra ra ra
ra la ra, ta ra ra ra ra la la ra.

Šimen: 340. Brider, brider, tut im ništ ojšhern,
Vorem falš iz er mit zajne trem.
Ta ra ra ra ra la ra,
Ta ra ra ra ra la la ra.

Josef (knit far Ruvenen):
Oj vej vej, gedenkt in dem lebendikn got,

345. Vos himl un erd un undz bašafn hot.

Šimen (melodie num. 23):
Brider, brider, hert nit cu cu zajn vejnen un klogn,
Un lomir im do af tojt deršlogn.

24 Ruvn $\text{♩} = 63$

Bri-der, bri-der, oj, oj, brider! Al
tišpe-xu dam, far-gist nit vaju blut. Kejn blut
zolt ir nit far-gi-sn max-mes dem al-tu fo-ter
Jan-ker eu-lib. Ioi-fer folgt ze mix un
cit fun im a-rop das hem-de-le vi fun dem ar-gsten diel un
varft im a-rajn in a findz-ru grub.

Ruvn: Brider, brider, oj, oj, brider!
Al tišpexu dam,

350. Fargist nit kejn blut.
 Kejn blut zolt ir nit fargisn maxmes dem altn foter Jankev culib.
 Liber folgt že mix un cit's fun im arop di zajdene hemdele vi fun dem argstn dib,
 Un varft im arajn in finctern grub.

mf Josef *♩ = 78*

Oj, ir vilt mix har-ge-nen gor on a
 šaj-le, din ve-xež-bn vet ir mu-zn op-ge-bn far dem
 bez-dn šel maj-le. Ja la ra la ra ra la ra,
 ja la ra ra ra ra ra. Far dem bez-dn šel
 ma-a-le vet ir din ve-xež-bn op-ge-bn, vajl ir
 tut ba mir cu-ne-men majn jun-ge le-bn.
 Un az majn al-ter fo-ter Jan-kev vet nor ve-ru fun der
 zax ge-ovor, er vet zix ojs-raj-sn ojs-sn kop zaj-ne
 gro-e hor.

Josef:

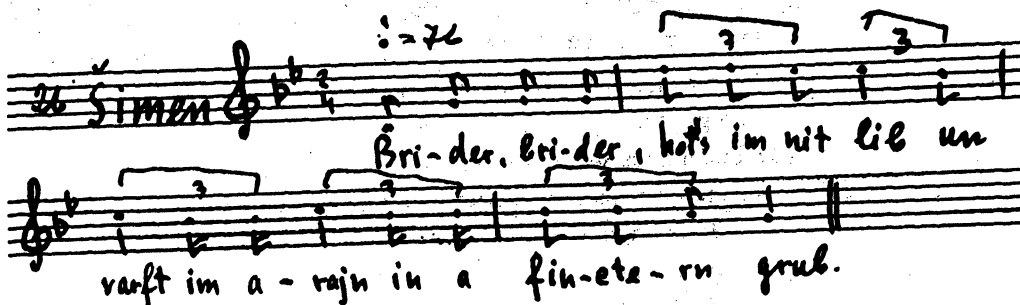
- Oj, ir vilt mix hargenen gor on a šajle,
 355. Din vexežbn vet ir muzn opgebn far dem bezdn šel majle.
 Ja la ra ra ra ra la ra,
 Ja la ra ra ra ra.
 Far dem bezdn šel majle vet ir muzn din vexežbn opgebn
 Vajl ir tut ba mir cunemen majn junges lebn.
 360. Ja la ra ra ra...
 Un az majn alter foter Jankev vet nor vern fun der zax geovor,
 Er vet zix ojsrajsn ojsn kop zajne grajzgroe hor.

Ja la ra ra ra ra...
 Ir zolt šojn visn afile, az ir vert fun der zax gor rajx un nisašer,
 365. Ir capt mir dos blut vi fun a kval dos vaser.
 Ja la ra ra ra ra...
 Ir zolf šojn visn afile, ven ix bin fun dem argstn psojles,
 Az majn mame Roxl vet gevor vern in kejver, vet zi šrajen mit grojse

kojles

Ja la ra ra ra ra...

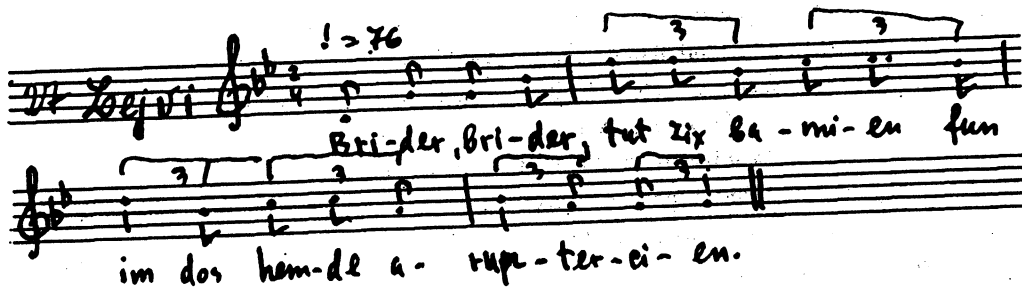
Šimen $\text{♩} = 76$



Bri-der, bri-der, hot's im nit lib un
 varft im a-rajn in a fin-ete-ru grub.

Šimen: 370. Brider, brider, hot's im nit lib,
 Un varft im arajn in a finctern grub.

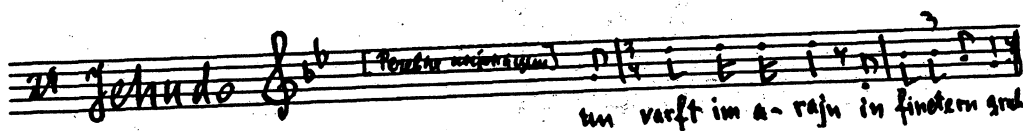
Lejvi $\text{♩} = 76$



Bri-der, bri-der, tut zix ba-mi-en fun
 im dos hem-de a-rup-ter-ci-en.

Lejvi: Brider, brider, tut zix bamien
 Fun im dos hemdl aruntercien.

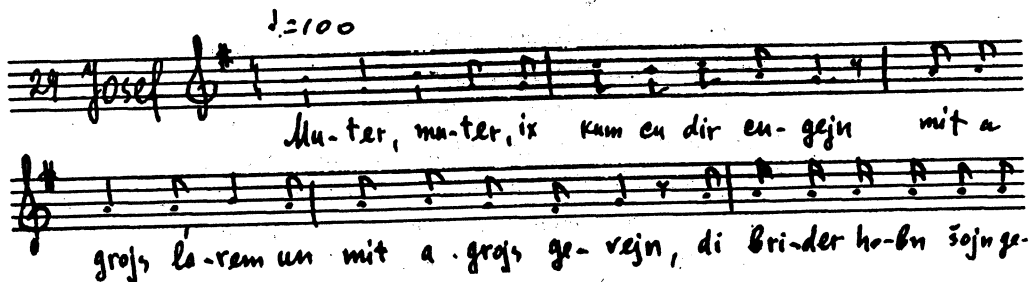
Jehudo $\text{♩} = 100$



un varft im a-rajn in finctern grub

Jehudo: 375. Šimen velejvi ir hot dox Josefn amejstn lib,
 Derum cit's fun im arop dos hemdl vi fun dem argstn dib,
 Un varft's im arajn in finctern grub.

Josel $\text{♩} = 100$



Mu-ter, mu-ter, ix kam en dir en-gejn mit a
 grojs la-ram un mit a grojs ge-vejn, di Bri-der ho-bn šojnge.

Продажа Иосифа

ton šverd un me-ser on-šar-fn, in a grub fun šlangen un
ek-de-šn ho-bu zej mix ge-ton a-rajn-var-fn. Ja-
ra i ra ra i ra, ra i ra ram, ra ra ra ra ra ram.

- Josef: Muter, muter, ix kum cu dir cugejn,
Mit a grojs larem, mit a grojs gevejn.
Di brider hobn šojn geton šverd un meser onšarfn,
380. In a grub fun šlangen un ekdešn tuen zej mix arajnvarfn.
Ta ra ira, ra i ra,
Ra i ra ram,
Ra ta ra ra ra i ram.

(di brider varfn arajn Josefn in grub arajn)

- Šimen: Acind, bruder Ruvn, hobn mir šojn gornit cu zorgn,
385. Gej ahejm cum tatn un gib im op dem gut morgn.
Ruvn: Jo, ix vel ahejm gejn cum tatn dem gut morgn opgebn,
Dervajl vet ir do ba im cunemen zajn junges lebn.
Jehudo: Bruder Ruvn, bruder Ruvn, af nemones vel ix dir zogn,
Az mir veln im do af tojt nit deršlogn.
Ruvn: 390. Acind, brider, tu ix ajx cuhern
Un tu mix cum tatns dinst avekern.

(Ruvn lozt zix gejn ahejm).

30 Ruvn
Oj vej, got, ix bet dix, du vejst dox šojn
maj-ne gan-gen, de-rum far-šlis dos mojł fun di
fa-fer-di-ke šlangen.

- Ruvn: Oj vej, got, ix bet dix, du vejst dox šojn majne gangen
Drum faršlis dos mojł fun di fajerdike šlangen.
Oj vej, got, ix bet dix, du bist dox got iber ale felker,
395. Drum derbarem dix ibern kind un ibern tatn Jankevs elter.
Oj vej, got, ix bet dix, zol zix far im zajn mame Roxl in kejver mien,
Ix zol kenen dos kind mit a štrik ojs dem grub arojscienn.
Oj vej, got, ix bet dix nox dos ejne vort,
Ix zol konen curikšteln dos kind cum tatn afn ort.

14-te scene

♩ = 66

Joseph

Ma-raq a-to boj-re oj-lom, oj vej, got, is
 bat dis, du vejst dos iojn maj-ne ge-dan-ken, de-num far-
 ilis dos mojl fun di fa-jer-di-ke slangen. Ve-
 im o-noj-xi xas ve-fo-lojm
 ke-o-dom, se-hu oj-ver al a-se-res ha-dib-res ha-ku-vint
 tog-ro. Ze-xojr li ze-xojr li ze-xojr
 ni Av-ro-hom, se-hu hoj-lex be-mie-vas ha-bj-re. Ve-
 im o-noj-xi xas ve-fo-lojm
 ke-o-dom, se-hu oj-ver al ha-brij. Ze-xojr
 li ze-xojr li ze-xojr ni jierok se
 o-ved al ho-a-vej-do. ve-loj jo-mas. Av-
 rom der er-ster, fil co-res hot er ge-li-tu. vailou

140

♩ Cuzing 1=84

najn-eik jor hot man im ba-šni-tu, i-ber dem iz der
so-tu me-ra-me. Srajt ze, kin-dex, nox a-mol
a-xas ve-a-las, ka-mo ve-ka-mo, Av-ro-hom iz undzer
ta-te, So-ve iz un-dzer ma-me. Jic-xok der evaj-ter. Zajn
holtz hot er ge-štraf der a-vej-de af zajn li-ge-ner
lej-ter, di hent ge-bi-nen, ge-bi-nen di hent, un dos
fa-jer hot un-ter im ge-brent, iz evi-in di ma-
lo-xim ge-vo-re-en a grojs ge-ize
ej, un a grojs ge-vejn iz Av-ro-hom ge-
bli-bu fun der vej-tu mi-tu sa-lef štejn.
Jen-kev der dri-ter, fer-en jor hot er ge-ko-re-vet ba
lo-vo-nen iver un bi-ter far Ro-xel majn mu-ter.

141

Šrajt že, kin-der; got iz a Geu-ter. Trajft, že šojn a-rojs dem
 so tu, vos er vil di ji-di-še kinder-lex far
 ro-to on, er iz zajn ej-ge-ner ša-mes,
 Šrajt že, kinder, nox-a-mol, a-xas ve-a-xas, ka-mo ve-
 ka-mo, Jankev iz majn ta-te un Ro-xl iz ge-rammij
 ma-me. Ji di ra la ka la ra ri ra ra ra ra
 ra, ti ri ra la ra la ra li ri ra ra la la.

Josef:

400. Harej ato bojre ojnom,
 Oj vej, got, ix bet dix, du vejst dox šojn majne gedanken,
 Derum faršlis dos mojł fun di fajerdike šlangen,
 Veim onojxi xas vešolem keodom, šehu ojver al aseres hadibrojs,
 haksuvim batojro,
 Zexojr li, zexojr li zekejni Avrohom, šehu hojlejx bemicvas habojre.
405. Veim onojxi xas vešolem keodom, šehu ojver al habris,
 Zexojr li, zexojr li zekejni Jicxok, šeokad al hoakejd veloj jomus.
 Avrohom der eršter!
 Fil cores hot er gelitn,
 Vajl cu najncik jor hot men im bašnitn.
410. Iber dem iz der sotn merame.
 Šrajt že, kinder, nox amol:
 Axas vejaxas, kamo vejkamó.
 Avrohom iz undzer tate,
 Sore iz undzer mame.
415. Jicxok der cvejter.
 Zajn haldz hot er geštrekt af der akejde af zajn ejgener lejter.
 Di hent gebinen, gebinen di hent,
 Un dos fajer hot unter im gebrent.
 Iz cvišn di maloxim gevorn a grojs gešrej un a grojs gevejñ,
420. Iz Avrohom geblibn fun der vajtn mitn xalev štejn.

- Iber dem iz der sotn merame,
Šrajt že, kinder, noxamol:
Axas vejaxas, kamo vejkamō.
Jicxok iz geven undzer tate,
425. Un Rivke undzer mame,
Jankev der driter.
Fercn jor hot er gehorevet ba Lovonen šver un biter
Far Roxl majn muter.
Šrajt že, kinder: got iz a guter.
430. Trajbt že šojn arojs dem sotn,
Vos er tut ajx, jidiše kinderlex, farotn.
Er iz zajn ejgener šames,
Šrajt že, kinder, noxamol:
Axas vejaxas, kamo vejkamō,
Jankev iz majn tate
Un Roxl iz geven majn mame.
435. Tidi ra la ra la ra ri ri ra,
Ra ra ra,
Tidi ra la ra la ra li ri ra
Ra la la.
Di ale dojres
440. Maxn on cvišn jidiše kinderlex grojse mojres,
Kedej me zol zix far zej deršrekn.
Mir kumen arojs
Fun a grojs hojz,
Avrohom, Jicxok, Jankev –
445. Di ale draj oves
Zej zoln zix far mir dervekn.
In dem zxus fun majn altn zejdn Avrohom,
In dem zxus fun majn altn zejdn Jicxok,
In dem zxus fun majn altn foter Jankev,
Vos er hot mix amejnstn lib.
450. Den ir, fajerdike šlangen,
Den ir, brenendike ekdešn,
Ix tu ajx bašvern,
Ir zolt majn junges lajb nit onrirn
Den aza junger menč fun zibecn jor –
455. Zol šojn gejn fun dizer velt.
Es helft kajn gob, es helft kajn gelt,
Ix muz šojn gejn fun dizer velt.
(melodie num. 24)
Muter, muter, ix kum cu dir cugejn,
Mit a grojs larem, mit a grojs gevejn.
460. Di brider hobn šojn geton šverd un meser onšarfn,
In a grub fun šleng un ekdešn hobn zej mix geton arajnvarfn.
(S'kumen on terkn un nemen arojs Josefn fun der grub)

15-te scene

(Di brider derzeen di terkn mit Josefn).

Jehudo: Šat's, lajtn,
Mir duxt zix, az terkn gejen fun ganc vajtn.

A simen vel ix ajx zogn,
465. Az zajere kemlen tuen sxojre trogn.

(di brider šteln zix ale uf).

Jehudo:

Štejt's terkn, vi kumt cu ajx ot der knext?
Ir hot iber im kajn rext!

Di terkn:

Mir kenen ajx nit ver ir zajnt,
Mir hobn im ništ genumen fun ajere hent!

Ale brider:

470. Vu den hot ir im genumen?

Handwritten musical score for a Yiddish song. The lyrics are:

Mir, mid-jonim, zajnen ge-gan-gen a
gance xav-ru-se, dor-štik zajnen mir ge-vo-ru
ad le-mi-se. Vi mir hobn nor on-ge-hej-bu a bisl
va-ser cu zu-xu, ho-bu mir ge-zen a-za šejn
jin-ge-le un le-bu im ho-bu ge-ton šleng un
ek-de-šn a-rum-kri-xn. Zajn šejn-hajt un
zajn lix-ti-kajt hot far-nu-men di ej-gu far rax-
mones hobn mir im fu-nem grub a-rojs-ge-cojn

Di terkn:

Mir, midjonim, zajnen gegangen a gance xavruse,
Dorštik zajnen mir gevorn ad lemise.
Vi mir hobn zix nor ongebojgn abisl vaser nox cu zuxn,
Hobn mir gezen in a grub aza šejn jinglele,
475. Un lebn im hobn geton šleng un ekdešn arumkrixn.
Zajn šejnhajt un zajn lixtikajt, hobn undz farnumen di ojgn.
Far raxmones hot mir im funem grub arojsgecojgn.
Mit kajn sax verter ho' mir im ništ geton kveln,
Hot er undz ongeojbn a gance majse cu dercejln.

h4

480. Vi mir hobn im gefregt, vi plucim er kumt in der grub,
Hot er undz dercejlt, az di brider hobn im arajngevorfn, vajl zajn foter
im amejnstn lib.

33 Šimen $\text{♩} = 80$

Štejt nor, štejt nor, ir mid-jo-nim, ci
zajnt ir me-šu-ge, ci zajnt ir na-ro-nim? Do hot ir on-ge-
tro-fu af voj-le jungen, ir vet xa-pn peč umba-din-gen.

- Šimen: Štejt nor, štejt nor, ir midjonim,
Ci zajnt ir mešuge, ci zajnt ir naronim?
- Jehudo: Do hot ir ongetrofn af vojle jungen,
485. Ir vet xapn peč umbadingen.
- Lejvi (melodle num. 33):
Ir hot do ongetrofn af a vojln mark,
Ir vet do xapn peč, az ir vet gešvoln vern vi a barg.
- Jehudo (melodie num. 33):
Az ir vilt nox lebn vi a menč af der velt,
Zolt ir im nit nemen umzist, nor far gelt.
- Terkn: 490. Farvos farkojft ir im?
- Jehudo: Er vil zix mit undz nit opgebn kejn mi un kejn mat,
Er zogt, az er iz aza mejuxes vi undz, vajl er iz fun ejn Tate.
- Terkn: Zogt undz di felers fun im?
- Jehudo: Er hot in zix kejn šum feler.
495. Er iz kejn merder, er iz kejn štelar.
Lomir šmuesn benej bej –
Kon er esn far cen un arbetn kojn far cvej.
- Terkn: Vifl vilt ir far im?
- Šimen: Lomir šmuesn mil bemil (milo bemilin)
500. Git's far im cvancig giln.
- Terkn: Cugešlogn zol es zajn.
Ve' mir trinken moharič vaj.
- (Šlogn zej zix cu, gebn zix di hent un Josef gejt ariber cu di terkn. Me bindt im a hant cu a fis)
- Josef (bet zix ba di brider):
Bridar, bridar! ir hot mix arajngevorfn in grub
Un me hot mix arojsgenunen fun dem grub.
- (er falt af di kni)
505. Hajnt hejst ir mir mit azelxe menčn mitgejn,
Vos ix ken gor zejer lošn nit farštejn.
Oj, got, ix bet dix, farnem majn jomer mit majn gevejn!
Az di brider zoln mir hejst mit azelxe menčn avekgejn
Vos ix ken gor zejer lošn nit farštejn.
- Jehudo: 510. Di zax vos iz gešen iz šojn farbaj.

Šimen: Marš mit di kojflajte un max kajn gešrej.
Josef, Josef, her uf cu vejnen un cu betn.
Vest durxgejn durxn mame-Roxls kejver, vestu ba ir optretn.

16-te scene

(Di terken lejn zix af der erd un vern anšlofn. Josef derzet der mame-Roxls kejver un hejbt on cu zingen)

34 Josef $\text{♩} = 80$

Ja ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra,
ra ra ra ra ra, ja ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra,
ra ra-ra ra ra ra, ja ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra
ra ra ra ra ra, la ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra. Ox,
ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra. Ox, a-do in der un-
glik-le-xer so ei-tert un-ter mi-er a
je-der ej-ver. Ojf dem barg Xev-rjn zix a ma-
cajn ve štejn, se vejst mir o-
mijn mame-Roxls kej-ver. ix vel far i-ir
vejnen un klo-gu, ef-ier set zi mir fun mijn hejt

141

- Josef:
515. Ja ra ra ra ra ra ra ra,
Ra ra ra ra ra,
Ja ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra,
Ra ra ra ra-a,
Ja ra ra ra ra ra ra ra,
Ra-a ra ra ra ra.
520. Ja ra ra ra ra ra ra-a ra-a ra,
La ra ra ra ra
Ra a ra ra, ra
Ra-a ra ra ra ra,
La ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra ra.
525. Ox, ado
In der umgliklexer šo
Citert unter mir a jeder ejver.
Af dem barg Xevrojn
Ze ix a macejve štejn,
530. Es vajzt mir ojs majn mame-Roxls kejver.
Ix vel far ir vejnen un betn,
Efšer vet zi mix fun majn nojt retn.
Ze hakejver Roxl!

(er falt cu cum kejver)

35 Josef

So-lajm o-la-jix, at i-mi moj-
ro-si, ki at moj-lad-ta-ni be-rojv co-ro-si.
Ku-mi no mi-kiv-vejx ve-im-di no o-laj
re-ki ej-na-jix u-voj mi-saj. Mu-ter, majn
mu-ter, majn ge-lib-te mu-ter, is klap dir on in
dajn zi-gl-tir, ix, dajn zum Jo-sef, ix um en
dir, un oj, vi šlest iz dos mir, un

dir.
oj, vi bi-ter iz dos mir, ix bin ge-vo-rn far
tri-bn fu-nem ta-tu biz cu dir.
Ja iii ra ra ra ra, ta i ra ra ra ri ra ra,
ta ji ra ra ra ra, ta i ra ra ra. Fine

- Šolojm olajix, at imi mojrosi,
535. Ki at mojladtani berojv corojšajx.
Kumi no mikivrejx
Veimdi no olaj reki ejnaix uvoj misaj.
Muter, muter, majn gelibste muter!
Ix klap dir on in dajn zigl-tir,
540. Ix, dajn zun Josef, ix kum cu dir.
Un oj, vi šlext iz dos mir!
Un oj, vi biter iz dos mir.
Ix bin gevorn fartribn
Funem tatn biz cu dir.
545. Ta i i ra ra ra ra,
Ta i ra ra ra ra ri ra ra,
Ta i i ra ra ra ra
Ta i ra ra ra.
Oj, muter, majn muter, oj, majn gelibste muter,
550. Du flegst dox on mir kukndik onkveln,
Du flegst ništ lozn majn borves fisele
Cu der hojler erd aropšteln.
Hajnt hobn mix di brider
Cu di jišmoejlim far a knext geton farkojfn.
555. Muz ix, nebex, di kemlen
Mit di borvese fiselex noxlojfn.
Uh oj vej, vi šlext iz dos mir,
Oj vej, vi biter iz dos mir,
Ix bin gevorn fartribn
560. Funem tatn biz cu dir.
Muter, majn muter, majn gelibste muter!
Ix ver dox af dajn kejver far gevejn cegosn.
Štej uf un gib axtung,
Vi dajn zun Josef gejt a hant cu a fis gešlosn.
565. Un oj vej, vi šlext iz mir....

1=52

35 Josef

Handwritten musical score for 'Продажа Иосифа'. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff is the vocal line, starting with 'Imi, imi, kum urej vehabiti, ki haksoj-nes ha-pa-sim me-o-laj hip-su-ti'. The second staff continues the vocal line with 'Muter, majn mu-ter, du vejst dox majn bri-ders ge-vi-sn, dos'. The third and fourth staves provide the piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked '1=52' and the key signature has two flats. The piece concludes with '(ch. w 35 dal 8)'.

imi, imi, kum urej vehabiti,
ki haksoj-nes ha-pa-sim me-o-laj hip-su-ti
Muter, majn mu-ter, du vejst dox majn bri-ders ge-vi-sn, dos
zej-de-ne hemde-le ho-bn zej fun mir mit gvald a-rop-ge-ri-sn
(ch. w 35 dal 8)

Imi, imi, kum urej vehabiti,
Ki haksojnes hapasim meolaj hipšuti.
Muter, majn muter, du vejst dox majne briders gevisn,
Dos zajdene hemdele hobn zej fun mir mit gvald aropperisn.

570. Un oj vej vi šlext iz dos mir...
(Di terkn xapn zix uf fun šlof un derlangen im a klop mit a nahajke un-ter der plejce)
1-er terk (redt): Josef, Josef, avek funem štejn,

Vajl ix brex dir a bejn!
Hajnt zestu a štejn – šrajstu: «mame»,
Morgn vestu zen a bejn – vestu šrajen: «tate».

575. Ax, himl, volkn un erd,
Ix šlog dix cu dr'erd!
Josef, Josef, gej avek funem štejn,
Vajl ix brex dir a bejn.

1=52

35 Josef

Handwritten musical score for 'Продажа Иосифа'. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff is the vocal line, starting with 'Muter, majn mu-ter, majn ge-lib-te'. The second staff continues with 'mu-ter! di jiš-me-aj-lim ho-bn sojn ge-ton fun'. The third staff continues with 'ze-jev šlaf uf-štejn; zej zo-gn, az ix zol mit zej'. The fourth and fifth staves provide the piano accompaniment. The tempo is marked '1=52' and the key signature has two flats. The piece concludes with '(ch. w 35 dal 8)'.

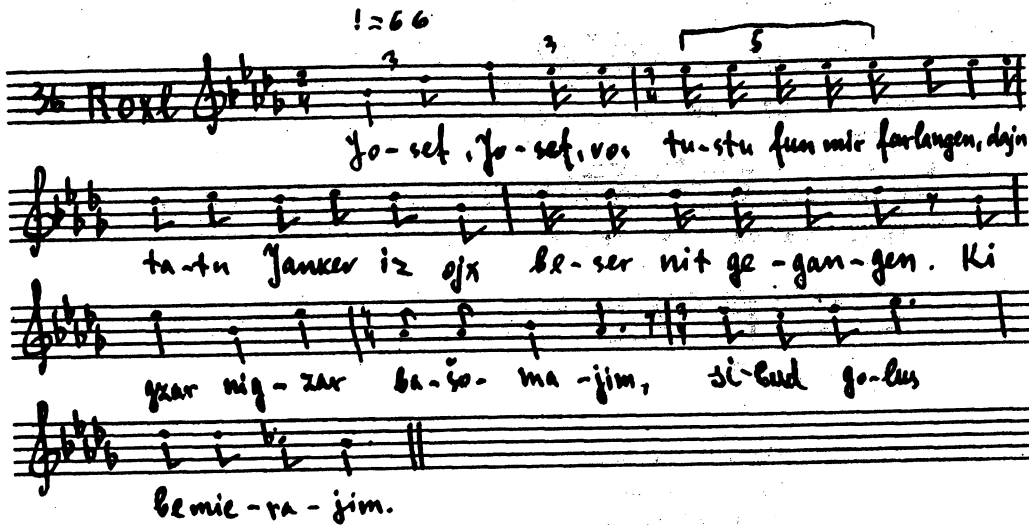
Muter, majn mu-ter, majn ge-lib-te
mu-ter! di jiš-me-aj-lim ho-bn sojn ge-ton fun
ze-jev šlaf uf-štejn; zej zo-gn, az ix zol mit zej
vaj-ter gejn, a-eind tu ix zo-gn, az ix bing-
boj-ru fun a štejn. Un oj ...
(ch. w 35 dal 8)

bhl

Вариант 1

- Josef: Muter, majn muter, majn gelibste muter!
 580. Di jišmeejlim hobn šojn geton fun zejer šlof ufštejn.
 Ze, zej zogn, ix zol mit zej vajter gejn
 Acind, tu ix zen, az ix bin geborn fun a štejn.
 Oj vej, vi šlext iz dos mir,
 585. Ix ver dox šojn fartribn
 Funem tatn un fun dir.

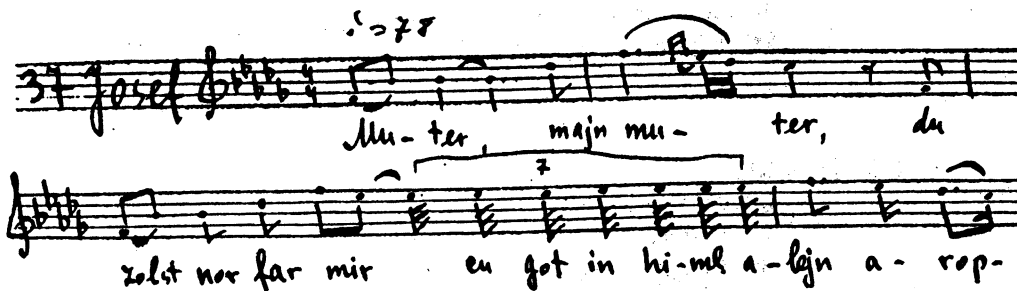
1=66



Josef, Josef, vos tustu fun mir farlangen, dajn
 tantu Jankev iz ojn beser nit gegangen. Ki
 gzar nigzar bašomajim, šibud golus
 bejmie-ra-jim.

- Roxl (funem kejver): Josef, Josef, vos tustu fun mir farlangen,
 Dajn tatn Jankev iz ojn beser nit gegangen.
 Ki gzar nigzar bašomajim,
 590. Šibud golus bejmicrajim.
 Josef, Josef, zol dir zajn dajn harc frejlex,
 Vest kumen kejn Micrajim vestu vern mejlex.
 Ki gzar nigzar...
 Josef, Josef gej mit zej mit,
 595. Vest kumen kejn Micrajim vet dir zajn gut.
 Ki gzar nigzar...
 Josef: Muter, majn muter, majn gelibste muter!
 Zolst cu got in himl alejn arufšvebn
 Un zolst dort betn far majn junges lebn

1=78



Muter, majn muter, du
 zolst nor far mir cu got in himl a-lajn a-rop.

ire-bu, un zolst dort be-tu far majn jun-ges le-bu un
 zolst dort fre-gn, ei s'iz a-zoj der rext, az ejn
 Bru-der dem an-de-ru zel far-koj-fn far ajn kneest
 Ta i ra ra ra ra, ta i ra ra ra ra ri ra ra, ta i
 ra ra ra.

600. Un zolst dort fregn,
 Ci s'iz azoj der rext,
 Az ejn bruder dem andern
 Zol farkojfn far ajn kneest.
 Ta i ra ra ra ra
605. Ta i ra ra ra ra ri ra ra
 Ta i ra ra ra ra,
 Ta i ra ra ra.

CVEJTER AKT

1-te scene

- Jankev (redt): Ruvn, bexojri, ato,
 Du bist majn elct-gebojrener zun,
610. Ix vejs ništ vos es ken batajtn,
 Ix vejs ništ vos es ken gešen,
 Ix hob šojn azoj lang majn zun Josef ništ gezen.
615. Vibald du vest mir majn zun Josef ništ ojszuxn,
 Vel ix dix af ejbik farfluxn.
- Ruvn: Jo, foter lebn, ix bin dajn elct-gebojrn kind,
 Ix vel lojfn gix un gešvind.

2-te scene

- (Ruvn mit di brider in feld):
 Ruvn: Jehudo, Šimen, Lejvi! Zogt nor gix un gešvind,
 620. Vu hot ir ahingeton Josef dos kind?
 Hajeled ejnenu babojr,
 Dos kind iz nito in grub,

- Veani ono ani bo,
 Vu vel ix gejn, vu vel ix štejn!
 625. Ix vel ništ kenen cuhern dem altn foter Jankevs gevejn
 X'vel avek
 Vu di velt hot an ek.
 Ix vel avek vu di ojgn veln mix trogn,
 Ix vel nit kenen cuhern dem altn foter Jankevs vejnen un klogn.

(zingt trojerik)

630. Acind nemt zix šojn cu majn harc a grojs gevejn,
 Viazoy vel ix konen cum altn foter Jankev ahejm gejn.
 Ix vel ništ kenen cuhern zajn vejnen un klogn.
 Bruder Jehudo, bruder Jehudo!
 Du host dox Josefn amejnstn geton šlogn,
 635. Hajnt voltstu im gern lebedik gemaxt un cum tatn ahejm getrogn.

Jehudo:

Bruder Ruvn, bruder Ruvn, af nemones vel ix dir zogn,
 Az mir hobn im do af tojt nit deršlogn.

Ruvn:

Vu den hot ir im ahingeton?

J=96

Jehudo

Bruder Ru-vn, bru-der Ru-vn, af ne-mo-nes
 vel ix dir zo-gn, az mir ho-bn im do af tojt nit der-
 šlo-gn.

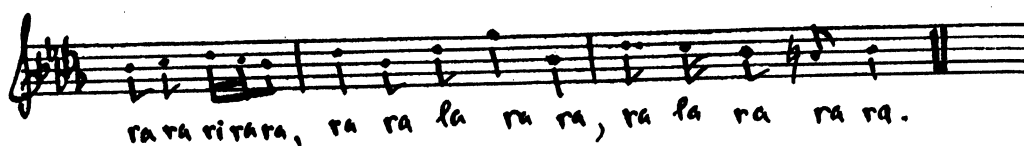
- Jehudo: Azojvi got firt iz avade azoj rext,
 640. Mir hobn im farkojft cu di Jišmoejlim far a knext.
 Mir hobn im farkojft far cvancik školim,

♩=100

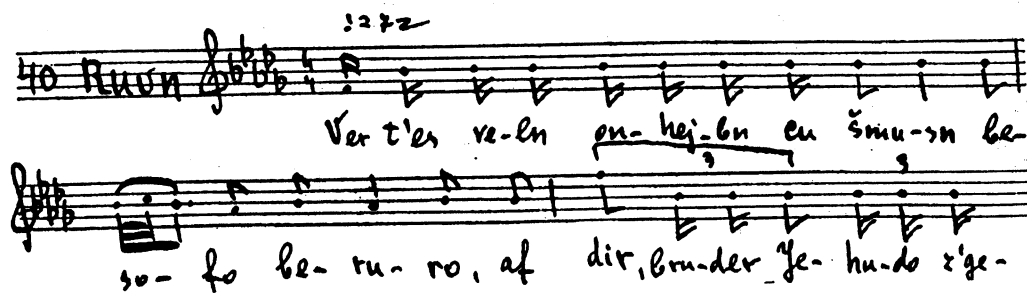
Šimen

goj-re ve-lu mir on-hej-bu cu var-fre
 gor a-lejn ver zel dem ta-tu di fin-ete-re
 psu-re zo-gn gejn. Ji ra ra la ra ra, ra la rara

Продажа Иосифа



- Ruvin (redt): Ot do veln mir zen, ci s'vet emes zajn zajn xolem.
Himl un erd, gejt unter!
Duner un blic, lost zix arunter!
645. Hak! Brok! Šlog!
Šlexte menčn af der velt!
Az ejn bruder dem andern zol farkojfn far gelt.
- (cu ale brider) : Brider, iz azoj rext,
Az ejn bruder dem andern zol farkojfn far a knext?
- Ale: 650. Rext! Rext!
Ruvin: Acind, bruder Jehudo, bistu cvišn undz azojvi a mejlex,
Gib undz an ejce undzere hercer zoln vern frejlex.
- Jehudo: Azojvi mir hobn opgeklert iz avade azoj rext.
Ir nemt a cikale un šest's.
655. Azojvi mir hobn opgeklert iz avade gut,
Ir nemt's dos hemdele un tinkt's ajn in blut.
Azojvi mir hobn opgeklert iz avade rext,
Ir nemt's di šverdn, dos hemdl cešt's!
- (Ale brider nemen arojs di šverdn un di mesers un štexn in dem hemdl, vos ligt af der erd).
- Jehudo: Un cum tatn ve' mir ahejmgejn mit grojs xejn, mit grojs gevejn un mit grojs havaje,
660. Um mirn zogn, az Josef n hot ufgegesn a bejze xaje.
Un mirn maxn a xejrem un a bund beze hoojfn,
Az kejner zol zix nit vagn ojscuzogn, ver s'hot geton undzer bruder farkojfn.
- Josef Derof zajnen mir do brider najn,
Dem ojberšt n veln mir cum minijen mecaref zajn.
- Šimen: 665. Gojrl veln mir onhejbn cu varfn gor alejn
Ver zol dem tatn di finctere psure zogn gejn.
Ti ra ra ra ra,
Ra la ra ra ra ri ra ra
Ra ra ra ra ra
670. Ra la ra ra ra.



Вариант 1

fa-lu der goj-rl, zolst gejn zo-gan dem ta-tu di
fin-cte-re psu-re.

Ruvin: Ver t'es veln onhejbn cu šmusn besofu beruro,
Af dir, bruder Jehudo, z'gefaln der gojrl,
Zolst gejn zogn dem tatn di finctere psure.

Ox, mit a-za psu-re zol zix
kej-ner nit der-ve-gn, vorum de-rer a-za
fin-cte-rer psu-re iz der ba-be So-res ne-
šo-me a-fn veg a-rojs-ge-flej-gn.

Jehudo: Ox, mit aza psure zol zix kejner nit dervegn,
675. Vorem dorex aza fincterer psure iz der babe Sores nešome afn veg
arojsgeflojgn,

(Ale gejen avek cum foter, Jehudo gejt in der špic un halt dos hemdl bahaltn. Kumendik cu Jankevn blajbn ale brider štejn in drojsn. Jehudo gejt arajn).

3-te scene

Jehudo: Un oj, foter!

Parlando 1:80
Ja-hu-do, Je-hu-do, vos ze-stu a-
zaj šlext ojs, dos vil-ix šojn vi-sn?

Jankev: Jehudo, Jehudo, vos zestu azoj šlext ojs, dos vil ix šojn visn?

154

Продажа Иосифа

Handwritten musical score for 'Jehudo'. It consists of two staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major (one flat) with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'Ejnciker foter! Draj teg un draj'. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment with a bass clef. The lyrics are: 'ne-xt hob ix nit ge-hat in majn mojle kejn bi-su.' There are some handwritten annotations like '3' above the first measure of the vocal line.

Jehudo: Ejnciker foter!
Draj teg un draj next hob ix nit gehat in majn mojle kajn bisn.

Handwritten musical score for 'Jankev'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is a vocal line in G major with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are: 'Jehudo Jehudo, vos tuen dajne brider in drojsn stejn?'. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment with a bass clef. The lyrics are: 'Ale mitamol zoln arajngejn.' The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment with a bass clef. The lyrics are: 'mol zoln arajngejn.' There are some handwritten annotations like '3' above the first measure of the vocal line.

Jankev: 680. Jehudo, Jehudo, vos tuen dajne brider in drojsn stejn?
Ale mitamol zoln arajngejn.

4-te scene

(Ale brider kumen arajn)

Handwritten musical score for 'Di brider'. It consists of one staff. The lyrics are: 'Aj, foter!'. The staff is in G major with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature.

Di brider: Aj, foter!
Jankev: Jehudo, Jehudo! Vos tuen dajne brider ejns cu dos andere brumen?
Jehudo: Ver vejst, ver vejst, efser hobn zejnen epes a make gefunen?
Jankev: 685. Jehudo, Jehudo, vos tuen dajne brider ejns cu dos andere vinken?
Jehudo: Ejnciker foter, draj teg un draj next hobn zej kajn vaser nit getrunken.
Jankev: Jehudo, Jehudo, mit vos fara štrof hot ajx got geton štrofn?
Jehudo: Ejnciker foter, draj teg un draj next ze' mir ništ gešlofn.

♩ = 69

Jehudo

Oj vej, fo-ter le-bu, mir zaj-nen ge-
 lo-fu in di vaj-aj-te ve-gu, oj vej,
 fo-ter le-bu, mir zaj-nen ge-lo-fu i-ber
 štog un i-ber šte-gu, der-ken dos hemde-le,
 ot kum' mir fun dem feld cu-gejn. Oj, ha-ker no, der-
 ken! A- zoj vi du zest dos hemde-le, oj, loj-ter
 zajd un ce-ri-sn, der-ken, du bist a ta-te,
 ef-šer ve-stu e-nes vi-sn.

Jehudo: 690. Oj vej, foter lebn, mir zajnen gelofn in di vajte vegn,
 Oj vej, foter lebn, mir zajnen gelofn iber štog un iber štegn,
 Derken dos hemdele, ot kum' mir fun dem feld cugejn.

Oj, haker no, derken!
 Azojvi du zest dos hemdele, oj lojter zajd un cerisn,
 Derken, du bist a tate, efšer vestu epes visn.

♩ = 69

Janner

Oj, ha-ksoj-nes ha-pa-sim šel
 Jo-sef be-ni, oj, a dos iz dos hem-de-le, oj, fun

Продажа Иосифа

Jo-sef majn zun. ix bin mir a- lejn šul-dik, vos x'bin
 šiet a- hin. Oj, a dos i' dos hemde- le fun
 Jo-sef majn kind, a xle- bn er iz geven jung, er iz
 nit ba- gajn kejn ejn- ei- ke zind.

Jankev: 695. Oj, haksojnes hapasim šel Josef beni,
 Ot dos iz dos hemdele, oj, fun Josef majn zun.
 Ix bin mir alejn šuldik, vos ix hob im gešikt ahin.
 Oj, ot dos iz dos hemdele fun Josef majn kind,
 A x'lebn er iz geven jung, er iz nit bagan kejn ejncike zind.
 Dos šrajen un vejnen kon gor nit fartrajbn,
 Abisele xalošes blajbn.

(Jahkev falt xalošes. Di kinder šrajen: vaser, vaser, der tate xalešt.
 Zej špricn af im vaser un muntern im. Jankev kumt cu zix.)

48 Jankev *p=126*
 Ax, vos hot ir ge- maxt, vos
 hot ir mix fun dem šlof of- ge- vaxt, ha- le- vaj volt
 ix ge- ven ge- šlo- fn dem zi- su šlof,
 ej- der ix volt der- he- ru a- za bi- te- re štrof, a
 štrof, a štrof, a štrof, Oj, a- za bi- te- ru štrof.

Jankev: Ax, vos hot ir gemaxt,
 Vos hot ir mix fun dem šlof ufgevaxt,
 Halevaj volt ix geven gešlofn dem ejbikn šlof,
 Ejder ix zol derhern aza bitere štrof,

157

705. A štrof, a štrof, a štrof,
Oj, aza bitere štrof.
Švajg nor štil,
Got iz zajner vil,
Got dir hejl

Xor:

! = 96

49 Xor

Švajg nor štil, got iz zaj-ner vil, got dir
hejl un got dir kvejl. Švajg nor štil, štil, štil,
fo-ter! un oj, fo-ter!

710. Un got dir kvejl,
Švajg nor štil, štil, štil, foter,
Un oj, foter!

Jankev:

Fun aza hojxn štand af aza niderikn štapl,
Majn šenster bojm, majn bester apl!

715. A nekome hobn zix in mir derlebt ale felker,

50 Jankev

Funa-za hoj-xn štand af a-za
ni-de-ri-ku šta-pl, majn šenster bojm, majn šenster a-pl, a ne-
ko-me ho-bn zix in mir der-lebt a-le fel-ker, a
brax iz eu mir un eu maj-ner el-ter. Fer-en jorhol ix ge-ton
ar-be-tu la lo-vo-nen šver un bi-ter, ej-der ix hol der-vent
Ro-xl zajn mu-ter. Un der-en hob ix ge-ton ojs-gi-gn

Продажа Иосифа

bux-vajs tre-ru ej-der got hot mir ge-ton a-za zun Josef ba
 ze-ru. Jo-sef, Jo-sef, Jo-sef, majn ba-lib-ter zun!

Jankev:

Ax, vos hot ir gemaxt,
 Vos hot ir mix fun dem šlof ufgvaxt,
 Halevaj volt ix geven gešlofn dem ejbikn šlof,
 A brox iz cu mir un majner elter.
 Fercn jor hob ix geton arbetn ba Lovonen šver un biter,
 Ejder ix hob derkent Roxl zajn muter.
 Un dercu hob ix geton ojsgisn buxvajs trenn,
 Ejder got hot mir geton aza zun Josef bašern.
 Josef, Josef, Josef majn gelibster zun!
 Švajg nor štil...

720.

Xor:

Jankev:

725.

Vorum dem simen hot mir got borux hu gegeben,
 Az kajn šum kind vet nit štarbn ba majn lebn.
 Hajnt, az ix hob derzen aza bitern simen,
 Hob ix mojre, az ix zol, xas vešolem, durx majn zun Josef in genem
 arajn ništ kumen.
 Josef, Josef, Josef, majn gelibster zun!û

Švajg nor štil, got iz zay-ner vejle, got dir heyl un
 got dir weyl, švajg nor štil, štil, štil, fo-ter, un oj, fo-ter!

Xor:

Švajg nor štil...

Oj, a-eind, maj-ne li-be kin-der-
 ley, ce-lojft zix af a-le bre-gn un
 brangt mir di xa-je, vos vet ajx ku-men cum

er-štn ant-ke-gn

(Ejner fun di kinder gejt arojs. Me hert a šos. Der zun kumt arajn un breng arajn a xaje).

Jankev: Oj, acind, majne libe kinder, Celojft zix af ale vegn,
730. Un brengt mir di xaje, vos vet ajx kumen cum arstn antkegn.

4-te scene

Ja-te, ta-te! Na dir di xa-je eu

daj-ne hent un tu mit ir vos du kenst.

Xor: Tate, tate, na dir di xaje cu dajne hent,
Un tu mit ir vos du kenst.

Jehudo: Ovi, ovi! Zojs haxajo moconu,
Binxo Josef loj roinu.

735. Tate, tate, na dir di xaje in dajne hent
Un tu mit ir vos du kenst.

Far-šol-te-ne xa-je, far-

vo-gl-te xa-je! ix bin af dir gojzer a-cind, zolst

ve-ru ge-har-get far jo-sef majn kind. Far-

šol-te-ne. xa-je, far-vo-gl-te xa-je!

Ho-štu den nit ge-kennt xa-pn in feld a

šof o-der a rind, vos iz dir šuldik ge-ven jo-sef majn kind.

- Jankev: Faršoltene xaje, farvoglte xaje,
Ix bin af dir gojzer acind,
Zolst vern geharget far Josef majn kind.
740. Faršoltene xaje, farvoglte xaje!
Hostu den ništ gekent xapn in feld a šof oder a rind,
Vos iz dir šuldik geven Josef majn kind?
Faršoltene xaje, farvoglte xaje!
Hostu den nit gekent xapn in feld a hon oder a hun,
745. Vos iz dir šuldik geven Josef majn zun?

55 Di xaje

Jankev, Jankev, vos tu-stu mir bindn, vos
šit-stu mir zalc af maj-ne nien-du? Ox vind un
vej iz cu mir un cu maj-ne zind, s'iz ba mir
oix um-ge-ku-men majn ejn-ejn-eik kind...
A-eind, Jan-kev, bin ix in daj-ne hent,
tu mit mir vos du kenst.

- Di xaje: Jankev, Jankev, vos tustu mix bindn,
Vos šitstu mir zalc af majne vundn?
Ox vind un vej iz dos cu mir un cu majne zind,
S'iz ba mir oix umgekumen majn ejn un ejncik kind.
750. Draj teg zajnen dajne kinder in vildn vald arumgelofn,
Bizvanen zej hobn mix dort ongetrofn.
Un vi zej hobn mix in vald bakumen,
Hobn zej mix cu dix in štub arajngenumen.
Acind, Jankev, bin ix in dajne hent,
755. Tu mit mir vos du kenst.

56 Jankev

Najn, xa-je, s'vel dir gor-ništ ton, nor

Вариант 1

lojť in feld a-rajn un forš ojs evi-šn a-le xa-je,
eu di kinder.
ver s'hot uf-ge-ge-sen Jo-sef majn zun. Lozt a-
rojs di xa-je fun majn štul, ix vel ho-bu eu
vej-nen un eu kloqn biz majn fin-ete-ru grub.
Tara ra ra ra la ra ra ra rirara, ra la ra ra ra

Jankev: Nejn, xaje, ix vel dir gorništ ton,
Nor lojť in feld arajn un forš ojs cvišn ale xajes, ver s'hot ufgegesn
Josef majn zun.

Lozt arojs di xaje fun majn štul,
X'vel hobn cu vejnen un cu kloqn biz majn finctern grub.

(Me firt arojs di xaje. Ale kinder op, Jankev blajbt mit Binjominen).

DRITER AKT

1-te scene

(Pare zict af der štul. Der badiner leb'n im.).

A-le xa-xo-mim un a-le ne-voj-nim un
a-le ki-sef-ma-xers fu-nem gan-en land Mier-
ra-jim xo-lu ku-men a-her, zej zo-lu mir
zo-gu, zej zo-lu mir zo-gu, vos majn xo-lom ba-

Продажа Иосифа

ger, vajl majn häre iz mir ze- jer šver. ix
 vel zej ba-co- lu, ix vel zej ba-co- lu a
 gu- tu lojn, ix vel zej ge- bn fun majn kop di
 gil- de- ne krojn ix vel zej ge- bn dem ring fun
 maj- ner hant, zej ve- lu ho- bn cu ša- fn i- be- ru
 ganen land.

- Pare: 760. Ale xaxomim un ale nevojnim un ale kišefmaxers funem gancn land
 Micrajim zoln kumen aher,
 Zej zoln mir zogn, zej zoln mir zogn, vos majn xolem bager,
 Vajl majn harc iz mir zejer šver.
 Ix vel zej bacoln, ix vel zej bacoln a gutn lojn,
 Ix vel zej gebn fun majn kop di gildene krojn.
765. Ix vel zej gebn dem ring fun majner hant,
 Er vet hobn cu šafn ibern gancn land.

56 Badiner

A- doj- ni ki- nig, a- doj- ni ki- nig, a
 doj- ni ki- nig! Šs xa- to- aj a- ni maz- kir ha- jojm
 maj- ne zind tu ix jeet an- den- ken. Še- rum bet ix
 dix, a- doj- ni ki- nig, zolst mir majn le- bu šenken.

Вариант 1

A-doj-ni ki-nig, a-doj-ni ki-nig, a-doj-ni
 ki-nig! Bam her Pe-ti-fer-izt iz do a knext, funem
 ji-di-šn land, er hot in zix fil far-šand. Er hot mit
 mir ge-ton ba-za-men di šof vaj-dn, er
 kon ze-jez gut xa-loj-mes ba-šej-dn.

Badiner:

Adojni kinig, adojni kinig, adojni kinig!

Es xatoaj ani mazkir hajojm,

Majne zind tu ix ject andenken,

770. Drum bet ix dix, adojni kinig, zolst mir majn lebn šenken.

Adojni kinig, adojni kinig, adojni kinig!

Bam her Petifer iz do a knext funem jidišn land,

Er hot in zix fil faršand.

Er hot mit mir geton bezamen di šof vajdn,

775. Er kon zejez gut xalomes bašejdn.

!296

Brong mir im a-zoj glajx a-her, vajl majn
 hare iz mir ze-jez šver, ix vel im ba-co-lu a
 gu-tu lojn, r'vel im ge-bu fun majn kop di gilde-ne krojn.
 r'vel im ge-bu dem ring fun maj-ner hant, vet er
 ho-bu eu ša-fu i-be-ru gan-en land.

154

Продажа Иосифа

Pare: Breng mir im azoj glajx aher,
 Vajl majn harc iz mir zejer šver.
 Ix vel im bacoln a gutn lojn,
 X' vel im gebn fun majn kop di gildene krojn.
 780. Ix vel im gebn dem ring fun majner hant,
 Vet er hobn cu šafn ibern gancn land.

(Der diner op).

2-te scene

Badiner: Josef, Josef! Zol dir zajn dajn harc frejlex,
 Gej bašejd Paren dem xolem, vestu vern mejlex.

3-te scene

Josef (Melodie num. 48):

Adojni kinig, adojni kinig, adojni kinig!
 785. Es xatoaj ani mazkir hajojm,
 Majne zind tu ix hajnt far dir forbrenge hajnt,
 Drum bet ix dix, adojni kinig, du zolst mir majn lebn šenken,
 Adojni kinig, adojni kinig, adojni kinig!
 Ot dos, vos hot zix dir gexolemt, az s'iz arojsgegangen zibn zangen ojs

ejn

rer,

790. Iz a simen, az s'vef zajn zibn jor a hunger un zejer tajer.
 Du zolst cunofzamlen asax korn un asax gelt,
 Vajl s'vet zajn a hunger ibern gancn land Micrajim un der halber velt.

Pare: Josef, Josef, du bist a vojler menč,
 Du bist vert, du zolst zajn fun got gebenčt.

795. Na dir dem ring fun majner hant,
 Un hob cu šafn ibern gancn land.
 Dir kumt oix der bester lojn,
 Na dir fun majn kop di gildene krojn.

(Josef nemt iber Pares štul, Pare gejt avek).

4-te scene

Josef
 A - eind iz Pa - re fun der štil ant -
 lo - fn ge - vo - ru un hot mir i - ber - ge - lozt gold un
 zil - ber un špajx - ler mit ko - rn. Ti di ra la la,
 ti di ra - ha ra ra, li - ri ra lu la, ti di raha la ra.

Josef: Acind iz Pare fun der štul antlofn gevorn,
 800. Un hot mir ibergezozt gold un zilber un špajxlers mit korn.
 Tidi ra la ra, tidi ra ra ra ra ra,

Li ri ra la la tidi ra ha la ra.

Badiner, majne rejđ zoln ba dir zajn gešect azoj vi Pare alejn.
Az ix vel arosredn ojs majn mojł a vort, zol azoj vern gešen.

805. Tidi ra la ra...

Badiner, az x'vel arosredn ojs majn mojł a vort, zol azoj vern farblibn,
Az s'vet durxgejn a menč durx dem tojer, zol er vern zarez faršribn.

Tidi ra la ra...

5-te scene

- Ruvn: Tate, tate, s'iz af undz a grojse nojt,
810. Di kinder šrajen, zej viln esn brojł.
Fun fremde lender tuen menčn kejn Micrajim lojfn,
Kedej zej zoln dort volvl korn kojfn.
- Jankev: Nat's ajx gelt un tut's kejn Micrajim lojfn,
Efšer vet ir dort volvl korn kojfn.
815. Cum adojni kinig zolt ir durx ale cen tojern arajnrajtn,
Kedej s'zol ajx kejn hanore nit šatn.
Cum adojni kinig zolt ir durx ale cen tim arajngejn,
Efšer vet ir dort majn zun Josef derzen.

6-te scene

- Badiner (cu Josefn): Adojni kinig, dahir zajnen cen menčn farblibn,
820. Hob ix zej bald faršribn.
- Josef: Badiner, majne rejđ zoln ba dir zajn gešect un geaxt,
Di cen menčn zoln vern in štub arajn arajngebraxt.

7-te scene

(Der badiner firt arajn di brider):

- Josef: Meajin atem bosim, meraglim?
Funvanen kumt ir on?

825. Vos hot ir do cuton?

(Josef klapt mitn bexer):

- Ruvn: Ix tu in majn bexer zen,
Az ir zajnt gekumen dos gance land Micrajim ojsšpen (špioniren).
Loj kejn, adojni, anaxnu meraglim,
Mir zajnen kejne meraglim.
830. Kojnim anaxnu, mir ze' mir orntlexe lajt,
Lišbojr ojxel bor bonun.
Mir ze' mir fun land Knaan cu lojfn,
Kedej mir zoln do volvl korn cu kojfn.
- Josef: Jo, s'iz mir rext, ir zajnt gekumen fun land Knaan cu lojfn,
835. Ir zolt do volvl korn kojfn,
Nor vos hot ir geton durx ale cen tojern arajnrajtn?
- Ruvn: Adojni kinig, derof veln mir an entfer gebn.
- Josef: Vos far an entfer?
- Ruvn: Undzer tate hot undz gehejsn durx ale cen tojern arajrajtn,
Kedej s'zol undz kejn hanore nit šatn.
- Josef: Jo, es iz mir rext, ajer tate hot ajx gehejsn durx ale cen tojern arajnrajtn,
Kedej es zol ajx kejn hanore nit šatn.

Ruvn: Nor vos hot ir geton durx ale cen tirm arajngejn?
 Adojni kinig, derof veln mir oix an entfer gebn.
 Josef: 845. Vos far an entfer?
 Ruvn: Undzer bruder Josef iz geven zejer šejn,
 Ho' mir mojre, es zol zix mit azelxe menčn ništ fargejn
 Josef: Oj, halt ir ajer bruder Josef far azojnem?
 Ale: Jo, jo, s'ken zix maxn.
 Josef: 850. Vos volt geven, ven ix zol ajx im vajzn?
 Ale: Azoj voltn mir im ojsgekojft.
 Josef: Azoj? Uh vos volt geven, ven es helft kajn gob, kajn gelt
 Un kejn šum picl af der velt?

Jehudo (cit arojs di šverd):

Azoj štrekn mir undzer lebn,

(A fox mitn zebl un a zec mitn fus):

855. Un undzer bruder Josef muz men undz gebn!

Josef:

Badiner, vos iz dir azelxes gešen?

Du host mir arajngelozt in štub meraglim, zej zoln Micrajim ojsšpen.

Kukt nor on, vi dos tut ejns cum andern brumen,

Dir hobn a glik, vos mir hobn zej in štub arajnbakumen.

860. Ix derken in ajer geruder,

Az ir hot nox inderhejm a jungstn bruder.

Un vibald ir vet mir ajer jungstn bruder nit brengen

865. Azoj vel ix fun ajx dem bruder hengen (vajzt af Šimenen).

(Klapt mitn bexer):

Badiner, tu mit im kajn sax nit šmuesn,

Un nem im un tu im im kejtn šlisn.

Badiner

Bafel ojsgefolgt!

(Er šlist Šimenen im kejtn, ale op).

12138 3

A Šimenen

Y'vel mir ba - vaj - nen un ba - va - šen mit
 maj - ne bi - te - re tre - ru, ke - dej der ta - tay.
 Jan - kev zol in - der - hejm der - ke - ru. Ti ri
 ra ra ra ra ra ra, ra la ra ra ra ra,
 ra ra ra ra ra ra, ra la ra ra ra ra.

i - ber dem un do - rex dem ze' mir a - zoj ba -
 tribt, vajl mir ho - bn jo - se - fu a - rajn - ge -
 vor - fu in grub.

Šimen:

- X'vel mix bavejnen un bavašn
 870. Mit majne blutike trenn,
 Kedej der tate Jankev
 Zol inderhejm derhern.
 Tidi ra ra ra ra ra ra,
 Ra la ra ra ra ra,
 875. Ra ra ra, ra ra ra,
 Ra la ra ra ra ra.
 Iber dem un dorex dem
 Ze' mir azoj batribt,
 Vajl mir hobn Josefn
 880. Arajngevorfn in grub.
 Tidi ra ra ra...
 Me hot undz gebroxn ajedn bejn,
 Azojvi di erdene tep,
 Josefs cores zajnen gefaln
 885. Af undzere kep.
 Tidi ra ra ra...

Jehudo
 A - eind ve - bn mir a - hejm gejn cu un - dzer
 al - tn fo - ter, mi - r'n a - zoj lang on - hej - bn cu vej - nen
 un cu klo - gn, er zol undz undzer bruder Binjo - minea mit - ge - bn.
 betn

Jehudo:

Acind veln mir ahejm gejn cu undzer altn foter,
 Mir'n azoj lang onhejbn cu vejnen un cu betn,
 Er zol undz undzer bruder Binjomince mitgebfn.

8-te scene

63 Chor $\frac{1}{2}$ 58 *Jehudo!* = 108

Un oj, fo-ter! A-doj-nej-nu,
 moj-rej-nu, ve-ra-bej-nu, o-vi-nu! Farnem, foter,
 har-ce-di-ker, undze-re hej-se tre-ru, un
 tu undz nox, un tu undz nox dos ej-ne mol ojs-
 he-ru. Dos harc iz far-lei-tert, dos le-bn iz far-
 ei-tert, a-zoj vi a fo-ter, a-zoj vi a foter
 af zaj-nem kind. Der-ba-rem zix, fo-ter lebn, iber
 undz ke-ra-xem ov al ben. un
 loz mit undz nox, un loz mit undz nox dos
 kind Bin-jo-min-ee mit-gejn.

- Ale brider: 890. Uh oj, foter!
 Jehudo: Adojnejnu, moorejnu verabejnu, ovinu!
 Farnem, foter harcediker, undzere hejse tremn,
 Un tu undz nox un tu undz nox
 Dos ejne mol ojshern.
 895. Dos harc iz farbitert,
 Dos lebn iz farcitert
 Azojvi a foter, azojvi a foter af zajnem kind,
 Derbarem dix, foter lebn, iber undz
 Keraxem ov al ben,
 900. Un loz mit undz nox, on loz mit undz nox
 Dos kind Binjomince mitgejn.

Jankev

Nejn, nejn, nejn, dos kind Bin-jo-min-ee
 vet mit ajx nit mit-gejn, vo-rain a-fn veg iz der
 so-tu me-kat-reg be-šas ha-sa-ka-ne, šent mir nor di
 ej-ne ma-to-ne. a-fn veg iz dox ge-štorbn
 Ro-xel zajn muter, iz dox mir ge-ven ze-je
 šver un bi-ter. Jo-sef ej-ne-nu ve-ši-men ej-
 ne-nu ve-es Bin-jo-min ti-kax me-o-laj, mi-
 stam iz šojn ojs-ge-gan a gzej-re af zej a-le draj.
 A-eind ze ix, az majn kind Bin-jo-min iz šojn oix farbaj.

- Jankev: Nejn, nejn, nejn!
 Dos kind Binjomince vet mit ajx nit mitgejn,
 Torem afn veg iz der sotn mekatreg bešas hasakone,
 905. Šenkt mir nor di ejne matone,
 Afn veg iz dox geštorbn Roxl zajn muter,
 Iz dox mir geven zejer šver un biter.
 Josef ejnenu vešimen ejnenu
 Ve-es Binjomin tikxu meolaj.
910. Mistam iz šojn ojsgegan a gzejre af zej ale draj.
 Acind ze ix, az majn kind Binjomince iz šojn oix farbaj
- Jehudo: Foter lebn, onojxi erveni,
 Umijodi tevakšenu.
 Im loj hicagtiv lefonexo vexotosi lexo kol hajomim.
915. Foter lebn, farvoglt zol ix zajn fun bejde veltn,
 Mistam, az ix zog dir af majn vort,
 Vel ix im cušteln curik af dem zelbn ort.
- Jankev: Binjomince, majn kind, host lust mitcugejn mit dajne brider?

Binjomin: Foter lebn, ix ken dir nit zogn jo un ken ništ zogn nejn,
 920. Ix ken nit cuhern dem bruder Jehudes gevejn.
 Mistam, az er zagt af zajn vort,
 Vet er mix curik cušteln af dem zelbn ort.
 Jehudo: Foter lebn, mir ze mir dox zindike menčn,
 Tu undz afn veg benčn.
 Jankev: 925. Lex lešolom.

9-te scene

Jehudo: Adojni kinig, acind hob ix dir Binjomincen mit a brivele gebraxt,
 Kedej du zolat lozn Šimenen gemax.
 Josef: Badiner! Tu mit mir kajn sax nit šmiesn,
 Un tu im bald fraj šlisn.
 Badiner: 930. Bafel ojsgefolgt!
 Josef: Badiner, tu mit zej in di ojces lojfn
 Un zolst zej dortn volvl kom farkojfn.
 (Er rojmt ajn dem badiner a sod, bešas di brider gejen arojs):
 Nem dem bexer un varf arajn Binjomencen in zak.
 (Badiner gejt arojs. Er kert zix um curik).
 Josef: Badiner, tu zix lejgn in der leng un in der brejt
 Un ker um di menčn funem veg.

10-te scene

Badiner (cu di brider): Der adojni kinig hot mix gešikt, ix zol ajx gix bakumen,
 Vajl ir hot zajn bexer mitgenumen.
 Jehudo: 940. Mir vejsn ništ vos es ken gešen,
 Cum adojni kinig veln mir curik gejn.
 Cun adojni kinig veln mir zix curik umkern,
 Efšer vet zix in im dos raxmones dermern.

11-te scene

Josef: Ir hot dox gezogt, az cvišn ajx tut zix kajn ganev nit gefinen,
 Cum sof hot ir majn bexer mitgenumen!
 Jehudo: 945. Adojni kinig, mir vejsn mer fun gorništ cu zogn,
 Nor azoj vet zajn rext,
 Ba vemen du gefinst dem bexer dem kumt mise,
 Un mir veln zajn ejbike knext.
 Josef: Badiner, tu ale zek cebinen,
 950. Un zog ba vemen du vest dem bexer gefinen.
 Badiner: Adojni kinig, x'hob ale zek cebinen,
 Ba Binjominen in zak hob ix dem bexer gefinen.
 Josef: Azoj vi got firt, iz avade azoj rext,
 Ajer Tate hot mir cugešikt an ejbikn knext.
 955. Ir gejt ahejm cu ajer tatn
 Un ajx vet bevade gornit šatn.
 Ir gejt ahejm cu ajer tatn azojvi a fajl ojs dem bojgn
 Un zagt, az der štrik hot zix noxn emer noxgecojgn.
 Jehudo: Adojni kinig! Vilst take undzer bruder Binjomince ništ opgebn?
 Josef: 960. Vos že vet zajn? Vet ir mix klogn cu Malke Tonen?

Jehudo (nemt arojs di šverd):

Az oj bald rajs ix arojs a hor ojs majn lajb,
 Iz bald ganc Micrajim mit blut farfarbt.
 Naftole bruder, tu mir di vundn hejln,
 Un tu mir di gasn cejln.

Naftole: 965. Jehudo bruder, ix hob dir šojn geton dajne vundn hejln
 Un x'hob dir šojn geton di gasn cejln.

Jehudo: Vifl iz do?

Naftole: Cvelef markn un cvelef gasn.

Jehudo: Acind, brider, nemt af ajx dem tatns kas,

970. Un jeder zol af zix nemen a mark mit a gas.
 Ix alejn nem af zix markn un gasn draj -
 Iz bald ganc Micrajim farbaj.

Josef (tret cu im cu):

Jehudo bruder, max kajn geruder,
 Vajl ix bin Josef dajn bruder!

Ale: 975. Mit vos far a simen?

ix bin jo-sef a-ger bruder. cu di jiš-mo-
 ej-lim far a knest hot ir mix ge-ton far-koj-fu
 af a-le e-ku. Cve-lef jor bin ix in der
 tšise ge-ze-sn, majn ne-šo-me hob ix nit ge-ton far-
 fle-ku. Ja la ra la ra la ra, ja ra ra ra
 la ra ra, ja la ra, ja la ra ra ra
 ja ra ra la ja la ra.

Josef:

Ix bin Josef ajer bruder!
 Cu di jišmoejlim far a knest hot ir mix geton farkojfn,
 Af ale ekn,
 Cvelef jor bin ix in der tšise gezesn,

980. Majn nešome hob ix nit geton farflekn.

- Ja la ra la ra la ra,
Ja ra ra ra ra la ra,
Ja la ra, ja la ra ra ra,
Ja ra ra la ja la ra.
985. Cvelef jor bin ix in tfise gezesn
In grojse cores un in grojse lejdn.
Hašem jisborex hot mir fort geholfn,
Vajl ix bin gegam Paren dem xolem bašejdn.
Ja la ra...
990. Binjomin, bruder, Binjomin majn bruder,
Kum mit mir untern bojm špacirn.
Dir vel ix di gance majse dercejln,
Vos hot zix mit mir geton pasirn.
Ja la ra...
995. Petifers vajb hot mix ongeredt,
Ix zol mit ir gejn ahin,
Hob ix mir gege'n a bore mitn jejcer hore,
Az a jid tor azoj ništ ton.
Ja la ra...
1000. Petifers vajb hot mix ongeredt,
Ix zol mit ir lender firn.
Hob ix mir gege'n a bore mitn jejcer hore,
Az got vet dos barirn.
Ja la ra...
1005. Petifers vajb hot mix ongeredt,
Ix zol mit ir zajn mezane,
Hob ix mir gege'n a bore mitn jejcer hore,
Az Roxl iz geven majn mame.
1010. Petifers vajb hot mix ongeredt
Azoj gix un azoj bald
Hot zix mir forgeštelt der tate,
Dem tate Jankevs geštalt.
Ja la ra...
1015. Nat's ajx cen kemlen,
Tut's mit zej jogn
Un brengt mir dem tatn Jankev
Gix un bald cetrogn.
Ja la ra...
1020. Nat's ajx cen karetes
Un lojft mit zej af ale vegn
Un brengt's mir gix un bald
Dem tate Jankev ankegn.
Ja la ra...

12-te scene

(Di kinder ba Jankevn)

Naftole ^{♩ = 116}

So-re bas O-šer špilt a-fu
 fi-dl, dem zej-du Jic-xok a ganc fajn li-dl. Un
 oix dem ta-tu Jankev a psu-re cu zo-gu, er
 zol šojn ofhe-ru cu vej-nen un cu klo-gu.
 Got hot im ge-ge-bn a-za sax gelt, Jo-sef iz
 mej-lex in die-ra-jim un i-ber a hal-ber velt.
 Got hot im ge-ge-bn kej-fl kif-la-jim, er
 hot cvej ej-nik-lex Me-na-še ve-af-ra-jim.

- Naftole 1025. Sore bas Ošer špilt af dem fidl,
 Dem zejdn Jicxok a ganc fajn lidl.
 Un oix dem tatn Jankev a bsure cu zogn,
 Er zol šojn ufhern cu vejnen un cu klogn.
 Got hot im gegebn aza sax gelt,
 1030. Josef iz mejlex in Micrajim un iber a halber velt.
 Got hot im gegebn kejfl kiflajim,
 Er hot cvej ejneklex Menaše veefracjim.
- Jankev:
 Az got hot mir di matone gegebn,
 Az majn zun Josef tut nox lebn,
 1035. Un az got hot mir gegebn in majne jorn a mojsef,

! = 138

67 *Jankel*

Az got hot mir di ma-to-ne ge-ge-bn, az majn zun Yo-sef tut nox le-bn, az majn zun Yo-sef tut in Mi-er-a-jim ar-bn, vel ix im on ku-ku ej-der ix vel štar-bn. Ot dos iz dox Yo-sef majn ge-lib-ter zun, x'hob gor-nit ge-vest vuer kumt a-hin. X'hob ge-mejnt, er iz šojn far-baj, šrajt že, kin-der: „Yo-sef xaj!“

Kor
Yo-sef xaj! Yo-sef xaj!

Vel ix mix gejn zen mit majn zun Josef.
Az majn zun Josef tut in Micrajim arbn,
Vel ix im onkukn ejder ix vel štarbn.

(gejt cu cu Josef un git im a knip in bekl):

Ot dos iz dox Josef majn gelibster zun,
1040. X'hob gornit gevust avu er kumt ahin.
Ix hob gemejnt, er iz šojn farbaj,
Šrajt že, kinder, Josef xaj!

Ale: Josef xaj, Josef xaj!

EPILOG

Xor: Gezunt un glik vinčn mir acind

1045. Ale menčn fun der štab.
Balebos lebn, mit ajer vajb un kind,
Es zol ajx zajn dos lebn lib.
Un az ir vet handlen mit menčn
Zol ajx kejner nit šendn.
1050. Ekstra dem zol ajx got bečn
Vi ir t'ajx kern un vendn.
Gezunt un glik...
Icter veln mir betn dem libn balebos,
Ir zolt kegn undz nit zajn karg,
1055. Veln mir ajx vinčn far dos,
Ir zolt zajn gezunt un štark.
Got zol ajx gebn mazl un broxe
In ale gešeftn vos ir farmogt/maxt
Ir zolt zajn a grojser ojšer mit grojs haçloxe.
1060. Un hot's mir a gutn tog/gute next.

(נ) פאָבִיטאָווער גנב.
א גנב, וואָס איז אויסגעקומען
א פאָבִיט—פּויליש: poby—אויס-
האַרבען זיך, ווען אַ געוויסע צעמ
אניאָר, אביעו-סקל, וואוהיין
גנבים ווערען אוועקגעצויקט אַרם
שטאָף פאַר ווער פאַרברעכען, אין
פּוילען איז בעקאָנט פאַר אַויבס
פּוילען אַרבעטער דאָס שטענדיקע
נאָוואָמינסק (וואַרש. גוב.) און
דאָרט האָבען די אמנוואוינער
פּוילען דאָרט בעקומען דעם צוגאָסען
„פּאָבִיטאָקס“.

(נ) ציגלינע יושער גנב.
(ל) קייטעל-גנב.
א גנב, וואָס קייטעלט אָפּ די
פּערד פֿון די פּוהרען.
(ל) קעשעניק.
(וואָהלין).
(ל) קעשעניק-גנב.
פּוילע-פּאַרשפּרונגער ווערען אויס-
דרוק.

(ז) קעשעניק-נעהער.
(פּויליש-ראַקאָו).
(ח) דער טאָמע זינער אין
אניאָרנימליכער יוד.
אניאָרנימליכער יוד און אַלע
אין אַ גנב.
(ט) דער שפּיץ פֿון איהם אין
א גנב.
(דובד. ג.)

(מ) וואָס ער גנב'עט נישט, דאָס
האַט ער נישט.
(מ) ווי גרויס און אַלס ער
איז, אזוי גרויס גנב אין
ער.
(נ) זאָמע ראָנטשקע.
פּויליש: Złota rączka—גאָלד-
דען האַנטל, א גנב אַ ספּעציאַליסט,
וואָס איז ווער פּענהיג צו ווען
סלאַבה, עס ווערען דערצעהלעט
פּאַרשפּרונגען שטיקלעך און אויס-
טהעלעכען פֿון אַזא אַינגעם.

(מ) מ'האַט איהם שוין גע-
קרינט (געקרוינט) מיט'ן
נאָמען גנב.
(מ) ממור גנב.
(מ) ממור'ישער גנב.
(מ) מילק'ישער גנב.

(מ) מ'קאָן זיך שוין.
ד. ה. פאַר אַ גנב.
(ח) נאָמע גנב (אָדער: נאָמע-
לע גנב).

(ט) נאָמע-גנב, האַק שלאָס.
די גון, נימל, שיין, האַ, וועלע
זענען אויסגעפאַרמט אויפ'ן דרויער
(אין סאָכאָטשעוו, וואַרש. ג. זאָנט
סען סרענדעלע) לעגען אויס די
קליידער ווי ראשי-תבות פֿון די
דאָזיקע ווערער.

(ג) נאָרישער גנב.
(ח) גענעל-קריכער.
א גנב נעהט אויף די געזעל,
פרי ס'וואָר נישט הערען.
(נ) ס'ווייסעל פֿון אַלע
גנב'עט ער.
(נ) ס'מאכט זיך איהם עפעס
אין דער זיס, נעהמט ער
צו.

(ד) ער איז אויסגעזאָרגט מיט
דער פּרנסה.
(ה) ער גנב'עט אַרויס ס'שוואַרץ-
אפּעל פֿון אויג.
(ו) ער איז אזא גנב, אז ער
וועט אויפ'ן פּוילער נישט
פּערברענט ווערען.
(ז) ער איז אַניאָשטענדיגער
גנב.
ער גנב'עט נישט ביי קען אַרויס-
לעיסן.

(ח) ער איז אַ בעוואוסטער.
ד. ה. גנב.
(ט) ער איז אַ פּלאַטער'י וונג.
(ס) ער איז אַ בעל-מפּת'ניק.
פֿון גנבות.
(ס) ער איז אַ בעל-סליחה.
(דובלין).
צו סליחות שטיהט מען דאָך
אויף, ווען ס'איז נאָך פּינסטער
און דער גנב איז שוין אויך דע-
סאָלט אויף צו געהן גנב'ענען.

(ס) ער איז אַ בעל שם-טוב.
פֿון גנבים און גנבות.
(ט) ער איז אַ גנב, ער גנב'עט
אַ מערער פֿון אַ פּוהר.
ד. ה. אַ געמינעלע גנב.
(ס) ער איז אַ געזענדיגער גנב.

ערען זענען ביי איהם נישט
זיכער.
ער גנב'עט אַפּילו אַראָפּ דאָס
צוטרונג פֿון די אויגען.
(ס) ער איז אַ גנב, און נאָמע
איז געווען אַ הונט קלינגען
איהם.
(ראַדווין, שעד. ג.)

(ס) ער איז אַ גנב, ס'וואָסער
וועט איהם נישט צונעה-
מען.
(גאָרשקעוו, ד. ג.)
(ס) ס'ווייסעל פֿון די אויגען
וואָלט ער אַרויסגעגעבן עט.
זעה ניב אין זיה.

(ס) ער איז אַ גנב שפּגנב.
ועה ס'ו.
(ס) ער איז אַ גנב מיט אַלע
פּינטשעווקעס.
(ט) ער איז אַ גנב מיט די אוי-
גען.
(ט) ער איז אַ גנב מיט דער
סענטריקע (מעטריקע).

(פ) ער איז אַ גנב מיט דער
פּאַטשעווקע (פּויליש pod-
szewka—אונטערשאַק).
ד. ה. דורך און דורך.
(ע) ער איז אַ גנב מיט דער
פּלאַטבעל.
(ד) ער איז אַ גנב מיט'ן
אונטערשאַק.

(ה) ער איז אַ גנב מיט'ן הי-
טעל.
ד. ה. דורכאויס גנב.
(ו) ער איז אַ גנב מיט'ן מיק.
פֿון פּויליש: mig—וואונק, דאָס
אַ פּינטעל טהון מיט'ן אויג, ער
גנב'עט אזוי שנעל, אז מען ביי-
ווערט קיים צו דערנעהן.

(ז) ער איז אַ גנב מיט'ן קנאק.
(ח) ער איז אַ גנב, מעגסט
זיך אויף איהם פּערלאָוען.
ד. ה. ער איז קליג.

(ט) ער איז אַ גנב, ער גנב'עט
אַ מערער פֿון אַ פּוהר.
ד. ה. אַ געמינעלע גנב.
(ס) ער איז אַ געזענדיגער גנב.

(ח) ער איז אַ געפּאַסטער.
ד. ה. צו די גנבות.
(פ) ער איז אַ געשטוימטער
גנב.
ד. ה. קלוג, אַ קינסטלער אין
ווען פּאַר.

(ג) ער איז אַ גרויסער (אָדער:
ליכטער) פּערדענער.
(ד) ער איז דאָס וויסלעכען
פֿון אויג.
ד. ה. אַ געזיכטער גנב.

(ה) ער איז אַ האַרץ-גנב.
(שפּעריקאָסע, קיצוה. ג.)
וועגען אַ סענש מיט גוטע ריי-
דעלעך, ספּירטשט קוצעניו-טו-
צעניו.
(ו) ער איז אַ מכשפּ'ניק.
ער מאַכט כּשונף, ער גנב'עט.
(ז) ער איז אַ נאַכט-פּוילעל.

(ח) ער איז נישט קיין גנב,
נאָר אַ ס'לאָזט זיך, נעהמט
ער.
(ט) ער איז נישט קיין גנב,
נאָר אַ ס'מאַכט זיך אַ
פּעקעל, טראָגט ער עס
אַ הויס.
ס'זאָגט אויך: ער איז נישט
קיין טרענער, נאָר ס'מאַכט זיך אַ
פּעקעל, טראָגט ער.

(ז) ער איז נישט קיין גנב,
נאָר אַ נעהמער.
ביי אַ סך גנב'ישע דיעדער איז
זעהר פּערשפּוויט דער צווינג: אוי,
געוואָלד, ל'וועל נישט גנב'ענען,
נאָר נעהמען און געהען. אָדער:
נאָר נעהמען בעראַנדען.
(ח) ער איז אַ ספּעציאַליסט.
צו די גנבות.
(נ) ער איז אַ ספּירטנער גנב.
(ג) ער איז אַ געווענליכער גנב.
(ד) ער איז אַ פּאַטענטירטער
לעקאָר.
(ה) ער איז פּערווי גילדע גנב.
רוסיש: первая гильдия—לויט
די רוסישע געזעצען ווערען די,
וואָס געהערען צום סוחרים-שאַנד
(ווערען), איינגעטיילט און פּיר-
טייט: אַרשטע גילדע צווייטע
גילדע אַחוה.

10) ער איז פיערווע (אָרער): פיערוושע) שושענדער גנב. פויליש: pierwszy — פירשערזאגער.

11) ער איז פון נעמער אויף ער נעהמט, ער גנב'עט, מ'זאגט עס אויך וועגען א קארנען, וואָס האָט נאָר ליעב צו נעהמען, אָבער נישט צו געבען.

12) ער איז שוין איינמאל א גנב.

13) ער איז שוין א געשמוסע-נער.

14) ער איז א שווארצער. בלשון סניגור: שווארץ איז א ציגונער און א ציגונער איז א גנב.

15) ער איז א שומר. ער היט יענער וואָס שוועקט ער פון זיך, כרי ער וואָל קענען גנב'ענען.

16) ער ארבייט ווען יענע שלאָ-פען. ד.ה. ער גנב'עט ביי נאכט.

17) ער נעהט צו השלך. ביי השלך שאַקלט מען אויס די קעשענעס און דער גנב שאַ-קלט אויך אויס די קעשענעס, ער מאַכט ווי צו דיין.

18) ער גנב'עט ארויס ס'אפער פון אויב.

19) ער גנב'עט ארויס די גשמה.

20) ער גנב'עט מיט די אויגען.

21) ער האָט א פוסעל סמאָלע אויף די הענד. קלעבט ווי צו ווי צו.

22) ער האָט א נאָלדען הענד-פעל.

23) ער האָט גומענע פּינגער ווי צוהען ווי צו פּרעמדען זאכען.

24) ער האָט גלעזערנע אוי-גען.

25) ער האָט א געטאָקטע האַנד. ד.ה. א געשוקטע האַנד צום גנב'ענען.

קינד) ער האָט גראַבלאָשעס-לאַנגע פּינגער וואָס ער גרש-בילט מיט ווי גנב'עט.

קינד) ער האָט גרינג געלד.

קינד) ער האָט א גרינגע (אָרער): פּינגע) פּרנסה. ער לעבט פון גנבה.

קמו) ער האָט הענד מיט דושע-געטש (אָרער): סמאָלע). פויליש: dziegieć — דושע-געטש, א מיין סמאָלע-פּינגעט.

קמו) ער האָט הענד פון סמא-לע-קיין.

(נארשקעוו, לוב, ג.)

קיין) ער האָט וואַקסענע הענד. ס'קלעבט ווי צו ווי צו.

קיין) ער האָט א פּינגע האַנד. ד.ה. ער איז א געשוקטער גנב. מ'זאגט עס אויך אויף א דענטיסט, וואָס נעהמט לעבט ארויס א זאָהן; אויך אויף א מענש וואָס גילט לעבט אָב א חוב.

קיין) ער האָט ליעפקע פּינגער.

קכ) ער האָט מאַנגעס (מאָג-נעט). איראָניש: בלומ'שט, ער גנב'עט נישט, נאָר ער האָט א מאַנגע-פּינגען ביה, עס צוהט צו איהם צו.

קכא) ער האָט קלעבעדיגע הענד.

קכב) ער האָט א שוונע (אָרער): ריינע) פּרנסה, נאָר א שווערע.

קכג) ער לאָזט נישט ליעגען, ער נעהמט צו, ער גנב'עט.

קכד) ער ליעגט נישט קיין קריאה-שטיי. ער לעגט ווי נישט שראַפּען ער איז נאָנען נעבט פּערנען מיט די גנבות.

קכה) ער מאַכט שוואַרץ-קינע-לעך.

ער גנב'עט, או מען דערנעהט נישט מיטן אויב.

קכו) ער פּאַרדענט. שניצלער דעם רובל, ווי דער קיכר מאַכט איהם.

קכו) ער קאן די מעגשעלעך פון די אויגען ארויס-גנב'ענען. וצה, ג'יה, ק'יה.

קכח) ער ריהרט נישט, נאָר ער נעהמט צו.

קכט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ד.ה. ער בעגנב'עט יענעס קעשענען, יענעס שטוב.

קכט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ד.ה. ער בעגנב'עט יענעס קעשענען, יענעס שטוב.

קכט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ד.ה. ער בעגנב'עט יענעס קעשענען, יענעס שטוב.

קל) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער הייבט אָפּ, ער נעהמט צו, ער גנב'עט.

קלא) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער הייבט אָפּ, ער נעהמט צו, ער גנב'עט. ביינעל מיט פוטער.

קלב) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער רוקט אַרױף (די האַנד) און נעהמט ארויס (פון מאַש), ד.ה. ער גנב'עט.

קלג) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער רוקט אַרױף (די האַנד) און נעהמט ארויס (פון מאַש), ד.ה. ער גנב'עט. פּערהאן א קונדער ליערע: א קינען פון א בעקער, ער נעהמט א שוונעל און מאַכט א בייגעל. ער רוקט אַרױף, ער רוקט אַרױף, שווערע (שמעוניע) באַכקע שטעהט אין הויב.

קלג) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. מ'זאגט עס אויך אויף א גרוי-מען פּערדויענער ביי א שידוך.

קלד) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער מאַכט גרינג די קעשענעס.

קלה) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער ניעט א מאַש און א ציח, ער גנב'עט.

קלו) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער מאַכט ארויס פון די מאַשען.

קלז) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער מאַכט ארויס פון די מאַשען.

קלח) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער מאַכט ארויס פון די מאַשען.

קלט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער מאַכט ארויס פון די מאַשען.

קמ) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער לערנט קליינע קינדער גנב'ען גען.

קמא) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמב) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער וואַכט ביינאכט, ער גנב'עט.

קמג) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער קעהרט אויס, ער מאַכט וויין די קעשענעס, די שטוב'ען.

קמד) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער עקספּערירט אַראָב די וועג פון בוידיעס.

קמז) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער עקספּערירט אַראָב די וועג פון בוידיעס. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער עקספּערירט אַראָב די וועג פון בוידיעס. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער עקספּערירט אַראָב די וועג פון בוידיעס.

קמה) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער נעהמט אַראָב וואָס ס'לאָזט ויך.

קמו) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמז) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער לעגט צו צו ויך.

קמח) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמז) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמח) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמז) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמח) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמט) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמז) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קמח) ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער. ער איז אַנ'אויספּאַרשער.

קטו) זיין טאטע איז געווען יומם ורילה—אין תפיסה.

קטז) זיין טאטע איז געווען דריי יאהר איבער א גמרא (ארעך; א ספר-תורה).

ד. ה. צולעב דעם וואס ער האט גענוכט א גמרא, ארעך; א ספר-תורה.

קטח) זיין טאטע האט אויך פלינד געהאט צו צולע-גען. וו האט צוגענומען.

קטט) זיין עלטער-ווערע איז נאך געווען א גנב.

קס) ער איז א גנב ב'ו תרח אבינו.

קסא) ער איז א גנב ב'וין צעהנ-טען דור.

קסב) ער איז א גנב בן גנב.

קסג) ער איז א גנב פון מלך סאביעצק'ים (סאביעסק'ים) צייטען (ארעך; יאהרען). (וואהלו:)

קסד) ער איז א גנב פון ששה-ימי-בראשית.

קסה) ער איז א גנב פון תרח'ים צייטען.

קסו) ער איז א געבוירענער גנב.

קסז) ער איז א גרויסער יחסן; ער שטאמט (ארעך; קומט ארויס) פון א משפחה פון פערד-גנבים.

קסח) ער איז דעם אלטען גנב'ס א'נ'אור אייניקעל (ארעך; אייניקעל).

קסט) ער איז איחסן; ער שטאמט אָב פון (...). ד. ה. פון גנבים.

קט) ער איז נאך א גנב פון אדם הראשון אן; ער האט נאך פגענוכט נ'ו'ס היבה; ב'ו אברהם אבינו האט ער אויך גענוכט. יחסן האט ער פערפיהרט; יעקבן האט ער אָננע-רעט; און ב'ו משה'ן איז ער געווען א גנב.

קעא) ער איז נאך געווען א גנב אין דער טאטעס ב'ויד.

ווען די טאטע זינגע האט מיט איהם געטראגען, האט זי גענוכט אין פארטוך אריין. ס'איז דא א פאקס גלויבען: אז א מעגער'ע פרוי גנב'עט אין פארטוך אריין, וועט דאס קינד זיין א גנב.

קעב) ער איז נאך געווען א גנב, ווען ס'קאלאי דער ערשטער איז געווען א יונקער.

קעג) ער איז געווען א גנב, ווען ער האט נאך גע-קרעהט אויפ'ן דאך. (ראד. גנב.).

קעד) ער איז א פרויסער יוד, ער גראט אריין אין זיין טאטען דער טאטע זי-נער האט געלערנט יומם ורילה—אין תפיסה.

קעה) ער איז שוין א גנב פון דור דורות.

קעו) ער האט א גנב'יש אָדער אין יוד.

קעז) ער האט געירש'ענט ג'טאטען; דער טאטע זינער האט געלערנט—קינדער גנב'ענען.

קעח) ער שטאמט נאך פון נא-טען.

קעט) ער שטאמט פון יחוס; די מוהמע האט איהם עפעס אָנגעקערט (אָנגעהערט). די מוהמע—גנבה בלשון סני-גהור. די מוהמע זאגט מען אויך אויף א ליטבארד. ער האט עס ב'ו דער מוהמע ד. ה. ער האט עס פארועט אין ליטבארד. אויך זעהר פארשפרייט ב'ו די פאליאקען.

קפ) אלע טורמעס וועלען זיין מיט איהם פול.

קפא) וואס וועט פון איהם ווע-רען—א גנב. פון נישט קיין געראטען יונגער.

קפב) וואס וועט פון איהם ווע-רען—א זעק-שניידער. (סטאשעו ראד. גנב.). זעק-שניידער—א גנב, וואס שניידט אויף די זעק פון די פוהרען.

קפג) מ'מעג אויפבויען א טורמע פאר זינעטווענען. ער וועט אסאך זיין א גרויסער גנב.

קפד) ס'וועט פון איהם ארויס-וואקסען א גנב.

זאגט מען אז איינער וויל נישט לערנען און פיהרט זיך נישט בדרך-הישר.

קפה) ער וועט ארויסוואקסען א גאון. פון די גנבים.

קפו) ער וועט ארויסוואקסען א רבי.

קפז) ער וועט ארויסקומען א גרויסער. ד. ה. גנב.

קפח) ער וועט ארויסקומען—פון פאזיאק.

קפט) ער וועט ארויסקומען—דארף ער פריהער אריינגעהן.

קק) ער וועט נישט פארטירען קיין טורמע.

קאלסקציע נומער פיער.

וואס מען רופט מיטן אייגענ-שאפט-ווארט פון גנבה א. א. א. א.

קלא) גנב'יש אָדער.

קלב) גנב'יש בלוט.

קלג) גנב'יש געווען.

קלד) גנב'יש געלעכטער.

קלה) גנב'יש הארץ.

קלו) גנב'יש פנים.

קלז) גנב'יש פרצוף.

קלח) גנב'יש שטיק.

קלט) גנב'ישע אויגען (ארעך; אייניקעלעך).

קלז) גנב'ישע אויסרעדלעך.

קלז) גנב'ישע אייער.

קכז) גנב'ישע בליקען.

קכ) גנב'ישע גענב.

קכא) גנב'ישע הענדטעלעך.

קכב) גנב'ישע חני'לעך.

קכג) גנב'ישע טריט.

קכד) גנב'ישע טרעהרען. פאלשע טרעהרען.

קכה) גנב'ישע פשט'לעך.

קכז) גנב'ישע פלינגער.

קכז) גנב'ישע צורה.

קכח) גנב'ישע קאלקע.

קכט) גנב'ישע קופקע.

קכט) גנב'ישע קולע.

קכז) גנב'ישע קעשענעס. פארבראנגענע אונטער-קעשע-נעס. ס'זאגט אויך אויף א קע-שענע מיט א ליף; א גנב'ישע קעשענעס—ו' נעהמט אין גע-נישט אָב.

קכז) גנב'ישע רייד (ארעך; רייד-דעלעך).

קכז) גנב'ישע שטיקלעך.

קכז) גנב'ישע שניצלעך.

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קכז) גנב'ישע שניצלעך.

רנז) גנב'ישער הורען-וזהן.

רנז) גנב'ישער טערק.

רנז) גנב'ישער לאקשען-ברעט.

רנז) גנב'ישער סיבירניק (אדער: סיביריאק).

רנז) גנב'ישער פוצער (אדער: סיצער).

רנז) גנב'ישער קאטער.

רנז) גנב'ישער קאפ.

רנז) דאס אין א גנב'יש שטיקעל ארביט. קלוג אבנעארביט.

רנז) דאס אין א גנב'ישע מלאכה.

רנז) סאך נישט קיין גנב'ישען אנטשעל.

רנז) סאך נישט קיין גנב'ישע סיגעס.

רנז) ס'אין א גנב'ישער אינפאל.

רנז) ס'אין א גנב'ישער פאס. ד. ה. זמן אייגענטומער אין א גנב.

רנז) ער אין נישט קיין גנב, נאר זינע הענד זענען גנב'ישע.

רנז) ער האט א גנב'ישע סיגע.

רנז) ער האט א גנב'ישע קישקע. ד. ה. ער אין א גרויסער עסער.

רנז) ער האט א גנב'ישען אים-קוק.

רנז) ער האט א גנב'ישען קאפ אויף זיך.

קאפ. - ווערט געברויכט וועגן זעהר א גרויסען דרעה-קאפ.

רנז) ער האט א פאר גנב'ישען אויגען.

רנז) ער האט עס אבנעארביט גנב'יש. ד. ה. קלוג אבנעארביט.

רנז) ער מאכט שוין זינע גנב'ישע מעשה.

רנז) שטעל נישט אין קיין גנב'ישע שטיק.

קאלקקציע נישטער פויגל.

מערות און הסכמות פנים גנב א. אנה.

רנז) אז א גנב האט נישט וואס צו גנב'ען, גנב'עט ער ס'היסעל פון זיך אראפ.

רנז) אז א גנב געהט גנב'ען, בעט ער אויך גאט.

רנז) אז א גנב גנב'עט א'אמ, האט ער זעבען יאהר דעם דלות, אז ער גנב'עט א קאס-טען אייער האט יענער דעם דלות, וזה ריג.

רנז) אז א גנב זעהט א מעשע-נעם קנאפ, אבסלויפט ער. מעשענער קנאפ - פארזיג-מאן.

רנז) אז די גנבים קרוענען זיך, קומט דער פויגל צו זיין קוה.

א.ב. 825

רנז) אז די גנבים שלאגען זיך, קומט ארויס די גנבה.

א.ב. 826

רנז) אז מ'גנב'עט א'אמ, האט מען זעבען יאהר דעם דלות. אין שפאס, וועל מ'האט ווע-נען אז קלוינקום געסחון א גנבה, סוז מען אזוי שטארק בע-שטאפט ווערען.

א.ב. 840

רנז) אז מ'דארף האבען דעם גנב, שניידט מען איהם אב פון דער הלחה.

רנז) אז מ'געהט נישט קיין גנב, העלפט נישט קיין שמע-ישראל.

רנז) אז צוויי גנבים צוקרוענען זיך, קומט דער דרוטער צו זיין שאדען.

רנז) אז צוויי גנבים קרוענען זיך, קומט ארויס די גנבה.

רנז) אזוי ווי א רב קען זיך נישט בענעהן אז קיין פאר, אזוי קען זיך א גנב נישט בענעהן אין קיין שט-ער.

רס) אזוי לאנג מ'כאפט נישט דעם גנב בי דער האנד, הייסט ער קיין גנב נישט. א.ב. 827

רסא) אינטליכער גנב אין א'אמ, עהרליכער יוד, ער בעט גאט בי די גנבות.

רסב) אין גנב גלויבט נישט דעם צווייטען.

רסג) אין גנב האלט פארין צווייטען. ס'ווערט אפט געברויכט, ווען איינער געהט זיך אן פאר א גנב (אז ער מיסחט אלען אויך א גנב).

רסד) אין גנב געהט זיך אן פארין אנרערן. א.ב. 1994

רסה) אין דער יונגער א גנב, אויף דער עלטער א בעל-השובה.

רסו) אין דער יונגער א לינגער, אויף דער עלטער א גנב. א.ב. 830

רסז) אלע גנבים האבען אין פנים.

רסח) אלע גנבים האבען וויכע הערצער.

רסט) אלע גנבים ווינען.

רט) אלע גנבים זענען גלייך.

רעא) אויף דעם גנב ברענט דאס הימעל.

רעב) א ברוחן בלייבט א ברוחן אין א גנב בלייבט א'סחון.

רעג) ביי א גנב אין אלע א קרן.

רעד) ביי א גנב אין גוט צו וואוינען.

רעז) מ'אין פערזיכערט פון א גנבה, וועל צו איהם וועט מען דאך נישט קומען גנב'ענען.

רעה) ביי א גנב אין דאס בעסטע בעהעלטעניש.

רעו) ביי א גנב אין דאס טיער-סטע די הענד.

רעז) ביי א גנב אין א טשוואק אויך א קרן.

ער גנב'עט אפילו א קלוינקום אויך.

רעה) ביי א גנב אין ליכט א שבועה.

רעט) ביי א גנב אין נישטא קיין יושר.

רעז) ביי א גנב אין קיין סוד נישטא. א גנב זאגט אויס, ער ס'ליבעט.

רפא) ביי א גנב אין שווער צו גנב'ענען.

אויך אויף פויליש: Trudno u zlodzieja ukrasé - דאס ווערט אפט געברויכט, ווען איינער וויל בי יענעם עפעס צונעהמען, צוגנב'ענען.

רפב) ביי א גנב גנב'עט מען נישט.

רפג) א גנב, אז מ'ניעט איהם נישט, געהט ער אלען.

רפד) א גנב, אז ער גנב'עט נישט עפעס אוועק, דאכט זיך איהם ער האט איבער-געלאזט.

(רשדון)

רפה) א גנב, אז ער האט נישט וואס צו גנב'ענען, גנב'עט ער פון איהם קעשענען אין דער צווייטער (ביי זיך).

רפו) א גנב אזוי ווי ר'אין גע-פוירען געווארען, אזוי וועט ער שוין שטארבען.

רפז) א גנב אין א'אמערענטליכער מענטש: דא וואו ער שטעהט איהן, דא גנב'עט ער נישט.

רפח) א גנב אין באזונדער' מעהל מיט האניג און צוזאמען לעקאך.

מעהל מיט האניג צוזאמען אין (האניג)-לעקאך און א גנב אין א'לעק.

רפס) א גנב אין א בלינדער מסחר.

א גנב אז ער געהט גנב'ענען, ווייסט ער נישט וואס דארט ליענט.

רפז) א גנב אין א בעל-זכרון, ער געדענקט וואו יענער האט עפעס אייגענליכע.

רנ"א) א גנב איז א בעל-צדקה.

ער פון די גנבות, ויצא ער אין תפיסה, האט ער דירה און קרענעט קסען.

און א נאר בלייבט א נאר. א.ב. 820.

טל"א) א גנב האט אנ'אויסגע- ברענגט הארץ. ער האט קיין שום רחמנות נישט.

רנ"ב) א גנב איז א בעל-רחמנות. ער האט רחמנות אויף יענעם, ער נקמהט עס צו זיך. ווען איינער האט עפעס צוגעגעבן עס וואגט מען: ער האט זיך טרעם געווען דער'יבאר.

ט"ו) א גנב איז א פארפאלע- גע קאליקע.

ט"ה) א גנב בעט אויף פלינגע- רען נעמט.

טל"ג) א גנב האט אויף זיך א הויט ווי א לעדער.

ט"ה) א גנב האט נישט וועה ווען מ'שראגט איהם.

ט"ז) א גנב איז א פלינגעל: נאך גיך ער נקמהט עפעס, פליהט ער דאס'נס אוועק. (ראדיון)

ט"ט) א גנב בעט מ'ואל איהם שלאנגען מיט א סך שטע- קענס.

וועט איון שטעקען סאלען אויס'ן אנדערען און איהם וועט עס נישט אוי פילע שארען.

רנ"ג) א גנב איז א בעל-תשובה. ווען ער נקמהט גנב'ענען בעט ער נאט (מ'ואל איהם געראטען).

ט"ח) א גנב איז א פרומער יוד. ער בעט - די גנבה ואל איהם געראטען. ועה רס"א

ט"כ) א גנב בעטעלט נישט. ער נקמהט זיך א'יון ער גנב'עט.

ט"כ"א) א גנב בעטעלט נישט. (דובל. גנב.)

טל"ד) א גנב האט א גוט הארץ.

טל"ה) א גנב האט א גוט הארץ, ער דערפארעמט זיך א- בער יענעם.

ט"ט) א גנב איז א קל-והומר. וויפילער ער גנב'עט, האט ער אלץ וועניג. אויף א גרויסען קסער, וואגט מען אויך: ער איז א קל-והומר - וויפילער ער עסט, איז ער אלץ נישט וואס.

טל"ו) א גנב בעטעלט נישט קיין גומל.

וועל ער וועט דארפן האל- מען און איון בענשען, ווארים יעדע מינוט טרעפט זיך איהם א נס, וואס מ'פאמט איהם נישט.

רנ"ד) א גנב איז א נאנץ גומע פראפעסיע, נאר ווען מ'ואל נישט איינשטעהן ביי קיין גנב אין דער האנד. (רעדוין שערל. גנב.)

ד. ה. א גנב וואלט געמאכט פלומרישט גוט, ווען ער וואלט נישט געווען הלשטעט, נישט געשפרייט, נישט געשפרייט און קיין קארטען. מ'ואגט עס נאך פון דאווענען רבי'ן.

ט"י) א גנב איז א שווארצער. ער נעהט שטענדיג ארום און דרויסען, ווערט ער אגעברענגט פון דער זון.

טל"ז) א גנב בעטעלט נישט קיין גומל.

טל"ז"א) א גנב בעטעלט נישט קיין גומל.

רנ"ה) א גנב איז א געפעהרליכע בריאה.

רנ"ו) א גנב איז א גרינגע פרנסה.

רנ"ו) א גנב איז די געסטע מלאכה.

רנ"ז) א גנב איז א וולל-וסיבא.

רנ"ט) א גנב איז זעלטען (ועהר) גוט, נאר ווען ער גנב'עט.

ט"כ) א גנב איז א שווארצער. ער נעהט שטענדיג ארום און דרויסען, ווערט ער אגעברענגט פון דער זון. אנקערטאס: קיין בעלעס - דערזעהלט מען - זענען טמאל געקומען קאוועליקס, איז און שטארט געווארען א געוואלד, באשר גנבים זענען געקומען - וועל קא- וועליקס זענען שווארץ און שווארץ זענען אויך צוגעגען און צוגעגען זענען דאך גנבים.

טכ"א) א גנב ניעט שטינגע. מתנות. (דער בלה) וועל מ'קומט איהם גרינג אן.

טכ"ב) א גנב נעהט אהן וילען. כדי מ'ואל נישט הערען ווי ער נעהט.

ט"א) א גנב איז א זעלטענער שפיווער. א פרוי האט ביי איהם אלץ, נאר דריי זאכען פעהלען איהר: ברויט, דירה און קליידער. וועל דעם גנב קומט אויס שטענדיג צו זענען און טרעטען.

ט"ה) א גנב איז שווער צו בע- גנב'ענען. (סמאשעווי ראד. גנב.)

טכ"ג) א גנב נעהט מ'היטעל אי- בער די אויגען.

ט"א) ביי א גנב איז ליכטער צו עפענען א שלאס, א מידער ביי א מידער דאס הארץ.

ט"ב) א גנב איז א שלעכטער אבגעבער.

טכ"ד) א גנב ניעט נישט ביי זיך. עהנליך: א משוגע'נער האפט נאר ביי יענעם אויס די שויבען. (פערווישט)

ט"ב) א גנב איז א מסור.

ט"ג) א גנב איז נישט קיין קאר- נער.

ט"ג) א גנב איז א שפיאן. ער שפיאנירט אויס די קע- שענע, די שטובען.

טכ"ה) א גנב דארף אויך האפען מזל.

ט"ד) א גנב איז פטור פון געגעל אפגיטען. וועל ער דענט זיך נישט שלאגן. (במאכט גנב'עט ער.)

ט"ד) א גנב ארבעט שטעלער ווי א שניידער. דאס וואס א שניידער ארבייט ביי א פלעגט א צעט לאנג, טרעפט עס דער גנב אויף און איון אויגע- בליק.

טכ"ו) א גנב דערקענט מען אן ער שמעקט מיט איהר אומגעטום.

ט"ה) א גנב איז פארזיכערט מ'נס דער פרנסה. איז ער אויך דער פריש האט

טכ"ו) גנב בלייבט גנב. בשרט.

טכ"ז) א גנב דערקענט מען אן די אויגען.

ט"ו) א גנב בלייבט א גנב, א שפיר בלייבט א שפיר

טכ"ז) א גנב בלייבט א גנב. בכלל.

טל"א) א גנב דרעהט זיך ארום דער גנבה ווי א קוואקע ארום די הינדלעך. (אדער: ווי א בעדנער ארום דאס זאס.)

טל"א) א גנב דרעהט זיך ארום דער גנבה ווי א קוואקע ארום די הינדלעך. (אדער: ווי א בעדנער ארום דאס זאס.)

ט"ו) א גנב האט לאנגע פלינגער.

טל"ב) א גנב האט לאנגע פלינגער.

טל"ב) א גנב האט לאנגע פלינגער.

טל"ב) א גנב האט לאנגע פלינגער.

טל"ב) א גנב האט לאנגע פלינגער.

טל"ב) א גנב האט לאנגע פלינגער.

שמו) א גנב האָט לייעפקע פֿינגער. (וואַהלוין)

שמו) א גנב האָט אַ מערדערניש האַרץ.

שמו) א גנב האָט נאָר מורא פֿאַר אַ מעשען קנעפּעל. וְזֶה רִיבָא

ט) א גנב האָט נאָר מורא פֿאַר אַ בראַהען קאַלנער. די סונדירען פֿון דער רוס. שער ושאַנדארטערניש ווען מיט בלאַהע קעניגער.

שמו) א גנב האָט פֿאַר קיין האָן אויך נישט קיין מורא. אַ האָן קרעהעט דאָן און וועסט אויף די סענשען. (נארשקען לונד. גוב.)

שמו) א גנב האָט פֿאַרשטאַנען אויגען.

שמו) א גנב האָט אַ פֿאַרשטי- נערט האַרץ. (וואַהלוין)

שמו) א גנב האָט פֿיער אויגען. ער מוז וועהן פֿון הינטען שאַמער געהט מען. אָדער ווען מ'יאָגט איהם נאָך: ער וואָל קאַנען אַנטדויען.

שמו) א גנב האָט צעהן וועגען. צו אַנטדויען. (משערקסטע קיצויל גוב.)

שמו) א גנב האָט קוועקען ליבער און תּחת. ער קאָן קוינמאל נישט אַיני- ווען אויף אַנאָרס, ער רוחט נישט. ער וואָל אַרץ וואו צו קענען גנב'ענען.

שמו) א גנב האָט קעניגע אויגען. ער וועהט און דער פֿינגער.

שמו) א גנב הייבט זיך פֿאַר אַנ- עהרליכען מאַן מעהר ווי אַנ'ערהרליכער מאַן—פֿאַר אַ גנב. (ראַדוין)

שמו) א גנב הייבט אָן זיין פֿראַ- פֿעסיע מיט אַבטרענען די קענעל צו ער הייבט אָן מיט קליינגענען.

שמו) א גנב הייבט מיט די אַקסעלען. ער ווייסט פֿון נאָרנישט צו וואַנען.

שמו) א גנב, וואו מ'ווייט איהם נישט, דאָ וואַקסט ער. (לונד. גוב.)

שמו) א גנב וועסטו שוין נישט איבערמאַלען.

שמו) א גנב טאָר נישט געהן מיט קיין שטעקען. כדי ער וואָל נישט האָבען אַפֿיר- נוסען די הענד.

שמו) א גנב טאָר נישט האַלטען די הענד אין די קעשענעס. ער מוז ווי שטענדיג האָבען גרויס צום גנב'ענען.

שמו) א גנב טאָר נישט טראַגען קיין גרויסע נעגעל. וואָרום ער קאָן זיך נאָך מיט זיין פֿערטשענען בייס גנב'ענען.

שמו) א גנב טרעפט אין אַלע באַהאַלטענע לעכער.

שמו) א גנב מוז זיין אַ געבראַ- לענער. מ'קומט איהם אַזאָ אים זיך צו בויען, צו שפּרינגען.

שמו) א גנב מוז זיין אַ חכם. א. ב. 822

שמו) א גנב מוז פֿון הינטען אויך האָבען אויגען. וְזֶה שִׁבִּיר

מ'יאָגט עס אויך אויף אַ סוּח, ער מוז גוט אַכטונג געבען ווען און געשעפט קומען אריין פֿערשיעדענע סענשען, פֿערשיעדענע קוינים.

שמו) א גנב מוז שטענדיג האָבען די אויגען אין קאַפּ. ער מוז גוט אַכטונג געבען, ער דארף זיין קלוג.

שמו) א גנב נעהמט מיט די אויגען. און א גנב דערזעהט געפֿעס, נעיסט זיך איהם דערצו.

שמו) א גנב פֿינטעלט מיט די אויגען.

שמו) א גנב פֿלאַנמערט זיך צוויי- שען די פֿיס.

שמו) א גנב פֿאַר'ן גנב'ענען קלאַפט איהם דאָס האַרץ, נאָכ'ן גנב'ענען, קלאַפט יענעם דאָס האַרץ. (ראַדוין שערל. גוב.)

שמו) א גנב צו וועבען, א גנב צו וועבעניג. פֿערגלעך: אזוי ווי איינער און צו וועבען, אזוי און ער צו וועבעניג.

שמו) א גנב אַ צרה, בלייבט שטענדיג די כפּרה.

שמו) א גנב קומט קינמאל נישט דער ערשטער: ער נעהמט דאָס, וואָס דער צווייטער לאָזט איבער.

שמו) א גנב קוקט האַלב. ער קוקט אין דער וואַס, מ'וואָל נישט בעסערקען, און ער קוקט אויף וועסען, אָדער אויף דער וואַס (צו גנב'ענען).

שמו) א גנב אַ קליאַק באַקומט שטענדיג אַ שלאַק.

שמו) א גנב קאָן ארויסטראַגען די בעבעלעס.

שמו) א גנב שאַרט נישט קיין קלעפּ.

שמו) א גנב אַ שלים'מול און די ערנסטע קאלוקע.

שמו) א גנב אַ שלים'מול האָט באַלד אַ מקום מקלט. אין תּפּיסה.

שמו) א גנב אַ שלים'מול האָט באַלד אַ מקום מקלט. אין תּפּיסה.

שמו) א גנב שרעקט אפֿילו קיין הונד אויך נישט אַב.

שמו) א גנב שרעקט ביינאַכט. ער האָט מורא מ'וואָל איהם נישט קומען נעהמען פֿאַר די גנבות. אָדער: ביינאַכט געהט ער אַזאָ גנב'ע- נען. האָט ער מורא מען וואָל איהם דערבט נישט אַמען.

שמו) גנבים האָבען וויילע הער- צער: זיי נעהמען דאָס, וואָס פעט זיך.

שמו) גנבים האָבען סודות. א. ב. 881

שמו) גנבים האָבען שפּיצניגע קעפּ. ד. ה. ווי ווענען קלוגע.

שמו) גנבים ווענען פֿרומע יודען: זיי שטעהען אָפּ צו חצות.

שמו) גנבים שרעקען זיך. פֿון דעם אַזאָ גנב'ענען שרע-

קען זיי זיך אפֿילו ווען זיי גנב'ען נען נישט.

שמו) דאָ וואו דער גנב שטעהט אַיין, דאָ גנב'עט ער נישט. קהנלך: דאָ וואו די צינגל- נער שטעהען אַיין, דאָ גנב'ענען זיי נישט (אָדער: דאָ רעהען זיי נישט).

שמו) די בעסטע צייט פֿאַר גנבים און סוף חודש. די לבנה און נישטאָ, מאַן פֿינסטער, און עס די בעסטע נעץ- לענגעהיט פֿאַר די גנבים.

שמו) דער בעסטער שומר און א גנב.

שמו) דער גנב, וואָס קאָן נישט שווימען, אַיז קיין גנב נישט.

שמו) דער וואָס האָט נאָך נישט געקאָמט אין שעפּעל, און נאָך קיין גנב נישט. וואָרום געסווינט: א גנב וואָס אַיז נאָך נישט געוועסען.

שמו) א הימלשען גנב קאָן מען נישט אַינהימען.

שמו) וואָס מעהר וויראַקען אַרץ מעהר גנב. פּויליש: wyrok — פּסק-דיין.

שמו) וועה און דעם גנב, וואָס האָט נישט קיין מול.

שמו) מ'ווערט נישט פֿרייער קיין גוטער גנב, פֿון וואַנען מ'וועט נישט אים קיין וויראַק' (פּסק-דיין).

שמו) מיט אַ גנב און גוט צו האַנדלען. ער און נישט קאָרני, ער דינגט זיך נישט.

שמו) מיט א גנב וועסטו קייני- מאל נישט אויסקומען.

שמו) מיט וועמען חברים זיך א גנב, מיט זיינס גלייכען. ווען מ'וועהט אַינגעס געהן מיט גנבים, און מ'סחתן ער אַיין אויך א גנב.

שמו) אַנ'ערהרליכער גנב לאָזט עפֿעס איבער.

שמו) פֿאַר א גנב און א הונד אַ טוים.

הינד דאָזן איהם נישט גנב'ען
נען, ווי שפּעצן איהם.

תה) פּאַר אַ גנב אין נישטאָ קיין
באהאַלטענען. זאָלען.

תו) פּאַר אַ גנב אין נישטאָ קיין
בשר'ע מוזה.

א בשר'ע מוזה, וואָס פּערהיט
פאַר שדים, פּערהיט אָבער נישט
פאַר אַ גנב.

תו) פּאַר אַ גנב אין נישטאָ קיין
שום באַוואַרעניש.

תה) פּאַר אַ גנב אין קיין באַ-
העלמעניש. נישטאָ.

תט) פּאַר אַ גנב אין קיין סוד
נישטאָ.

ער ווייסט אלע סודות און וואו
יענער לעגט זשעס אונזען.

תו) פּאַר אַ גנב אין קיין שום
זאך נישט באַהאַלטען.

תיא) פּאַר אַ גנב אין קיין שלאָס
נישטאָ (אָדער: נישטאָ פּאַ-
ראָן).

תיב) פּאַר אַ גנב אין קיין שליל-
סעל נישטאָ.
(משעקאָסען, קיצווי, גנב)

תיג) פּאַר אַ גנב אין שווער צו
באהאַלטען.

תיד) פּאַר דעם גנב אין איהן
ווען פּאַר דעם וואָס זעלב
איהם — צעהן וועגען.
א.ב. 837

תמו) פּאַר אַנערהעליכען מאַן
ברויך מען נישט קיין
שלאָס אין פּאַר אַ גנב
העלפּט נישט קיין שלאָס.

תמו) פּאַר אַ הימלישען גנב קאָן
מען זיך נישט אַהנהימען.
א.ב. 836

ועה טע

תיו) פּאַר אַ שטוב-גנב קאָן מען
זיך נישט פּאַרהימען.

תיח) פּון אַ גנב וועסטו דיך
נישט אייטרעהען.

תיט) אַ קעשענע-גנב מאַר נישט
נעהן קיין לאַנגע אַרבעל.
דאָס וועט איהם שטענען
אריינגעשטעקען די האַנד צו גנב'ענען.

תכ) שפּי אַ גנב אין די אַייגען
אַרין, זאָגט ער ס'רעגענט.

תכא) אַ שלאָס ביי אַ גנב אין
אזוי ווי אַ פּלעטעל פּון
אַ בוים.
גרינג אַראַבצורייסען.

קאלעקציע נומער זעקס.

גנבישע אויסדרעהענישען.
תרוצים א. אַנד.

תכב) אַז אַ גנב אין זיך מודה,
זאָגט ער: ס'איז ס'ער-
שטע מאַל.

תכג) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב האָט ער
נישט קיין אַנדערן פּאַר-
ענטפּער. ווי טרעהרען.
(ראַדווי)

תכד) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב, זאָגט
ער, אַז ער וועט שוין
מיין נישט גנב'ענען, נאָר
איינמאַל אין זומער און
דאָס צווייטע מאַל אין
ווינטער.

תכה) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב, זאָגט
ער, אַז ער וועט שוין
מיין נישט גנב'ענען, נאָר
דאָס מאַל און נאָך אַ מאַל.

תכו) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב, זאָגט
ער: יאָך. ביין נישט שול-
דיג, נאָר מיין קאַלענען.

תכז) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב (ביי
דער האַנד), זאָגט ער, ער
האָט עפעס פּאַרנעסען.

תכח) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב, זאָגט
ער, ער וועט מאַלען אַ
שהחינו לישוב בסוכה.

תכט) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב, זאָגט
ער, ער וועט שוין מיין
נישט גנב'ענען, נאָר
נעהמען.
ועה ז'

תל) אַז מ'כאַפט אַ גנב, פּאַר-
ענטפּערט ער זיך, ער איז
פּאַרבילאָנדזשעט. (אָדער:
פּאַרקראַלען.)

תלא) אַז מ'יאָגט אַ גנב, שרייבט
ער: כאַפט אַ גנב!

א מיטעל מיזל נישט וויסען.
אַז ער איז דער גנב.

תלב) אימליכער גנב האָט זיך
זיין תרוץ.
א.ב. 829

תלג) ביי אַ גנב אין דער תרוץ
פּון אייבען.

תלד) ביי אַ גנב קאָן מען נישט
דערנעהן קיין אמת.

תלה) אַ גנב אַז ער ווערט פּאַר-
שוט, זאָגט ער, אַז ער
ווערט אויס גנב.
(ראַדווי)

תלו) אַ גנב האָט מיט זיך אַ
פּוילען פּוועס מיט תרוצים.

תלז) אַ גנב, ווי אזוי די וועסט
מיט איהם מאַלען, וועט
ער אלע בליבען גערעכט.

תלח) אַ גנב זאָגט, אַז ער איז
נישט קיין גנב, נאָר דאָס
וואָס מ'ווערט, דאָס דארף
מען צונעהמען.

תלט) אַ גנב זאָגט, ווען ער זאָלט
נישט געננבעט, וואָלט
אונטערנענאנגען דאָס גאנ-
צע שלאָסער-פּאַך.
(ראַדווי)

תמ) אַ גנב פּאַרענטפּערט זיך,
ווען ער וואָלט נישט גע-
גענומען, וואָלט אַ צווייטער
גענומען.

תמא) גנב'ענען אין אַ מצוה.
אזוי פּיטשען אויס די גנבים
מיט פּערשיעדענע רמזים און פּשמי-
לעך ווי צ.ב.: דאָ תננוב' נישט
מיט קיין אַר'ף, נאָר מיט אַ
ק'וואו', דו תננוב'.

תמב) געבענטשט זענען די הענד
וואָס געהמען זיך אלען.
אין פּאַדק איז זעהר פּער-
שפּרייט דאָס וואָרט: געבענטש
זענען די הענד וואָס טהון אַר'ין.

תמג) דאָס וואָס מ'שלינגט נישט
אַראָב, דאָס האָט מען
נישט.

תמד) וואָס די וועסט נישט
גנב'ענען באַרין. לעבען,
וועסטו נאָכץ מייט אַרדאי
נישט האַבען.

תמה) דאָס וואָס מ'נעהמט נישט
אונזען, דאָס האָט מען
נישט.

ענהליך: וואָס מ'רעסט נישט
אונזען, דאָס האָט מען נישט.

תמו) וועסטו גנב'ענען, וועסטו
האַבען.

תמז) יעדער גנב האָט פּאַר
אנ'אויסריר (אָדער: אויס-
דרעהן).

תמח) מיטן עהרליכען גאנג
וועסטו קענמאַל נאָר נישט
מאַלען.

תמט) ער האָט זיך נאָר טועה
געווען.

אַ קאָסאָוועס: ער איז נישט
אויסען געווען צו גנב'ענען, נאָר
אַנשטאָס אַרענצושטעקען די האַנד
צו זיך אין קעשענען. האָט ער ווי
אַרענצושטעקען צו יענעם.

קאלעקציע נומער זעבען.

דאָס וועט אין תפיסה א. אַנד.

תנ) אַז מ'וועצט איין אַ גנב,
זאָגט מען: מ'פּוהרט איהם
אַברוהען.

תנא) וועסט קריגענען אַ וואוינונג
אין טורמע, וועט אין דער
פּראַלנע (פּויליש: pralnia —
וועשעריי). קלירער — אין
מאנאָזין און קעסט —
באַרין קעניג.

שווי וויצלט מען זיך איבער
אַ גנב.

תנב) מ'האָט איהם אַררינגען-
ישב'ט אין חדר-גדיא.

מ'האָט איהם אַררינגענען
אין טורמע.

תנג) ער איז אויסגענאנגען אלע
קלאַסען.

ער איז אויסגעוועסען אלע
חרדים אין תפיסה.

ענהליך: מען זאָגט אויך
וועגען איינעם, וואָס איז נישט גע-
דערגט: ער איז אויסגענאנגען
אלע קלאַסען באַרוועקט.

תנד) ער איז אַנאלט געוועסען,
נער — אין תפיסה.
(ראַדווי)

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תנה) ער איז געווען אין וויס-
באדען (אדער: אין טשע-
כאטשניקען).

תנו) ער איז געוועסען יום-
ולילה — אין פארוואק.

תנז) ער איז א היענער תושב-
אין תפיסה.

תנה) ער איז שוין אנאטער
גנב, ער איז שוין אויס-
געוועסען ניין מאנאטען —
ביי דער מוטער אין בויד.

תנט) ער איז שוין געוועסען אין
דער ישיבה.

תס) ער האט א גוטע שטוהל.
אניגעווענעניש: אויף א
שטוהל וועט מען און ער וועט
איין (אין טורמע).

תסא) ער האט געטהון א גוטען
שירוק: ער האט געקריגע-
נען דעם זיגער פון ראט-
הויז, די קומען פון אר-
סקאטל און קעסט אין
טורמע.
זעה תניא

תסב) ער האט זיין אייגען בעט-
אין תפיסה.

תסג) ער האט שוין געטאפט
די ווענער.

ער איז שוין געוועסען אין
פארעם.

תסד) ער האט שוין געקאפט
אויפ'ן קיבעל.

תסה) ער וועט אונטער די
קראמען.

תסו) ער וועט אין די הויכע
פֿענצטער (פֿענסטער).

תסז) ער וועט אין לאך.

תסח) ער וועט אָף קעסט.

תסט) ער וועט באַרן קיסר
אָף קעסט.

תט) ער צאהלט נישט קיין דירה-
געלד.

ער וועט שטענדיג אין תפיסה.

קאלעקציע נומער אַכט.
וואָס ווערט פֿאַג'ט גנב אין דער גנבה.

תפא) אויפ'ן גנב ווארט דאָס
שטריקעל.

תפב) א גנב האט נישט קיין
גוטען סוף.

תפג) א גנב ווערט באַגראָבען
הינטער א פלוים.

תפד) א גנב ווערט באַגראָבען
בארן פֿאַרקען.

תפע) א גנב ווערט פֿאַרפֿוילט
אין תפיסה.

תפו) א גנב מוז האָבען המנים-
סוף.
ווייל סוף גנב לתליה.

תפז) א גנב שטאַרבעט אָהן וירוי.

תפח) א גנב שטאַרבעט און הקדש
אָדער אין תפיסה.

תפט) א גנב שטאַרבעט אין תפיסה
אָדער מ'הרניקט איהם.

תפס) א גנב שטאַרבעט אין תפיסה
אָדער אין וואַלד.
(גארשקען, רובל, גנב.)

תפסא) א גנב שטאַרבעט נישט
אָף זיין בעט.

תפסב) א גנב'ס סוף איז ווערט
אניאויסגעבלאָזענע שישקע.
מען באַדויערט איהם נישט,
מ'וויינט נישט נאָך איהם.

תפסג) א גנב'ס סוף ווערט אויס,
פוינקט ווי א קוימעניארוש
(קוימענקעהרער) קעסטוויי-
סען קען.
ד.ה. ער האט א שווארצען סוף.

תפסד) סוף אָרם למיתה. סוף
בהמה לשחיטה, סוף סוחר
לפליטה, סוף גנב לתליה.
סוף אדם למוט, סוף בהמה
לשחיטה (ברכות י"ז א').
א.ב. 2611

תפסה) סוף גנב אין תפיסה.

תפסו) סוף גנב לתליה.

תפסז) א קעלין שטאַרבעט, בא-
גראָבט מען זי הינטערן

איווען, און א גנב—היני-
מער דער סטאדאלע.
פֿייליש: stodoła — שטיער.
א.ב. 3389

תפחא) א קריגעל טראַגט מען אזוי
לאנג ביז וואַנען מ'אויע-
רעלע ריכט זיך אָב, א
גנב גנב'עט אזוי לאַנג
ביז וואַנען מ'כאַפט איהם.

תפחב) תולדה ארץ על בלימה—
די ערד הענגט אין דער
לופטען און א גנב הענגט
אָף א האָר.

תפחג) אלע גנבות געבען זיך אויס.

תפחד) א גנבה האט קיין הצלחה.
א.ב. 839

תפחז) גנבה ציהם.

תפחזא) גנב'יש און גז'יש האט
קיין הצלחה נישט.

תפחזב) גנב'יש געלד און לאַטעריע
געלד האָבען נישט קיין
קיום.

תפחזג) גנב'יש געלד האט קיין
קיום נישט.

תפחזד) גנב'יש געלד קומט ליכט
אָן און ס'געהט ליכט
אויסק.

תפחזה) א גנב'ישע זאך איז שמייליק.

תפחזו) דער גנב'ישער גראַשען
איז זיס.
עהלניך: סיס גנבים יסתקו.

תפחזז) געגנבעט געלד שמייעלט
נישט.
ד.ה. ס'האלט זיך נישט לאַנג.

תפחזח) געגנבעט וואַסער איז זיס.

תפחזט) יעדער גנבה מוז ארויס-
קומען ווי בוימעל אויפ'ן
וואַסער.
(וויאהלן)

קאלעקציע נומער ניין.
גנבה, שמירה, א. אנד.

תקא) דאָס איז דאָך די גמרא
טרודנע.

פֿייליש: trudno — שווער.
(ראדוין)
זעה רפ"א

תקב) דאָס געהמען יאָק געהמען
אַבער דאָס אָפגעבען.

תקג) די האַסט נישט געלערנט
די גמרא טרודנע?
(ראדוין)
זעה תקיב

תקה) האַסט נישט געטראָפֿען
ס'אַרט.

תקו) מ'האַט איהם געכאַפט ביי
דער האַנד.
ווען מ'כאַפט אַיניקס ביי דער
גנבה.

תקז) מ'האַט איהם געכאַפט ביי
דער אַרבעט.

תקח) מ'איז איהם נישט גע-
נאַנען.

תקט) מ'איז איהם נישט גע-
גראַטען.

תקי) ס'קאַסט איהם פֿינגר מינוט
האַרץ-קלאַפֿעניש.

תקיא) ס'קאַסט איהם פֿינגר מינוט
טויט-שרעק.

תקיב) ס'קאַסט איהם פֿינגר פֿינג-
נער מיט אַ לאַפ.

תקיג) ער האַט געהאַט הענדר
מיט קלייסער.

תקיז) ער האַט געהאַט אַ לאַנג-
גע האַנד.

תקיזא) ער האַט געהאַט אַ קלע-
נע געדינגע האַנד.

תקיזב) ער האַט עס געוואַלט
אַראַבשלינגען.

תקיזג) ער האַט געטאַלט אַ נאַכט-
קראַץ.

תקיזד) ער האַט גערוהרט דאָ
וואו מ'דאַרף נישט.

תקיזה) זיי רואה.

תקיזט) די ווערטלעך פֿון די גוטערן
תקיים—תקליב ווערען גענוצט אין
סוחר'ישען וועלטל'יג בשעת מען
האַט צו טהון מיט פֿרעמדע פֿער-
זאָנען.

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ועה גיבט אשכונג. — ווען ס'איז דא און געווען א גוי און מ'האט מורא צו זאל עפעס נישט צוגעב'ענען, ווערט מען אויף דער קורש, ווערט יודיש קאן ער נאך אסאך פערשטעהן.

תקנ (תקנ) ועה נאך ס'זאל זיך דאך- מען נישט עפעס צו- קלעבען.

תקנא (תקנא) לעקאך * מיט בראנפלין. ס'זאגט אויך בלויז דאס ווארט לעקאך (לקח), נאך דא ווערט עס בביון געברויכט מיט נאך א ווארט, עס זאל אויסקומען סערה פער- שטעלט.

תקנא (תקנא) צוויי אף * צעהן (אָדער: גיבע צוויי אף * צעהן): ד.ה. קוק מיט צוויי אויגען אויף צעהן פליגער.

תקנא (תקנא) צוויי הונדערט צעהן. סערה פערשטעלט, כדי דער פערשטער זאל נישט פערשטעהן וואס מען מיינט דערמיט.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם אויסגע- ברקענט.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם אויסגע- בייטעלט.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם באגנבעט * ביו צום העסד.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם געלאזט שטעהן אין איהן העסד.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם געלאזט בערום וחוסר.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם געלאזט שטעהן ווי די מאמע האט איהם געהאט.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט ביי איהם געמאכט א ביעור חמץ.

תקנא (תקנא) ער איז געבליבען ארם- נאקעט.

תקנא (תקנא) ער איז געבליבען אין איהן העסד.

קאלעקציע נומער צעהן. סופר, עזות, וואונגען, קדוה, א. אהר.

תקנא (תקנא) אז דו וועסט דיך חברין

מיט א גנב, וועסטו אלען אויך ווערען א גנב.

תקנא (תקנא) אז ס'איז דא א גנב אין שטוב, מאך מען נישט זאגען: הענגט מיר אף * דעם ראק.

תקנא (תקנא) מען זאגט אויך: ווער ס'האט א געהאנגענעס אין דער משפחה, מאך מען איהם נישט זאגען, הענג מיר אף * דעם פאלטען.

תקנא (תקנא) אז ס'איז דא א גנב אין שטוב, מאך מען נישט שמועסען פון הענגען.

תקנא (תקנא) אז ס'איז דא א גנב אין שטוב, דארף מען נישט באהאלטען * ווער וואו א גנב שטעהט און דא גנבעט ער נישט.

תקנא (תקנא) אלץ אין דער וועלט זאלסטו זיין, נאך קיין גנב נישט.

תקנא (תקנא) אף * א גנב מאך מען קיין רחמנות נישט האבען.

תקנא (תקנא) א גנב פון א גנב איז פטור.

תקנא (תקנא) אין הונט אחר הגנב משלם (בבא קמא ס"ט א').

תקנא (תקנא) א גנב אף * א גראשען, א גנב אף * א רובל, איז אלץ איינס.

תקנא (תקנא) א גנב אף א גאדעל, א גנב אף א הויז — אלץ איינס.

תקנא (תקנא) א גנב פאר א פערד, א גנב פאר א בייטש.

תקנא (תקנא) גנבענען און ראבעווען זאל מען און אנ'עהרלי- כער מאן זאל מען זיין.

תקנא (תקנא) גנבענען איז א גרעסע- רע חרפה ווי אבגעבען.

תקנא (תקנא) דו ווילסט מ'זאל דיך נישט באגנבענען, וואוין צווישען צוגייערעס.

תקנא (תקנא) דו ווילסט מ'זאל זיין בא- ווארענט * זאלסטו וואו- נען ביי גנבים.

תקנא (תקנא) דו ווילסט מ'זאל זיין גאנץ, זאלסטו מאכען דעם גנב פאר א שוטר.

תקנא (תקנא) דעם שליסעל גיבע דעם גנב און דער האנד אריין. מאך דעם גנב פאר א שוטר וועט ער שוין נישט גנבענען.

תקנא (תקנא) דער גנב פאר דער טוהר איז דער בעסטער שוטר.

תקנא (תקנא) הונט ביי א גנב (אָדער: מן הגנב) איז פטור.

תקנא (תקנא) היט דיך פאר גנבישע הענד. האב נישט קיין מנע-ווסא מיט גנבים.

תקנא (תקנא) ווען ער זאלט * נישט גע- ווען קיין גנב, וואלט ער געווען לאנד און ליים. ד.ה. ס'וואלט איהם זעהר גוט געווען.

תקנא (תקנא) ווער א בעטלער אידער א שלעפער. א גנב, ער שלעפט פון די קעשענעס, ער שלעפט די גנבות.

תקנא (תקנא) א חרפה איז צו גנבענען.

תקנא (תקנא) א ממור און א גנב און קלוג זאל מען זיין.

תקנא (תקנא) ניץ גנב'אי, ניץ פאסטאיי. א.ב. 843

תקנא (תקנא) ניץ לאפאי, ניץ גנב'אי. די לעצטע צוויי גנבערן תקנא — תקנא וועגן געשאפען לויט דער פילישער ווארט בילדונג.

תקנא (תקנא) ס'איז א רחמנות אפילו א גנב ארויסצוטרעבען. ווערט געברויכט ביי זעהר א שלעכט וועסער.

תקנא (תקנא) ס'זאגט אויך: ס'איז אבי- עבירה א שלעכט וועג ארויסצו- טריבען (וועבער זאגען: א שלעכטען מאן). אויך זאגט מען: ס'איז אבי- עבירה א הונד ארויסצוטרעבען, אדער א שלעכט פערד און וועג אריין צו טריבען.

תקנא (תקנא) פאניע זאגט: גנב'ע, נאך מ'זאל דיך נישט לאפען.

תקנא (תקנא) פאר א גנב מאך מען קיין תליה נישט דערמאנען.

תקנא (תקנא) צופיעל עהרליכער מאן מאך מען נישט זיין.

תקנא (תקנא) צופיעל עהרליכער מאן טויג אויך נישט.

תקנא (תקנא) שטעל דעם גנב פאר דער טוהר. זאל ער זיין דער שוטר, וועט מען שוין נישט גנבענען.

תקנא (תקנא) א שידוך זאל מען טהון אין דער היים און א גנב און דער פערשטער. עהרליך זאגט אויך דער פדרש: אשוי מי שאשתו מעירו, (פדרש משלי, פרשה ה').

תקנא (תקנא) דא וואו א גנב שטעהט, דא זאל דאס ארם ברענען.

תקנא (תקנא) זאלסט מיר האבען אזא סוף ווי א גנב אף * א יריד.

תקנא (תקנא) (ראדווי, שעדל, גנב). אז מען לאפט א גנב אויף א יריד בעקומט ער קלעם פון די פויגרים און פון עולם.

תקנא (תקנא) מ'האט איהם שוין גע- סענט אוועקגעגעבען.

תקנא (תקנא) ס'זאל אזוי נישט זיין ס'לעצטע מאל, ווי ס'איז נישט ס'ערשטע מאל. זאגט מען, ווען מען זעהט פיהרען א גנב.

תקנא (תקנא) ס'מען מיר אן דיר א גנבה געשעהען. ד.ה. מען מעג דיך צו- גנבענען.

תקנא (תקנא) ער איז א גנב, זאל א רוח אין זיין טאמענט סאמען אריין.

תקנא (תקנא) א רוח אין דיין גנב אריין. זעהר שאפליכער.

תקנא (תקנא) א רוח אין דיין גנבישען סאמען אריין.

תקנא (תקנא) אזוי ווי מ'מאך נישט געטרויען קיין קאץ קיין סמעטענע, אזוי מאך א מאמע נישט געטרויען, אזוי האט א זון א גנב.

תקנא (תקנא) אזוי ווי מ'קאן זיך נישט פארהיטען * פאר קיין

קאץ, אזוי קאן מען זיך
נישט פארהינגען. פאר
קין גנב.
(זיבלין)

תקעה) אזוי ווי ס'איז נישט
פארען. קין טייל און
קין טייל, אזוי איז נישט
פארען. קין גנב, וואס
זאל זיך קענען באמין.
און די גנבה.
(גארשקעו, לובל, גנב.)

תקעו) אזוי ווי א קאטשע קאן
זיך נישט באמין. און
קין וואסער, אזוי קאן
זיך קין גנב נישט בא-
נעהן. און קין גנבה.
(גארשקעו, לובל, גנב.)

תקעו) אזוי ווי א קאני קוקט
אויס דעם קענען, אזוי
קוקט א גנב אויס די וויג-
טער נעכט.
(גארשקעו, לובל, גנב.)

תקעה) א גנב און א קורווע
(פוייליש: kurwa — גאסן-
פריי) אין אלץ איינס.

תקעה) א גנב און א שפור מע-
גען זיך משרד זיין.

תקע) א גנב ווי א וויסעל פון
אויב.
משעות דערפאר, ווייל דאס
וויסעל פנים אויב קאן זיך זעהן
לעכט באהאלטען אויסרעהען זיך.
(א.ד.)

תקעה) א גנב ווי א מויו.

תקעה) האלט מיך פאר א רב
און היט מיך ווי א גנב.
א.ב. 3476

תקעה) א הדרה פנים ווי גאטע
גנב.

תקעה) ליטרע ווי א גנב.

תקעה) מ'דארף איהם היטען ווי
א גנב.

תקעה) מ'דארף זיך פאר איהם
היטען ווי פאר א גנב.

תקעה) א מציאה ווי פון א גנב
(אדער: ווי ביי א גנב).

תקעה) ס'קלאפט איהם דאס
הארץ ווי ביי א גנב
(אדער: גולף).

תקעה) ער היט די גנבה אזוי
ווי ס'געלעבן פון און
(אדער: אזוי ווי דאס
בלויזטראפ).

תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

תקעה) פלינגק ווי א גנב.

תקעה) שטייל ווי א גנב.
א גנב פערנעב'עט זיך
שטייל, ס'זאל נישט הערען.

תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

תקעה) פלינגק ווי א גנב.

תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

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תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

תקעה) ער זעהט אויס ווי א גנב.

תקעה) א זינגער-מאכער אין א
גנב.

תקעה) א חסיד אין א גנב.
זעהר פאפולער דאס זידעל-
ווארט: חסיד גנב.

תקעה) אלע חסידים זענען גנבים.

תקעה) יודעלע גנב.
רב גנבי ישראל (כ"ו ע').

תקעה) א זינגער ווייבעל אין א גנב.
זו גנב'עט ביים טאן דעם
אמיקומן.

תקעה) א יוגנטשיק אין א גנב.
רוסיש: Сидчик — קרי-
פויילדער נעהיים-אנגעט. מען זאגט
א רוב יוגנטשיקעס זענען געווען-
זינג גנבים.

תקעה) א ליטוואק אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א לינגער אין א גנב.

תקעה) א פראסער (אדער: א וואל-
ווארט) אין א גנב.
זעה 296

תקעה) צינגער זענען גנבים.

תקעה) א קאץ אין א גנב.

תקעה) קהל אין א גנב.
בפ קהל געשיעהט אפט
גנבות, ס'פעהלט צום חשבון.
קהלים ארדנונגען שידערט
אין די טאקעס סענדעלי מוכר
ספרים, ש. פרוג אין די לעגעט
קאפיאק.

תקעה) א קורווע אין א גנב.
זעה תקעה

תקעה) קורוש אין א גנב.
פוייליש: kurz — שטייב.

תקעה) א שווארצער אין א גנב.
זעה שיי

תקעה) שכל אין א גנב.
ער קומט נישט גליק, נאר
זענען ער לעכט זיך אריין.

תקעה) שלאף אין א גנב.
ווען מ'דערקענט איינעם און
די אויגען, אז איהם שדעלעךט,
זאגט מען: ער האט שוין דעם
גנב אין די אויגען. און ס'פאסטעו
זאגט מען: דעם שליפעס מאשעק.
פוייליש: ślepo — בלינד.

תקעה) דאס אין א באכענע *

תקעה) דער פאסער * אין ערגער
פארין גנב.

תקעה) דער פאסער * ריווקורט
מיין * פארין גנב.

תקעה) דער פאסער * וואלט
נישט געפאסט * וואלט
דער גנב נישט געענדיקעט.
ווייל ער וואלט נישט גע-
האט ווערען אפגעזאמלען די
גנבות.

תקעה) ווען נישט דער פאסער *
וואלט קיין גנב נישט
געווען.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תקעה) ער אין א פאסער פאס-
ניאוש *.

תרמח) ווענדראווער גנבים.
(שער. נוב. סאק. א.
(338 פ. 7.)

תרעג) זארעמבער גנבים.
(פליצק. נוב.
(ווישקאווי)
(361 פ. 7.)

תרעג) זארעמבער קיסלורים.
(ווישקאווי)

תרעד) זוואלינער גנבים.
(ראד. נוב.)
(364 פ. 7.)

תרעה) זוואלינער פערד-גנבים.
(365 פ. 7.)

תרעו) זעוועניצער גנבים.
(פראטורק. נוב. בושעו. א.
(373 פ. 7.)

תרעו) זעלווער גנבים.
(גראד. נוב.)
(1115 פ. 7.)

תרעה) זשעווער גנבים.
(ראד. נוב.)
(385 פ. 7.)

תרעט) זשעלעווער גנבים.
(שער. נוב. גארוו. א.
(388 פ. 7.)

תרע) זעמבראווער שיקקעס.
(לאסו. נוב.)
און די 60-גער און 70-גער
יאהרען, דערזעהלעס מען, און דאר-
טען געווען זעהר גרויסע שיקקעס
גנבים, וואס האבען אָנגעוואַרען
ש פורא אויף די ארומיגע אגוד-
וואוינער מיט ווייערע אַלעס גנבות
און אָנפאַרען, איינמאל און פאַרנע-
קיסען א פראַצעס איבער אונז שיקקע
און דער דעמאלטיגער אויספאַר-
שונגס-ריכטער פומינסקי האָט גע-
זאָגט, אז ער ס'זי ווי אייסרויבן
און ער האָט זיי סאָקן אויף א צייט
פֿעריאָגט.

תרעט) סאַמאַשווער גרענעץ-
גנבים.
(לובל. נוב.)
(397 פ. 7.)

תרעט) טארטישניער גנבים.
(יוארש. נוב. גרוי. א.
(408 פ. 7.)

תרעט) טייטשוויער גנבים.
(לובל. נוב. סאַמאַש. א.
(418 פ. 7.)

תרעט) דענעבורנער גנבים.
(א. ד.)

תרעט) דערעמשינער קעשעניקעס.
(גראד. נוב. קאבר. א.
(249 פ. 7.)

תרעט) וואורקער סתים-ציהער.
עס ווערט דערזעהלעט, אז
אסאך און אין וואורקע געווען א
גאנצע באנדע וואס ווער פרא-
פֿעסיע און געווען אראפצוגעהן
פֿון די סתים די חבריכם און זיי
צו פֿערקויפֿען. איינמאל און צו
זיי צוגעשטאנען נאך איינער און
ער האָט זיך אויך אָנגעהויבען צו
פֿערנעהמען מיט דעם ססח; ער און
ארויסגעגאנגען במנאט אויפֿן בית
עלמין און האָט געהאָלדען אראפ-
ציהען די חבריכם פֿון די סתים,
אָבער ווען ער און אהיימגעגאנגען
האָט זיך איהם אלץ גערופֿט, אז
די טויערע שטעהען איהם אנטקע-
גען און וואו ער האָט זיך געקעהרט
און געווענדט זענען זיי פֿון איהם
גושט אָנגעטרעטען, און ער אַוועק
צום רב און האָט איהם אלץ אויס-
געוואָגט.

תרעט) וואַלינאווער גנבים.
(ראד. נוב.)
(266 פ. 7.)

תרעט) וואַלינער גנבים.
(פֿאַרשטאָרט פֿון ווארשא)

תרעד) וואַוואַלינער גנבים.
(לובל. נוב.)
(קראטמאסטאוו, לובל. נוב.)

תרעה) ווארשעווער גנבים.
(פ. 7. 286)

תרעו) ווידוער פֿערד-גנבים.
(קאוונ. נוב.)

תרעו) וויזשאנער פֿערד-גנבים.
(וויזניץ. מינסק. נוב.)
(סלאנים)
(1102 פ. 7.)

תרעה) ווילנער קעשעניקעס.
(ג. ס. 1104)

תרעט) וויסקיטער גנבים.
(וויזניץ. נוב.)

תרעט) וויזשניצער גנבים.
(שער. נוב.)
(1105 פ. 7.)

תרעה) באַבראָיקער אַרעסטאַנ-
טען.
(קאמפּענין פֿאַרדאָסק, מינסק. נוב.)
(1066 פ. 7.)

תרעו) באַנעליצער גנבים.
(באַנעליצער, ווארש. נוב.)
(96 פ. 7.)

תרעו) באַוושעניצער גנבים.
(באַוושעניץ, ווארש. נוב. און א.)
(106 פ. 7.)

תרעה) באַלעמאנער גנבים.
(וויזניץ. נוב.)
(1170 פ. 7.)

תרעה) בורשטינער 5אָיטשו-
ליקערס.
(באַליצער)
גאַנץ גאַסען פֿון א גנבים-עלסטען.
(פ. 7. 118)

תרע) ביעליצער פֿערד-גנבים.
דאָרט און אסאך געווען א
פֿערווערטער גנב פֿרין, וואָס ווענען
איהם דערזעהלעט מען, אז ער און
דער יאהר אָנגעפֿענען אונטער דער
ערד צווישען די וואַרעלען פֿון א
בױם, אויספֿעהלעטענדיג זיך פֿאַר
פֿאַליציי.

תרעה) א פֿערדיטשעווער גנב.
(ג. ס. 1079)

תרעט) בערדיטשעווער גנבים.
אז אַפֿעקט אַ בערדיטשעווער
יוד: פֿון וואַנען זיט איהר?
זאָגט ער: איהר זיט אַלע אַ גנב.
(אלע-קאמפּעסאנטן).

תרעט) בראַנטשקער גנבים.
(לאסו. נוב. אסטר. א.)
(171 פ. 7.)

תרעד) גאַווראווער גנבים.
לאסו. נוב. אסטר. א.)
(185 פ. 7.)

תרעה) גערער גנבים.
(גראד-קאלוואריע וואר. ג.)
(207 פ. 7.)

תרעו) גערער קראדניקעס.
קראדניק-גנב (פֿון סלאוויצער).
(209 פ. 7.)

תרעו) גראַלאווער גנבים.
(פֿאַרשטאָרט פֿון ווארשא)
(221 פ. 7.)

תרעה) דיניטש גנב.

תרעה) ער און אַנאַלעטער פֿאַ-
סיק-מאַלער.
ד. ה. אַנאַלעטער פֿאַסער.*

תרעו) ער האַנדעלט מיט באַב-
נעס.*

קאַלעקציע נומער צוועלף.
פֿעקער, לענדער, שטערם און
שטערמלעך (1).

תרעו) איטשניצער גנבים.
(לובל. נוב.)
(שעברעשין לובל. נוב.)

תרעה) אייטשניצער פֿערד-גנבים.
(וויזניץ. נוב.)
(34 פ. 7.)

תרעה) אייטשניצער קאַני-קרא-
דציעס.
רוסיש: коноградс — פֿערד-גנב.
(35 פ. 7.)

תרעה) אַלעמער גנבים.
(וויזניץ. נוב.)
(40 פ. 7.)

תרעה) אַליקער גנבים.
(וויזניץ. נוב.)
(41 פ. 7.)

תרעה) אַמעריטשקע גנב.
אוי רופֿען דאָס לאנד פֿון
די פֿאַרמינגע שטאָטען די פֿריש
אָנגעקומענע אַמיטראַטען, וואָס
זענען איבערגעטען פֿון דעם נייעם
לאנד און פֿון זינע סאָדנע אַרדנע-
גען און סנהנים.
(50 פ. 7.)

תרעה) אַפּאַלער האַבער-גנבים.
(אַפּאַלע, לובל. נוב.)

תרעד) אַרינער גנבים.
(נאָיו-שליקעס, געבען קויעוו)

(1) א סך שטערמלעך האָבען
ש סבה פֿאַרוואָס מען רופֿט זיי אוי,
און ס'רוב געהען אַרומ פֿעריערענע
ווערמלעך, אָנגעקומען, מעשה'ליך
ווענען דעם. די יעניגע וואָס וויי-
סען אַפֿעס דערפֿון, ווערען דערום
העפֿליכט געבעטען אונז צוגע-
שיקען זייערע מיטשילונגען אויפֿן
גאַסען פֿון פֿעריעס.
די רעד.

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גנבה, ווען זיי בינאמט אויף און ווען עוסק אין ווער פראפעסיע.

תשכז) פֿיטרעניצער גנבים. (וואהליון) (ג. פ. 1159)

תשכח) פֿילעווער גנבים. (קאווו. גוב.) (קארוו, לובל, גוב.)

תשכט) פֿילצער גנבים. (וואהליון) (ג. פ. 1160)

תשל) פֿלונגיאנער גנבים. (קאווו. גוב.) (ג. פ. 1165)

תשלא) פראנער פֿערד-גנבים. (פארשטאנדט פֿון ווארשא) (ג. פ. 745)

תשלב) פראווענצער גנבים. סווי רופען די ווארשעווער די אמנוואוינער פֿון די ארומיגע שטערמלעך. (ג. פ. 746)

תשנג) פֿשיטקאווער גנבים. (רעד. גוב. און א.) (ג. פ. 755)

תשלד) פֿשעמישליאנער גנבים. (נאליציען) און אָם דער שטאָרט האָט זיך אַ סאָל אויפֿגעהאלטען אַ בע-רהמטע חברה גנבים; דער ראש זייער, לויבעץ גוב. און געווא-רען אַ העלד פֿון אַ גרויסען זינקל פֿאלקס-זאָגען. (ג. פ. 770)

תשלה) פֿאָניץ גנב.

תשלו) צויומער גנבים. צויומער רופט מען אין יודיש די שטאָרט סאָנראָמיר (ראָד, גוב.) אויף דער וויסעל בני דער עסטרע-נישער געגען, דאָרט איז פֿערהאן אַ גאנצע סתנה פֿאָקל-פֿאָקערס. (ג. פ. 774)

תשלו) קאָברניער קאָוואָדעס. (פרוואַן, גראָד, גוב.) וָת, פֿערד-גנבים.

תשלה) קאָזאָנאווער גנבים. (רעד. גוב.) (ג. פ. 785)

תשיר) נאָשעלצקער באָהן-פֿערס.

ד. ה. גנבים. (פֿלאַצק) ווען די באָהן שטעלט זיך, הויבען אָן די דאָרטניגע פֿוהרמאָניע צו לעפען בני די פֿאָסאָזירען די פֿעקלעך און אַ סך סאָל טרעמט זיך אַז מ'ווייס נישט וואו די פֿעק-לעך קומען אַהין.

תשקו) ניישטערמינע גנבים. (געבען גרוצע, ווארש. גוב.) (ג. פ. 631)

תשמז) סאָבינער גנבים. (שערד, גוב.) (ג. פ. 645)

תשיו) סאָקאלאווער גנבים. (נאליציע, לובל, גוב.)

תשיח) סאָקאלאווער סיבירני-קעס. (גראָד, גוב.) (ג. פ. 658)

תשיט) סאָקאלעקער סיבירניקעס.

תשכ) סילצער גנבים. (לובל, גוב.)

תשכא) סליפער גנבים. (ווארש. גוב.) (ג. פ. 677)

תשכב) אין סקווירע אין איטלי-לעך אַ חסיד, אין יאָר-מעליניעץ, איז איטלי-לעך אַ גנב. סקווירע און יארמקליניעץ ווען צוויי שטערמלעך אין רוסלאַנד. א.ב. 2643

תשכג) עשו גנב.

תשכד) פֿוילישע גנבים. סווי רופען די רויסישע יודען ווערען פֿוילישע ברודער.

תשכה) פֿיוסקער גנבים. (לובל, גוב.) ווען קען פֿיוסק קומט אַ פֿרעמדער, געמיינט מען איהם אָן בני ביינע פֿאלעס, ד. ה. מען בעוואַמט איהם, ער ווערט בענגעלעט. (ג. פ. 715)

תשכו) אין פֿיוסק ליינענט מען נישט קיין קריאה-שמע. (ג. פ. 714)

תשכז) פֿעסע דאָס נאָנצע שטערמלעך, וואָס מען בעפעלעמנט זיך מיט

תש) אַ לויבטשער האַנד. ד. ה. אַ לענגע האַנד — ש גנב.

(ג. פ. 535)

תשא) לויבטשער לאַנגע הענד. ה' ק. וו. וואָזיצקו בע-מערקט, אז ווען דעם וואָס האָט לענגע פֿינגער, וואָס מען: ער האָט הענד גלייך ער וואָלט געווען אין לויבטש. — ס'איז בעוואַמט אז דאָרט גנביעט מען לעל אויף די יודים. (ג. פ. 536)

תשכ) לויבטשער פֿערד-גנבים. אין דער פֿראַפעסיע ווען דאָרט פֿערהאן אַ סך בעריהמטהען.

תשג) לוקעווער גנבים. (שערד, גוב.)

תשד) לוקעווער פֿערד-גנבים. (ג. פ. 560)

תשה) לעווערטאווער זשולטע-קעס. (שערד, גוב.)

ד. ה. פֿערד-גנבים. (סאָקאלאווער)

תשו) לענטשנער באַנריטען. (לובל, גוב.) (קראַסנאָסטאו, לובל, גוב.)

תשיז) לענטשנער גנבים. (לובל, גוב.) (ג. פ. 565)

תשיח) — רב קרוב, זענט איהר נישט פֿון לענטשנע, — איהר זענט אַלעין אַ גנב." (ג. פ. 564)

תשט) סאָגעליניער גנבים. (סאָגעליניעץ, ווארש. גוב.) (ג. פ. 568)

תשיז) טיליאַסנער גנבים. (געבען ווארשא) (ג. פ. 590)

תשיח) נאָוואַמינסקער גנבים. (ג. פ. 623)

תשיט) נאָוואַמינסקער פֿאַבייטני-קעס. וָתה ניג.

תשיג) נאָוורוואַרער גנבים. (ווארש. גוב. און א.) (ג. פ. 616)

תשטז) טשעלענאווער גנבים. (פֿראַצק, גוב.) (ג. פ. 437)

תשטז) טשעלעווער גנבים. (לובל, גוב.) (לובליון)

תשטז) יאָנישקער גנבים. (קאווו. גוב.) (ג. פ. 1124)

תשטז) יאָסטשאַמבער גנבים. (רעד. גוב. און א.) (ג. פ. 462)

תשטז) יאָסטשאַמבער פֿערדלעך-פֿיהרערס. ד. ה. פֿערד-גנבים (ג. פ. 463)

תשטז) יאָבלאָנאווער גנבים. (פֿאַלשאַוו, גוב.) (פֿאַלשאַוו)

תשז) יונעווער אַרעסטאָנטען. (לובל, גוב.) קרימקאָטל-פֿערברעכער, פֿון דער גאנצער גובערניע ווערען גע-שיקט אין דער דאָרטיגער פֿעסטונג. (ג. פ. 459)

תשזא) יונעווער גנבים.

תשזב) יעקע גנב.

תשזג) יעקע גנב מיטן טאָפּ קאווע.

תשזד) לאָמאָנאווער גנבים. (ווארש. גוב.) (ג. פ. 479)

תשזה) לאָדווער גנבים. (פֿאַבייטניע)

תשזו) לאָדווער גנבים ווען גע-פֿאַהרען נאָסטראָליען קיין לויבטש.

(לאָדו.) דערמיט מיינט מען צו וואָגען, אז ווען גרויסע גנבים, ווייל לויבטש האָט זיך קונה-שם געווען אין גאנץ פֿוילען מיט איהרע גנבים.

תשזז) לאָשטשאַווער גנבים. (ג. פ. 521)

תשזח) לובלינער גנבים. (ג. פ. 527)

תשזט) לויבטשער גנבים. (ג. פ. 533)

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תכנה) קאָזשענצער גנבים.
(ראַד. גוב.)
(פ. 7. 789)

תכנה) קאָזשענצער גנבים.
(וואַרש. גוב.)
(פ. 7. 800)

תכנה) קאָזשענצער פּעלצער-גנבים.
(פ. 7. 801)

תכנה) קאָזשענצער גנבים.
(קאָוונ. גוב.)
(פ. 7. 1057)

תכנה) קאָנסטאנטינער גנבים.
(ביאליצ. שעדל. גוב.)
ווען ס'קומט דאָס פאָר אַ חתונה
אין סען נעהט מיט פֿלאַקערס אין
די הענט, בעזונסען די גנבים מיט
א פיון די פֿלאַקערס מיט וואַסער,
פדי צו קאָנען בעננבענגען דעם
עולם.

תכנה) קאָנסטאנטינער היהנער-גנבים.
(ליובל. גוב.)
(נאָו-אליקסאנדער)

תכנה) קורמטשעווער גנבים.
(בפ. פּשוואַצק. וואַרש. גוב.)
(פ. 7. 864)

תכנה) קלעצקער גנבים.
(קלעצקוויטש, מינסק. גוב.)
סען דערצעהלט, אז די קלעצק-
וויטשער האָבען אַ מאָל געטרוקענען
בערען (אירוש) ווי דערדיר בערען-
טריבער, ווען ווי געקומען הינג-
טער די מיטער (מינסק. גוב.) בערען,
האָט סען ווי גענעבען אַ קאָפּלעך
אָנצוהערעניש, אז ווי וואָלען ווי
אָברוהען: האָבען ווי ווי אויסגע-
טוהן די קאָפּטעס און ווי אָנגע-
רוהט, ווען די קלעצקער געקומען
און ווי צוגעגעבען די קאָפּטעס.

תכנה) קרושניקער גנבים.
(דוב. גוב.)
(שעברעשוו. דובל. גוב.)

תכנה) קרושניקער גנבים.
(בראָד. גוב.)
(פ. 7. 902)

תכנה) קרושניקער גנבים.
(געבען אויסגעצויגן, דובל. גוב.)
(אויסצויגן)

תכנה) ראָדאָמיטשער גנבים.
(קאָוונ. גוב.)

דאָרט ווען אַ מאָל געווען
שוויקעס גנבים, וואָס האָבען גע-
פֿרעגט צו בעננבענגען און אָנשט-
לען אויף די פּרוּצים פֿון דער אַר-
מיטער געגענט און יעדער האָט פֿאַר-
ווי געצוימערט—האָט דער דע-
מאָסטריקער גענערעל-גנבערנאָמאַר
טערענטין אַרויסגעגעבען אַ בעפֿעהל,
אז די שטאָדט ראָדאָמיטש וואָל
ווערען פֿאַררעכענט פֿאַר אַ שטאָדט
פֿון גנבים. מיט אַ ציט שפּעטער
האָבען איהם די שוויקעס געהרגעט,
אין ווי סען דערצעהלט, אויף אז
איהן: מ'האָט איהם טובל געווען
אין אַ בית-הכנסת און דערנאָך אַני-
דער געלעגט געבען זיין פֿאַרטיץ.
(ראָדאָמיטש)

תכנה) ראָדאָמיטשער גנבים.
(פ. 7. 914)

תכנה) ריזריקער גנבים.
(ראָדאָמיטש, קיעלצ. גוב.)
(פ. 7. 959)

תכנה) ריזוויצער גנבים.
(פֿעלם.)
עס ווערט דערצעהלט, אז די
דאָרטיקער אויף דער פּאהן
האָבען זיך בפ. קען שום סטאָנציע
נישט געדורכט אזוי הינטען ווי
דאָרט.
(וואָנסלאַוויץ, פֿעלם.)

תכנה) ריזשעלער גנבים.
אזוי וואָס סען אין דווינסק
(מ. ד.)

תכנה) שירלעווער גנבים.
(ראַד. גוב.)
(ראָדאָמיטש)

תכנה) שירלעווער גנבים.
(פ. 7. 994)

תכנה) שעפּטער גנבים.
(פּאַביאָוויץ)

תכנה) שעפּטקאָווער גנבים.
(וואָהלין)
(פ. 7. 1193)

קאָלעקציע נומער דרייצען.
פֿראַנצ, קונדער-פֿאַרזען, גראַסען
א. אַזער.

1) — וואָס איז דער חילוק פֿון
א גנב בױ א רבּין?

— א גנב געב'עט סוף די הענט
אין א רבּין—מיט'ן מויל.

2) — וואָס איז דער חילוק פֿון אַ
שכּר בױ א גנב?

— א שכּר לערנט אויס דאָס
פֿרעזעל און א גנב לערנט אויס
די קעשענעס.

3) — וואָס פֿאַר אַ שבת שטעהט
אָנגעשריבען אָף א מצבה פֿון אַ
גנב?

— בתכנה מותח שערים.

4) — וועלכען גנב טשעפעט סען
נישט?

— דעם וואָס גנב'עט דעם
אזיקאָן.

5) — ווער איז געווען דער ערשט-
מאַך גנב?

— רחל, ווי האָט טוועקענע-
גנב'עט בפ. לכּוּנען די פּילדער.

6) — ווער איז קלוגער א גנב צו
א דאָקטאָר?

— א גנב, וועל פֿלעמאַל וואַסט
ער וואָס יענעם פֿעהלעט.

7) — פֿאַר וואָס איז א גנב שני-
אונזיקער אָרומען?

— וועל ער גנב'עט אויפֿער,
(וואָרעם פֿאַר און איז האָט ער
וועבען יאָהר דעם דלח).

8) — וואָס איז א גנב שני-
אונזיקער אָרומען?

— וועל ער גנב'עט אויפֿער,
(וואָרעם פֿאַר און איז האָט ער
וועבען יאָהר דעם דלח).

אין צוגענומען אַרץ
און א גנב'עט נשט.

9) מ'האָט ווי
געפֿענעט
אין מ'האָט ווי נישט געלאָפֿט,
אין מ'איז א גנב'עט פֿאַר.

10) פֿיכך אַנטהן חיבים —
ס'קומט אַרען צוויי גנבים
להודות לך.
אידער פֿיקט ס'ך אום—ווען ווי
שוין נישטאָ.

וואו רחום יכפר עון,
מ'האָט געלאָפֿט צוויי גנבים,
אוינעם האָט סען אויסגעפֿאַנגען,
דעם צווייטען—באגראָבען.
(אויסגע דור קראַנט,
דושעוויצע ראַד. גוב.)

11) אַרומען
בתורים,
גנבים,
דלמנים;
האָר, (אד.)
וואָס
וועט איהר?

חורים,
מרה'נישקעט,
יא.
כלוב'ישט
לערנען
מהרש"א,
נאָר
ס'איז

עסענס (אמת);
פּאַריאָסאָן,
צוגארען,
קענט איהר
רילעצין,
שוניע.

תלמידים |
(אברהם ראָשענבערג,
ביאליצ. שעדל. גוב.)

11) אַרומען
בתורים,
גנבים,
דלמנים;
האָר, (אד.)
וואָס
וועט איהר?

11) אַרומען
בתורים,
גנבים,
דלמנים;
האָר, (אד.)
וואָס
וועט איהר?

11) אַרומען
בתורים,
גנבים,
דלמנים;
האָר, (אד.)
וואָס
וועט איהר?

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פון דער רעדאקציע:

הרב שמעון הוברבאנד (פטריקאוו, 1909-טרעבלינקע, 1942) איז געווען אַ מיטאברעכער אינעם אונטערערדישן ארכיוו פון ווארשעווער געטא, "ענרשפּט", מיט וועלכן עס האָט אָנגעפֿירט עמנואל ריינגעבלום. הוברבאנדס גוטאָ-פּרעזבליזירטע אָפּגעפֿונען געוואָרן נאָך דער מלחמה, און זענען אָפּגעדרוקט געוואָרן אין העברעישער און ענגלישער איבערזעצונג: קידוש השם: כתבים מלידי השואה, פּלאַטֿאָ, ענגלישער איבערזעצונג: *Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland During the Holocaust*, KTAV and Yeshiva University Press, 1987.

עטלעכע אַרבעטן הוברבאנדס זענען אָפּגעדרוקט געוואָרן אין אַרגינעלאַל, אויף ייִדיש, אינעם וואַרשעווער זשורנאַל **בלעטער פֿאַר געשיכטע**, ב' 1, 2 (1948), ז' 111-105, ז' 4, 5 (1951), ז' 130-93, ב' 29-30 (1991-1992), ז' 149-213. דאָ וועט מען דרוקן פֿיר אַפּ אַזוי ערשטן מאל דעם פֿאַראַגעגעבן חלק פֿון הוברבאנדס אַרבעט "מלחמה-פֿאלקלאַר". דער פּרעזבליזירטע אַז טראַנסקריבירט געוואָרן אין די 1960ער יאָרן אין ייִדיש ווי אַ טייל פֿון דער צווייטונג אַרויסגעגעבן די העברעישע אויפֿלאַגע פֿון הוברבאנדס פּרעזבליזירטע. די הערות צום טעקסט זענען פֿון יוסף קערמיש און פֿון דער רעדאקציע **יוזאָבלעטער**.

הוברבאנדס פּרעזבליזירטע זיך אין ייִדישן היסטאָרישן אינסטיטוט אין וואַרשע. מיר באַדאַנקען דעם אינסטיטוט פֿאַר זיין תּוֹרִישֵׁן רישות אָפּוודרוקן די וועטערדיקע מאַטעריאַלן.

אָפּטיילן:

- I וויצע און וואַרשע
- II רמזים פֿון גאַלד
- III לעגענדעס
- IV לידער
- V רעדנאָרען און נייע ווערטער
- VI קללות
- VII פֿאַליטישע רמזים
- VIII פֿילאָסאָפֿיע

RABBI SZYMON HUBERBAND was born in 1909, and was a self-taught historian. In the Ghetto, he was the director of the religious department in the Jewish Self-Help society (JSS). As a member of Oyneg Shabbes, he documented religious life in the Ghetto. He and his wife were murdered on August 18, 1942 in the Treblinka death camp.

<2' ת'>

I. Jokes and Puns

1 מיר עסן ווי אין יום־כיפור, שלאָפֿן אין סוכות, גייען ווי פורים.
 2 יידן זיינען לעצטנס זייער פֿרום, זיינען מקיים אלע דינים, ווערן געשטאָכן און געלעכערט ווי מצות, האָבן חמץ ווי אין פסח. מען שלאָגט זיי ווי הושענות, מען קלאַפט זיי ווי המנען, זיינען אזוי גרין ווי אַן אתרוג און דאַר ווי אַ לולב, פֿאַסטן ווי אין יום־כיפור, מען ברענט זיי ווי חנוכה און האָבן אַ געמיט ווי אין תּישעה־באַב.
 3 עס פֿרעגט אַ לערער זיין שילער: זאָג מיר, משהלע, וואָס וואַלטסטו געוואַלט ווערן, ווען ביסט היטלערס קינד?
 — אַ יתום — ענטפֿערט דער שילער.

<3' ת'>

1. A teacher asks his pupil, "Tell me, Moyshe, what would you like to be you were Hitler's son?" "An orphan," the pupil answers.

4 ענגלישער ראדיאָ מעלדעט: מיר האָבן היינט פֿאַרניכטעט דעם שונאס 200 עראָפּלאַנען. דער דייטשער ראדיאָ מעלדעט: מיר האָבן היינט פֿאַרשאַפֿט דעם פֿיינט פֿאַרלוסטן 200 עראָפּלאַנען. דער סאָוועטישער ראדיאָ מעלדעט: דער פֿיינט האָט היינט געהאַט פֿאַרלוסטן פֿון 400 עראָפּלאַנען [].

<4' ת'>

2. British Radio announces: "Today, we destroyed two hundred enemy aircraft. German Radio announces: "Today, we caused the enemy to lose two hundred aircraft." Soviet Radio announces: "Today the enemy lost four hundred aircraft."

5 אַ קינד וואָס נעמט צו בייַ [ם] צווייטן דאָס וואָס געהערט נישט צו אים, הייסט אַן דאָס קינד לייַדט אויף אַ מאַניע. אַ דערוואַקסענער אויב ער נעמט דאָס וואָס געהערט נישט אים, הייסט אַן ער לייַדט אויף — קלעפט־מאַניע. אַ פֿאַלק וואָס נעמט צו בייַ אַנדערע וואָס עס איז נישט זייַנס, הייסט — גערמאַניע.

<5' ת'>

3. A child who steals from others is said to be manic. An adult who steals from others is said to be kleptomaniac. A nation that steals from others is called Germanic.

6 ווינטער פֿון יאָר 1940-1939. עס שטייט אַ ריזנריי פֿון נצרכים בייַ אַ ווילטעטיקע אינסטיטוציע, צו באַקומען הילף. דער פֿראַסט איז סכּנות־נפּשות. די וואַרטנדיקע שמועסן צווישן זיך. איר קענט זען, וואָס הייסט גבֿירישע הצלחה. זיי די גבֿירים וועט אויסקומען צו שטיין אין דער ריי ווען עס וועט שוין זיין וואַרעם, ווען עס וועט שוין זיין זומער.

<6' ת'>

4. Winter, 1939-40. An enormous line of needy people stood in front of welfare agency, seeking assistance. It was bitter cold. They remarked to each other while waiting: "Now you know how lucky the rich people are. They'll stand on line when it'll be warm, in the summertime."

7 אין דערמאָנטן ווינטער האָט מען גערעדט וועגן אַ נייע ענגלישע דערפֿינדונג, אַ גאַז וואָס [].

<7' ת'>

5. During the Norwegian campaign: "Hitler has captured another piece of territory—the bottom of the sea."

8 וואָס יידן ווינטשן זיך, דער זאָל אַוועק... נישט אַרײַן, דער אַלטער זאָל נישט [].
 9 בעת דער קאַמפּאַניע אין נאַרוועגן: היטלער האָט פֿאַרנומען נאָך אַ טעריטאָריע, דעם דנאָ.

<8' ת'>

6. A Jew and a German are sitting together. The German spreads open a map of the world and starts boasting to the Jew that Hitler has already gotten all of it. So the Jew asks him, "And has he also gotten *Mise Meshunah*?" The German studies the map but can't find such a country. So he tells the Jew that it's not on the map, but if it exists at all, the *Führer* will certainly get it.

10 עס זיצן אַ ייד מיט אַ דייַטש, דער דייַטש שפּרייט אויס אַ וועלט־מאַפע און באַרימט זיך פֿאַרן ייד וואָס [היטלער] האָט שוין אַלץ איינגענומען. פֿרעגט אים דער ייד. און אַ מית־המשונה האָט ער אויך שוין איינגענומען? דער דייַטש זוכט אין דער מאַפע און געפֿינט נישט אַזאַ לאַנד. רופֿט ער זיך אָפּ צום ייד, אויף דער מאַפע געפֿינט זיך נישט אַזעלכעס. נאָך קוים עס איז דאָ ערגעץ, וועט דאָס אונדזער פֿירער זיכער אייננעמען [].

<9' ת'>

7. A Jew had all his worldly possessions taken from him, but he remained jolly and in good spirits. So his neighbor asked him: "All your possessions were taken away. Why are you still in good spirits?" The Jew answered, "My dear neighbor, they took away Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Belgium, Holland France and other countries. Someday they will have to return all these countries. So then they'll have to return my things, too."

11 עס טרעפֿט אַ דאָקטער זיין חבֿר אַן אַדוואַקאַט אין גאַס, פֿרעגט ער אים דעם אַדוואַקאַט [וווּ אַהין גייסטו?] [ענטפֿערט דער אַדוואַקאַט. נעם זיך נישט איבער, קאַלעגע, זאָגט דער דאָקטער, איך קום נאָר וואָס פֿון דיר, וווּ איך האָב אויסגעליידיקט דיין ווינונג.

<10' ת'>

8. Another version of the same joke: Hitler comes to Nalewki Street in Warsaw. A Jew recognizes him and goes over to him. "What's new with you, Mr Hitler?"

12 מען האָט בייַ אַ ייד צוגענומען כל אַשר לו. ער איז אַבער פֿאַרבליבן פֿריילעך און אויפֿגערוימט. פֿרעגט אים זיין שכן — מען האָט בייַ דיר צוגענומען דעם גאַנצן פֿאַרמעגן און ביסט ווייטער אויפֿגערוימט?

<11' ת'>

9. The *Führer* appeals to General Franco: "Please give me advice, comrade Help! Things are so bad!" Franco answers, "I'm sorry, but I can't help you. I can't join your pact." So Hitler says, "Then give me at least some advice."

ענטפֿערט אים דער ייד, איך בעט דיך זייער, שכן טייערער. זיי האָבן צוגענומען טשעכיען, פּוילן, דענעמאַרק, בעלגיען, האַלאַנד, פֿראַנקרייך און אַנדערע לענדער. דאָס אַלץ וועלן זיי דאָך מוזן צוריקגעבן, וועלן זיי מיר מיינע זאַכן אויך מוזן אַוועקגעבן.

<12' ת'>

10. During the Italian defeat in Greece and Ethiopia, the *Führer* calls up *Il Duce* "Duce, are you in Athens?"

13 אַ צווייטער וואַריאַנט: היטלער קומט אויף די נאַלעווקעס. אַ ייד דערקענט אים, גייט ער צו אים צו — פֿאַניע היטלער, וואָס מאַכט מען עפעס גוטס? — וועקן — ענטפֿערט אים היטלער — דו ביסט דאָך משוגע, וואָס פֿאַלסטו עפעס אויף אַזאַ <7' ת'>

11. The *Führer* inquires of General Franco, "Comrade, how did you solve the Jewish problem?" Franco answers, "I instituted the yellow badge."

מין איינפֿאַל, אַז איך בין גאָר היטלער?

12. *Il Duce* (catching the *Führer's* joke): "Ha? What? Where are you calling from? I can't hear you. Are you calling from London?"

13. The *Führer* asks, "Ah, that's the solution."

אזי — ענטפערט דער ייד — איר ווייסט דאך שוין, אז א ייד איז שווער אפצונארן.
 נו, זאל שוין זיין אז איך בין היטלער — איז ער זיך שוין מודה, טא וואס איז? וואס
 ווילסטו?
 — איך וויל איר זאלט ביי מיר עפעס קויפן, ענטפערט דער ייד און לייגט אים
 באַלד פֿאַר אַ צעטל מיט אַרטיקלען, וואָס ער וויל פֿאַרקויפֿן.
 — איך וואָלט ביי דיר גערן געקויפֿט, ענטפערט אים היטלער, נאָר וואָס קומט
 אַרויס, אַז איך האָב נישט קיין געלט.
 — נו, אויב איר האָט נישט קיין געלט, וועל איך באַרגן, פֿאַניע היטלער, ענטפערט
 דער ייד.
 — פֿון וואָנען ווייסטו אַז דו קענסט מיר באַרגן, אַז איך וועל דיר אַפּגעבן, פֿרעגט
 היטלער.

— הער נאָר דאָ — ענטפערט דער ייד, איר האָט אַינגענומען אַזוי פֿיל לענדער
 וואָס איר וועט מוזן אַפּגעבן, וועט איר פונקט מינע פֿאַר זעלבסטע צונעמען?

<8' >

14 היטלער [] אויף דעם האָט פֿראַנקאָ געפֿרעגט: פֿירער, איר קענט רעכענען?
 [] ענטפערט דער פֿירער.

אויב אַזוי, האָט איר נישט אויף מיר וואָס צו רעכענען — ענטפערט אים פֿראַנקאָ.
 15 דער פֿירער ווענדט זיך צום גענעראַל פֿראַנקאָ, און זאָגט אים, אפֿשר קאַנסטו,
 קאַמראַד, גיבן [] עפעס אַן עצה? ראַטעווע, עס איז נישט גוט. ענטפערט אים
 פֿראַנקאָ, איך קען דיר ליידער גאָר נישט העלפֿן. צום פֿאַקט קען איך נישט
 צושטיין. בעט ער, גיב כאַטש אַן עצה. פֿראַנקאָ: שטרעק אויס אַ האַנט פֿון שלום
 צו ענגלאַנד. היטלער: איך האָב שוין אַזוי געטאָן, נאָר עס גיט זיך מיר נישט אַיין.
 פֿראַנקאָ: אויב אַזוי, שטרעק זשע אויס די פֿיס אויך.

16 בעת דער מפֿלה פֿון איטאַליע אין גריכנלאַנד און אַביסיניע, קלינגט דער פֿירער
 צום דוטשע: אַ, דוטשע, צי זענט איר אין אַטען? דער דוטשע (כאַפּנדיק זיך אויפֿן
 פֿירערס שפּאַס) ענטפערט: <9' >

האַ? וואָס? פֿון וואָנעט רעדט איר, וואָס מען הערט אַזוי שוואַך. צי רעדט איר פֿון
 לאַנדאָן?

17 אַ דייַטש יאָגט נאָך אַ ייד. דער ייד אַנטלויפֿט. דער דייַטש שרייַט אים נאָך ער
 זאָל שטיין בלייבן; דער ייד לויפֿט אַבער ווייטער. דער דייַטש, אַן אויפֿגערעגטער,
 שרייַט אים נאָך: וואָס לויפֿסטו, דו יודע? צי ביסטו אַן איטאַליענער?

18 היילע סעלאַסיע האָט זיך דערקלערט אַלס קייסער פֿון אַביסיניען און קעניג פֿון
 איטאַליען.

19 היטלער ווענדט זיך צום גענעראַל פֿראַנקאָ: ווי אַזוי האָסטו, קאַמעראַד, דערליידיקט
 די יידן פֿראַגע?
 איך — ענטפערט פֿראַנקאָ — האָב אַינגעפֿירט געלע לאַטעס.

— דאָס איז גאַרנישט, זאָגט דער פֿירער. — איך האָב אויף זיי אַרויפֿגעלייגט
 קאַנטריבוזיעס, אַינגעפֿירט געטאָס, פֿאַרקלענערט די אַפּאַרוויזאַציע, אַינגעפֿירט
 צוואַנגסאַרבעט און רעכנט דערביי אים נאָך אַ לאַנגן צעטל פֿון גזירות, <10' >
 נגישות.

— דאָס איז אַלץ גאַרנישט, ענטפערט דער פֿירער.
 — לסוף, רופֿט זיך אַן פֿראַנקאָ, איך האָב די יידן געגעבן אויטאָנאָמיע און יודנראַטן.
 — אַה! דאָס איז אַלץ, ענטפערט דער פֿירער.

20 דייַטשלאַנד פֿירט קריג. ענגלאַנד פֿירט אַ שפּיל. דייַטשלאַנד וועט די קריג
 געווינען, ענגלאַנד וועט די שפּיל געווינען.

21 נאָך דער מלחמה: דעם פֿירער מיט גערינגען האָט מען אויפֿגעהאַנגען אויף 2
 שכנותדיקע ביימער הינטער די לינדן. רופֿט זיך אַן גערינג צום פֿירער: וואָס האָב
 איך אייך פֿירער []

12. After Czechoslovakia joined the Triple Alliance, the Führer invited General Franco and President Czerniakow^o to come to Berlin. For what purpose? To ask that their kingdoms join the alliance.

13. Germany is waging a war. England is playing a game. Germany will win the war. England will win the game.

14. A strange-looking airplane was noticed in the sky. The onlookers found it difficult to determine what country it belonged to. Suddenly one of the spectators said, "I know whose airplane it is. It's Russian."
 "How do you know?" everyone asked him.
 "Simple," he answered. "I saw the pilot's bare feet."

15. The Führer embarked on a journey to visit all the hospitals. Upon arriving in a certain one, the hospital director gave him a tour and showed him everything.

The Führer unexpectedly barged into a corridor and found a securely locked room. This seemed very suspicious to the Führer. He insisted on seeing the room.
 "If you insist, then I must first explain what is inside," the hospital director said to Hitler. "Locked up inside, there is a madman whose external appearance is similar to yours. His illness expresses itself in his self-delusion that he is the Führer."
 "If that is the case," says the Führer, "then I must see him." Hitler entered the room alone. After a short while, he left the room. But no one is certain which one left and which one remained inside—Hitler or the madman.

16. God dispatched an angel from heaven to find out what's new on earth. The angel returned with a report that he simply could not understand the world. "England is unarmed and does not want peace. Germany is armed and wants peace. And the Jews are screaming that everything is fine."

17. The Jewish Legion refused to fight against the Germans. Why? Because they're afraid they might be seized for forced labor.

18. A group of downed German pilots came to the gates of heaven, but the guard at the gate refused to let them in. The pilots were infuriated. How can this be? The Führer had assured them that if one came from Germany the gates of heaven would be open. The guard then showed them the communiqué from German military headquarters that stated explicitly that only three pilots had been killed. "How can you expect me to let you, more than one hundred persons, into heaven when your communiqué states with certainty that only three were killed?" asked the guard.

19. During the rumors that the Russians would conquer the General-gouvernement of Poland,^o it was said that whoever is studying German is a pessimist, whoever is studying English is an optimist, whoever is studying Russian is a dreamer and whoever is studying Polish is a realist.

20. God forbid that the war last as long as the Jews are capable of enduring.

21. If only the navy of Eretz Israel will look ten years from now like the German navy does today!

22. After Rudolf Höss escaped from Germany,^o Hitler sent him the following letter: "I can forgive you for committing treason, I can forgive you for escaping. I can forgive you for everything except for one thing—that you didn't take me along."

23. If we can endure for twenty-one days, then we'll be saved—namely, eight days of Passover, eight days of Sukkot, two days of Rosh Hashanah, two days of Shavuot and one day of Yom Kippur.

24. We eat as if it were Yom Kippur [i.e., we fast], sleep in *sukkahs* [i.e., in makeshift quarters] and dress as if it were Purim [i.e., in outlandish clothes].

The area of Poland under German civilian administration, established October 1939.

In 1941, Deputy Führer Rudolf Höss flew from Germany to Scotland, ostensibly on his own initiative, to negotiate a separate peace between the Third Reich and Great Britain. He was arrested and detained until the end of World War II, when he was tried at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials.

22) אים ווינטער 1939-40 בעת די גרויסע פֿרעסט, האָט מען געהאַפֿט אויפֿן רוס. איז געקומען „מרוז“ (פֿרעסט).

23) מען האָט געזען פֿלען אַ משונהדיקן טיפֿ אַראַפֿלאַן. די אַרױפֿקוקער איז שווער פֿעסטצושטעלן צו וועלכן לאַנד די אַראַפֿלאַנען געהערן. פֿלוצעם רופֿט זיך איינער פֿון די אַרױפֿקוקער אָן. איך ווייס שוין ווער די אַראַפֿלאַנען זײַנען. זיי זײַנען רוסישע.

— פֿון וואַנעט ווייסט איר דאָס? פֿרעגט מען אים פֿון אַלע זײַטן.

— פשוט, איך האָב געזען די באַרוועסע פֿיס פֿונעם פֿלײַער.

24) אין ביאַליסטאָק זײַנען פֿאַראַן 2 האַטעלן. איין האַטעל „וואַקזאַל“ און האַטעל „בית המדרש“.

<12 '1>

25) ביאַליסטאָקער גאַסן לאַמטערנעס זײַנען אויסגעקרימט. צוליב וואָס? פֿון קראַצן זיך אין זיי.

26) נאָכן צוטערעטן פֿון סלאַוואַקיי צום דרייפֿאַקט. דער פֿירער האָט איינגעלאָדן דעם גענעראַל פֿראַנקאָ און פֿרעזידענט טשערנאַקאָו קיין בערלין. נאָך וואָס? אַז זייערע מלוכות זאָלן צושטיין צום דרייפֿאַקט.

27) דער פֿירער איז אַרומגעפֿאַרן אויף אַ באַזוך איבער אַלע שפּיטעלער. ער איז געקומען אין אַ שטאָט. דער שפּיטאַללייטער האָט דעם פֿירער אומעטום אַרומגעפֿירט און אים אַלעס געוויזן. דער פֿירער קומט פֿלוצעם אַריין אין [] <13 '1> שפּיטאַללייטער. די מעשה איז דעם פֿירער אויסגעקומען זייער פֿאַרדעכטיקט. אויב אַזוי האָט ער דורכויס געוואַלט באַזוכן דעם צימער.

— אויב אַזוי מוז איך אײַך צו ערשט דערקלערן וואָס דאָ איז, זאָגט דער שפּיטאַללייטער צו היטלערן. דאָ זיצט פֿאַרשפּאַרט אַ משוגענער וואָס זײַן אויסערלעך אויסזען איז ענלעך צו דיר. זײַן קראַנקייט באַשטייט דערין, וואָס ער רעדט זיך אין, אַז ר'איז דער פֿירער.

— אויב אַזוי, רופֿט זיך אָן דער פֿירער — מוז איך אים באַזוכן. היטלער איז איינער אליין אַריין אין דערמאַנטן צימער. נאָך אַ געוויסער צײַט איז ער פֿון דאָרט אַרויס און דאָס ווייס קיינער נישט ווער עס איז אַרויס און ווער ס'איז פֿאַרבליבן, היטלער אָדער דער משוגענער.

28) גאָט האָט אַרויסגעשיקט פֿון הימל אַ מלאַך אויף אַן אינספּעקציע זיך צו דערוויסן, וואָס מען הערט עפעס אויפֿן וועלטל. <14 '1> דער מלאַך קומט צוריק מיט אַ באַריכט, אַז ער פֿאַרשטייט נישט די וועלט.

ענגלאַנד איז נישט באַוואַפֿנט און וויל נישט קיין שלום.

דייטשלאַנד איז יאָ באַוואַפֿנט און וויל שלום.

און יידן שרייען אַלץ איז גוט.

29) דער ייִדישער לעגיאָן האָט זיך אַפּגעזאָגט צו קעמפֿן קעגן דייטשלאַנד. פֿאַר וואָס? ווײַל זיי האָבן מורא, מען זאָל זיי נישט כאַפֿן צו דער אַרבעט.

30) אַ גרופּע געפֿאַלענע דייטשע פֿלײַער זײַנען געקומען צום טויער פֿון גן־עדן. דער טויערהיטער האָט אָבער זיי נישט געוואַלט אַרײַנלאָזן, ווערן די זעלנער אויפֿגערעגט. וואָס הייסט עפעס,

<15 '1>

דער פֿירער האָט דאָך בֿפֿירוש צוגעזאָגט, אַז אויב מען וועט קומען פֿון דייטשלאַנד, וועלן די טויערן פֿו גן־עדן זײַן אָפֿן! דער טויערהיטער זעעפֿנט דאָן דעם קאַמוניקאַט פֿון דער אַרמײַ־אַנפֿירונג, אין וועלכן עס שטייט בֿפֿירוש, אַז עס זײַנען נישט מער אומגעקומען ווי 3 פֿלײַער. און ווי אַזוי ווילט איר אַז מען זאָל אײַך מער ווי הונדערט פּערזאָן, אַרײַנלאָזן אין גן־עדן, אין דער צײַט ווען אײַער קאַמוניקאַט פֿאַרזיכערט אַז עס זײַנען נישט אומגעקומען מער פֿון 3 — פֿאַרענדיקט דער טויערהיטער.

31) בעת דעם גערייט אַז דער רוס נעמט איבער די גענעראַל־גובערניע.

ווער עס לערנט זיך דייטש — איז אַ פעסימיסט.

ווער עס לערנט זיך ענגליש — איז אַן אָפּטימיסט.

ווער עס לערנט זיך רוסיש — איז אַ פֿאַנטאַזיסט.

ווער עס לערנט זיך פּויליש — איז אַ רעאַליסט.

25. Jews are now very pious. They observe all the ritual laws: they are stabbed and punched with holes like *matzahs* and have as much bread as on Passover; they are beaten like *hoshanahs* [willow twigs beaten at the end of the Sukkot festival]; rattled like Haman [during the reading of the Purim *Megillah*]; they are as green as *esrogim* [citrons used for Sukkot]; they fast as if it were Yom Kippur; they are burnt as if it were Hanukkah [i.e., candles]; and their moods are as if it were the Ninth of Av.

26. A prominent German gave birth to twins. They were very similar to each other, and they were named Hitler and Mussolini. Once, during the bombing of Berlin, the two children were confused for one another, and because of their resemblance, it was impossible to determine which one was Hitler and which one was Mussolini. The greatest anthropologists were consulted, but not one of them knew how to resolve the problem. A Jew was called in to clear up the problem. He didn't need to think for long and replied, "Whoever filthies himself first is Mussolini."

27. The Jews worshipped other gods and were therefore granted a ghetto."

28. It is forbidden for a *Kohen* to marry a woman from the ghetto, because she is a *gerusha*."

29. A Jew was arrested. None of his relatives knew that he was in custody. The Jew pleaded that he be allowed to notify his relatives, but he was not granted permission.

He asked to be allowed a brief telephone conversation with his family. The prison warden allowed him to speak only for five minutes. The Jew agreed and had lifted the receiver when the warden told him to speak no more than one word. The Jew agreed to this condition as well. He took the receiver to his lips and screamed into it, "*Gevald!*" ("Help!").

30. The Jewish legion positioned itself near the Syrian border. And what happened next? It's still standing there.

31. A contemporary Jewish prayer: Oh Lord, help me become a chairman or vice-chairman, so that I can allocate funds to myself.

32. No garbage was permitted to be taken out of the ghetto. A Jewish ghetto administrator appeared before his German commissar to request permission to remove garbage accumulating in his home. When the Jew came into the commissar's office and did not raise his arm in the Hitler salute, the commissar became furious and threw him out of the room.

A few days later the Jewish administrator appeared a second time in the commissar's office. The commissar was certain that this time the Jew would salute him by raising his arm. And indeed, the Jew entered his room, raising his arm. So the commissar addressed the Jew, "This time, *Jude*, you acted correctly by raising your arm in the Hitler salute."

<16'ד>

- 32) אלע לענדער און אלע פעלקער קען היטלער מנצח זיין אויסער די יידן, ווייל אויף אלעמען זאגן זיי אז עס איז גוט.
- 33) אפגעהיטן זאל מען ווערן אז די מלחמה זאל אזוי לאנג דויערן, ווי לאנג יידן קענען אויסהאלטן.
- 34) וואריאנט. ווי לאנג וועלן אזוי דויערן די צרות? אפגעהיטן זאל מען ווערן, אז די צרות זאלן אזוי לאנג דויערן ווי לאנג יידן קענען אויסהאלטן. טאמער זאלן טאקע די צרות אזוי לאנג דויערן ווי לאנג יידן קענען אויסהאלטן — מי יודע צי זיי וועלן טאקע אויסהאלטן?

<17'ד>

- 35) [] הלוואי זאל דער יידישער פלאט אין ארץ-ישראל אין 10 יאר ארום אויסזען ווי עס זעט אויס דער הינטיקער דייטשער פלאט.
- 36) נאך דעם ווי העס איז אנטלאפן, שיקט אים היטלער א בריוו אין וועלכן ער שרייבט אים: איך בין דיר מוחל דין פארראט, איך בין דיר מוחל דין אנטלויפן, אלץ בין איך דיר מוחל אויסער איין זאך נישט — דאס וואס דו האסט מיך נישט מיטגענומען. אויב מען וועט אויסהאלטן 21 טעג, וועט מען זיין געהאלפן. דהיינו? 8 טעג פסח, 8 טעג סוכות, 2 טעג ראש-השנה, 2 טעג שבועות און 1 טאג יום-כיפור.
- 38) ביי א גדול אין דייטשלאנד איז געבוירן געווארן א צווילינג. זיי זינען זייער ענלעך איינער צום צווייטן. מען האט זיי געגעבן נעמען, היטלער און מוסאליני.
- 39) די גריכישע ארמיי, וואס האלט אפ אזעלכע גרויסע נצחונות איבער איטאליע, איז זייער אן אינטעליגענטע. יעדער צווייטער זעלנער, אדער ער רעדט ענגליש אדער פראנצויזיש, אדער אן אנדערע אייראפעישע שפראך.

<19'ד>

- 40) [מען] טאר נישט נעמען קיין פרוי פון געטא, ווייל זי איז א גרושה.
- 41) יידן האבן געדינט פֿרעמדע געטא (לויט דער ווארשעווער אויסשפראך אויף געטער), האט מען זיי מזכה געווען מיט א געטא.
- 42) מען ווארט אויף דעם יידישן פאסט-נאטשאליניק. עס איז שוין 9 דער זייגער. די רייען ווארטנדיקע זינען שוין אומגעדולדיק. ענדלעך דער פאסט-נאטשאליניק, א מיטלייארקער ייד מיט א לאנגער געלער בארד, קומט אן.
- די ווארטנדיקע באפאלן אים מיט א טענה: היתכן, וואס לאזט מען עפעס אזוי לאנג אויף זיך ווארטן? איר ווייסט דאך, ענטפערט דער נאטשאליניק, אז עס איז היינט ראש-חודש, און הלל מיט מוסף דויערן לענגער.

<20'ד>

- 43) דער נאטשאליניק פֿארענטפערט זיך, אז עס האט זיך אים איבערגעריסן א ציצה. ביז ער האט אריינגעמאכט א צווייטע האט געדויערט א שעה.
- 44) נאך א וואריאנט: די זעלבע מעשה.
- דער נאטשאליניק ענטפערט, אז ער האט פֿארגעסן זיך שטעלן נעגליוואסער. ביז ער האט געהאט ווער עס זאל אים דערלאנגען אין דער פֿרי נעגליוואסער האט געדויערט א שעה.
- 45) מען האט ארעסטירט א ייד. קיינער פֿון די קרובים האט דערפֿון נישט געוואוסט. דער ייד האט געבעטן מען זאל אים דערלויבן מודיע זיין די קרובים וועגן זיין ארעסט. ער האט אזא דערלויבעניש נישט באקומען. ער האט דאן געבעטן אים דערלויבן א קורצן טעלעפֿאן-געשפרעך מיט דער פֿאמיליע. דער אַנפֿירער פֿון תפֿיסה האט אים דערלויבט צו רעדן בלויז 5 ווערטער. דער ייד איז מסכים געווען, און <17'ד> 21 נעמענדיק דאס טרייבל אין האנט, זאגט אים דער תפֿיסה-אויפֿווער, אז מער ווי איין ווארט טאר ער איבער הויפט נישט רעדן. דער ייד איז [אויף] דעם באדינג אויך מסכים. ער נעמט דאס טרייבל צום מויל און גיט א געשריי — געוואלד!

- 46) ווען די יוגאסלאווישע רעגירונג איז געצווינגען געווארן צו דעמיסיע צוליבן פאקט מיט דייטשלאנד און זייער ארט האט פֿארנומען דער יונגער יוגאסלאווישער קעניג, האט סטאלין צוגעשיקט דעם יונגן קעניג א באגריסונגס-דעפעטשע מיטן אינהאלט: „יינגל, האלט זיך“².
- 47) סקלאדקאווסקי איז געקומען קיין ארץ-ישראל. ער איז אוועק צו גרינבויען. סקלאדקאווסקי פֿרעגט גרינבויען [] <22'ד> [] ביי אים לאזשירן. „אושעם“, ענטפערט גרינבויען.
- 48) דער יידישער לעגיאן האט זיך אוועקגעשטעלט ביי דער סירישער גרענעץ. און וואס איז ווייטער געשען? ער שטייט.

“No, Mr. Commissar,” the Jew answered. “I just wanted to show you how high the garbage has gotten.”

33. Where does Hitler feel best?
In the toilet. There, all the brown masses are behind him.

34. Rubinshteyn° says, “I had a groschen, but lost it; I had a tsveyer (two-groschen piece) but lost it; I had a drayer (three-groschen piece) but lost it. Only the f (four-groschen piece) I can't seem to lose.

35. It is rumored that after the war all that will remain in Germany will be military targets. Because, according to German war communiqués, British bombs are hitting only civilian areas, and no military targets.

36. A German asked an Englishman, “On what do you base your optimism that England will emerge victorious? Do you have a huge army, like the German army?”

“No.”
“Do you have an air force like Germany’s?”
“No.”
“Do you have enough ammunition?”
“No.”
“Then what do you have enough of?”
“We have enough time,” the Englishman replied.

A popular wit in the Warsaw ghetto.
Pun on Führer.

49 א הינטיקע יידישע תפילה:

השי"ת, העלף מיר איך זאל ווערן א פרעזעס אָדער א וויצע. בכדי איך זאל מיר אליין אויסטיילן שטיצע.

50 א ייד וואָס איז אַריבער אויף יענער זייט געטאָ ווערט דערקענט דורך אַ פּאַליאַק.

51 פֿון געטאָ לאָזט מען נישט אַרויספֿירן דאָס מיסט. א יידישער אַדמיניסטראַטאָר מעלדעט זיך צום דייטשן קאָמיסאַר, ער וויל אים בעטן וועגן דערלויבן אים אַרויספֿירן דאָס מיסט פֿון זײַן הויז. אַז דער ייד קומט אַרײַן צום קאָמיסאַר און באַגריסט אים נישט מיטן היטלער־גרוס דורך אויפֿהייבן די האַנט, ווערט דער קאָמיסאַר אין כּעס און טרײַבט דעם ייד אַרויס. אין אַ פּאַר טעג אַרום מעלדעט זיך דער יידישער אַדמיניסטראַטאָר נאָך אַ מאָל צום קאָמיסאַר.

דער קאָמיסאַר איז זיכער אַז יעצט וועט דער ייד אים שוין באַגריסן מיט אויפֿהייבן די האַנט. און ווירקלעך – דער ייד קומט אַרײַן מיט אַן אויפֿגעהויבענער האַנט. דער קאָמיסאַר רופֿט זיך דאָן אַפֿ צום יידן: יעצט יודע האַסטו גוט געמאַכט ווען דו האַסט די האַנט צום היטלער־גרוס געהויבן. ניין, ה' קאָמיסאַר, ענטפֿערט דער ייד <24'24> איך האָב נאָר אײַך געוואָלט צײַגן ביז וואָגען דאָס מיסט דערגרייכט שוין.

52 וווּ פֿילט זיך היטלער אַם בעסטן? אין קלאָזעט, דאָרט האָט ער די גאַנצע ברוינע מעסע הינטער זיך.

53 רובינשטיין זאָגט: איך האָב געהאַט אַ גראַשן און אים פֿאַרלוירן, אַ צווייער און אים פֿאַרלוירן, אַ דרייער און אים פֿאַרלוירן. און נאָר דעם פֿירער קען איך נישט פֿאַרלוירן.

54 מען שמועסט אַז נאָך דער מלחמה וועט אין דײַטשלאַנד נישט בלייבן נאָר מיליטערישע אָביעקטן, ווייל לויט די דײַטשע קריגס־קאָמוניקאַטן טרעפֿן די ענגלישע באַמבעס נאָר די ציווילע באַפֿעלקערונג אָבער נישט קיין מיליטערישע אָביעקטן.

<25'25>

55 עס פֿרעגט אַ דײַטש אַן ענגלענדער, אויף וואָס באַזירט איר אײַער אָפֿטימיום וועגן ענגלאַנדס נצחון.

– האָט איר אַ ריזיקע אַרמיי ווי די דײַטשע? – ניין!

– האָט איר אַזאַ לופֿטפֿלאָט ווי דײַטשלאַנד? – ניין!

– האָט איר גענוג אַמוניציע? – ניין!

– האָט איר גענוג רוישטאָפֿן? – ניין!

– נאָר וואָס דען האָט איר יאָ גענוג?

– מיר האָבן גענוג צײַט – ענטפֿערט דער ענגלענדער.

הערות

1. [] – נישט לייענעוודיק אָדער עס פֿעלט טעקסט.

2 גלייכוואָרט פֿון זייער פּאָפּולערן וויצלער אין וואַרשעווער געטאָ, רובינשטיין, וואָס האָט זיך קונהשם געווען מיט זײַן תּלידהוּמאָר. זײַנע גלייכווערטער האָבן זיך אָנגענומען ביים עולם און זײַנען געווען אויף די ליפּן פֿון מאַסנמענטשן (פֿ"גל רינגעלבלום, ע., כתבֿים פֿון געטאָ, וואַרשע, יידישער היסטאָרישער אינסטיטוט, 1961, ב'1, 301).

3 די כּוונה איז צום פֿירער – היטלער (פֿאַרגלײַך: רינגעלבלום, דצ"וו, 262).

אויף די גאסן

די גאס שפיגלט היינט אָפּ די ליידן פון די יידישע מאַסן, די פארשידענע
גנישות און שפיכת-דמים, מיט וועלכע מיר זענען אזוי רייך יעדן טאָג. דורכן מויל
פון יידישע הענדלער און בעפלער רייסט זיך אַרויס פון צייט צו צייט אן אוי-
געשריי, א פּראָטעסט קעגן דעם אָקופאַנט און זיינע נרווליקע מעשים. אויך אונג-
דערע היימישע יידישע מושלים ווערן נישט געשוונט. דער פשוטער פּאַלקס-
סענש סוט דאָס אויף אן אייגנארטיקן אופן: ביים רעקלאַמירן און פאַרקויפן
זיינע משטיינס-געזאָגטע סחורות, שמוגלט ער אדורך געדאנקען און מיינונגען,
צוגעפאַסמע צו דער היינטיקער צייט. דער עולם פארשטייט די רכזים און עס
מוט אים א הנאה. ער עפנט ניקער זיין ביימעלע אויף אַרויסצוגעמען א פאָר גראָשן.
אייניקע אַזעלכע בילדלעך וועל איר דאָ איבערגעבן.

(א) וואַרפט אראָפּ די ברודיקע שמאַטעס!

שטייט אַ בחור אויף דער גאס און רעקלאַמירט זיינע „אַפּאַסקעס“:
— וואַרפט אראָפּ, ייִדן, די ברודיקע שמאַטעס פון די אַרבלי און קויפט נייע,
ציכטיקע אַפּאַסקעס פאר 25 גראָשן!
ער ניט אַ וונג מיט אַן אייגל צום עולם און שרייט ווייטער:
— פריישע אַפּאַסקעס, ייִדן, האנדלט זיי ניקער איין, וועט איר בלייבן א
שיינע „פאַמיאַנטקע“!
און ווען דער פאַרזאַמלער עולם פון ווייטנס שמייכלט, רופט דער בחור
מיט מער אייפער:
— מיינע אַפּאַסקעס זענען ווייסע און ריינע, מיט זיי איז נאָך קיינער נישט
אַריין אין דער גמינע, נישט געטיקט אויפן „אַבון“, מיינע אַפּאַסקעס זענען קיין
מאָל נישט געווען אויף די הענט פון אונדזער י.ס.ס. בלל-סווער, קויפט, ייִדן,
ציכטיקע אַפּאַסקעס פאר 25 גראָשן, וואַרפט אראָפּ די ישמוציקע שמאַטעס פון
איערע ארבלי!

(ב) קינדערלידער

קינדער פארלאָזטע, הונגעריקע מיט מאַמעס און אָן מאַמעס, אין
שמאַמעס איינגעהילטע, ליגן אויף אלע גאַסן און שפרעקן צו די פארבייגייער דארע
הענטלעך און בעסן, בעסן זינגען לידלעך, גוישע, יידישע און וויינען:
— האָט מיטלייד, לויב מענטשן, און שענקט אויף א שפיקעלע ברויט!
עגן איז אויף די גאַסן, טרויעריק איז אויף די גשמות, דער פחד שוועבט
אַרום אומעכוס, די מויערן פארמאכן זיך, און מיר בלייבן דאָ וויינען מיטן הונגער,
מיטן טויט.
לויפן מענטשן ווי שאַפנס פארביי, מיט פעק און פעקלעך, פארפאַלנטע, איילן
זיי וואָס שנעלער. זיי לויפן פארביי און באַמערקן נישט די דארע קינדערשיטע
הענטלעך, הערן נישט דאָס שפילע אַכצן און געבעט פון די קינדער.
אויף אַ גאס אונטער זיך אזא געל נהרות בבל-בילד: קינדער אין זיצנדיג

S. [haynkinder]

IN THE STREETS

The street nowadays reflects the suffering of the Jewish masses, the various calamities and bloodshed with which we are so enriched every single day. From time to time, a cry of woe — a protest against the occupier and his gruesome deeds — escapes the mouth of a Jewish pedlar or beggar. Even our local Jewish leaders aren't spared. The plain person does it in his own way. While hawking his miserable merchandise, he slips in ideas and opinions, apropos our times. The crowd catches on and has a good laugh. People in the crowd quickly open their purses and take out a couple of coins. I'd like to depict a few typical scenes.

1) *Throw off Your Filthy Rags*

A young man stands in the street and hawks his armbands:
“Jews, throw off those filthy rags from your sleeves and buy dressy armbands for 25 *groshen*.”
With one eye he winks to the crowds and keeps on yelling:
“Fresh armbands, Jews get them right away, they'll make you a fine

souvenir!” And while the people gathered around smile, the young man shouts with more vigor:
“My armbands are white and clean, no one's gotten with them into the ‘municipality’, [Judenrat], or been sent to labor camp; my armbands have never been on the arms of our JSS* do-alls. Jews, buy dressy armbands for 25 *groshen*. Throw off those dirty armbands from your sleeves!”

2) *Children Songs*

Abandoned, hungry children with mothers and without mothers, wrapped in rags, lie on every street. They stretch out thin, little hands to the passers-by, begging, begging, singing Polish and Jewish songs, and crying:
“Have pity, good people, and spare a piece of bread.”

The streets are narrow and the people are beset with affliction. Fear stalks everywhere, doors are closed shut, and we remain here, crying with hunger, with death.

People run by like shadows, with packages and parcels, possessed, scurrying ever faster. They run by without noticing the thin, small hands. They don't hear the stifled moans or entreaties of the children.

On one street there's a scene reminiscent of “By the Waters of Babylon”:

קער און לינגדיקער פאָזע, הענפלעך און פיסלעך נעפלאַכטן צוזאַמען, זינגען
א לייד אַזוי:

„מיר האָבן נישט אויף קיין „זאַפּאַסן“,
מיר וווינען אין אַ קעלער אַ נאַסן,
מיר האָרפן נישט קיין צוקער, קיין שמאַלין,
ניט אַנדאָ אַ שטיקל פרוקן ברויט און זאַלין.“

ג) לאַכט, יידעלעך, לאַכט!

אויפן ווידשעווער לשון הייסט עס ליכט אויף שבת.
שטייט אַ ייד מיט אַ פודעלע ליכט, אַזאַ „גרויס-אינדיס-קריעלער“ און רופט:
„לאַכט, יידעלעך, לאַכט, פאַר אַ „צוואנציקאַ!“
זיי ברענען היינט בייטאָג און ביינאַכט אָן רחמנות,
לאַכט, יידעלעך, לאַכט!“
ווען אויפן שמאַלן געסל זאמלט זיך אַ שטייכלדיקער עולם צונויף, רופט
דער קרעמער העכער:

„קויפט יידעלעך, קויפט, און זאָלן זיי ברענען צו יאָרצייט און אויף שמחות,
צו מזכיר-נשמות, און אַז נאָט וועט העלפן, — אויך צו מזכיר-נבלות! לאַכט
יידעלעך, לאַכט, פאַר אַ צוואנציקאַ, און זאָלן שוין זיין שמחות ביי יידן!“
אַז פאַרשפראַכן ליכטל קויפט יעדער גערן.

ד) דער בודי-הענדלער

פערל פון דער וועלט-ליבעראטור ליגן אויסגעמישט אין אַ שמוציקן קויש —
אַלין צו 50 גראָשן.
דער בודי-הענדלער, אַן אינטעליגענטער יונגעראַן, מיט אַ בלייד פנים, האַלב-
פאַרלאָשענע אויגן, פאַסט צו די נוכער פאַר די פאַרשידענע קוינים.
„האַלאַ, רב ייד, — ווענדעט ער זיך צו איינעם — איר האַרפט קויפן
אומבאדינגט דאָס בוך „הוננער“ — נאָר פאַר 50 גראָשן.“
„און איר היימלאָזער, — ווענדעט ער זיך צו אַ צווייטן — איר זייט דאָך
פון לובלין אָדער סלאָוואַמיטש, טאָ קויפט ושע, די שחיטה-שטאַם!“
„קויפט יידן מציאות! נאָני מענדעלע פאַר גראָשנס! וואָס טויג איר פּטרן
אַ זאַמע צו קומען אויף גושיבאָוסקע אָדער סלאָמאַצקע? פאַר דעם זעלבן
געלט האָט איר „דאָס קליינע מענטשעלע“ און „די סאַקסע“ ביי זיך אין דער
היים!!! קויפט, יידן! די בעסטע ביכער: „קייטן“, „רויבער“, „הינטער די קראַפּן“.
„זיין קראַמף“, „ביים גוסס צו קאַפּנס“ — אַלין צו 50 גראָשן!“
דער עולם פאַרשטייט און שטייכלט...

שייף

וואַרשע, געטא, 1911.

(רינגעלבלום-אַרכיוו, ערשטער טייל).

1 יודישע אלוזינהילף — דער.
2 * ווערטער-שייף „לאַכט“ — ליכט און לאַכט — פון וואָרט: — לאַכן — רישן.
3 אויף גושיבאָוסקע אין געווען דער יודענראַט אויף סלאָמאַצקע — דער „וויבאָמ“
(יוד. געזעלשאַפּט פון סאַצזילער חילף) — דער.
4 וואַרשוינלעך: ציוניקונדער.

XIII. Moral Defense and Resistance in the Literature

Children in sitting and lying positions, with their tiny arms and legs em-
braced, sing a song that goes like this:

“We haven’t got a ration card,
We live in damp cellars
We don’t need any sugar or lard.
Give us a piece of dry bread and salt.”

3) Laugh, Jews, Laugh*

“Candles (“laugh”), Jews, candles (“laugh”), for 20 groshen.
They burn day and night, without mercy.
Candles (“laugh”), Jews, candles (“laugh”).!

While a smiling crowd gathers in the narrow lane, the pedlar shouts
louder: “Buy, Jews, buy, and may they burn on memorial days, and during
festive occasions, on days commemorating the dead, and God be willing, on
days to commemorate the scoundrels! Candles (“laugh”), Jews, candles
(“laugh”) for 20 groshen and may the Jews at long last be able to cele-
brate!” Jews are eager to buy candles like these.

we will be lighting
J. they candles someday
for the Germans.

4) The Bookseller

Pearls of world literature lie helter-skelter in a dirty basket — 50 groshen
apiece. The bookseller, an intelligent young man with a pale face and eyes
half-shut, suits his books to his various customers.

“Hello, fellow Jew,” he accosts one, “you must buy this book *Hunger* —
for only 50 groshen.”

“And you, homeless one,” he turns to another, “you’re probably from
Lublin or Slomatyecz, so why not buy *The City of Slauhgtel*!”

“Buy Jews, bargains! All of Mendele for a few groshen. Why waste a
zloty to get to Grzybowska or Tlomackie? For the same money you can
have *The Pipsqueak* or *The Taxes* in your home library. Buy Jews! The
best books! *Chains, Robbers, Behind Bars, His Cramp* **, *At the Bedside
of a Dying Man* — all 50 groshen apiece!”

The crowd comprehends and smiles.

what the
Juden rat +
other social wgs. 2/14
Shin

Warsaw Ghetto 1941.

The Parasite = Jewish exploitation.

* In the pronunciation of the Jews of Warsaw, the word “laugh” (*lacht*) sounds
like the word “candle” (*licht*) which all Jews understand to be Shabbath candles.
** In Yiddish *Zayn Krampf*, a pun on *Mein Kampf*, “Krampf” meaning cramp.

קער און לינגדיקער פאזע, הענטלעך און פיסלעך געפלאַכטן צוזאַמען, זינגען
א לידל אזוי:

„מיר האָבן נישט אויף קיין „זאפּאָסן“,
מיר וווינען אין אַ קעלער אַ נאַסן,
מיר דאַרפן נישט קיין צוקער, קיין שמאַלין,
ניב אונדז אַ שטיקל טרוקן ברויט און זאַלין.“

ג) לאַכט, יידעלעך, לאַכט!

אויפן וואַרשעווער לשון הייסט עס ליכט אויף שבת.
שטייט אַ יוד מיט אַ פּודעלע ליכט, אזא „גרויס-אינדוסטריעלער“ און רופט:
„לאַכט, יידעלעך, לאַכט, פאַר אַ „צוואַנציקאַ“!
זיי ברענען היינט בייטאַג און ביינאַכט אָן רחמנות,
לאַכט, יידעלעך, לאַכט!“

ווען אויפן שמאַלן געסל זאמלט זיך אַ שטייכלדיקער עולם צונויף, רופט
דער קרעמער העכער:

„קויפט יידעלעך, קויפט, און זאָלן זיי ברענען צו יאַרצייט און אויף שמחות,
צו מזכיר-גשמות, און אַז נאָס וועט העלפן, — אויך צו מזכיר-גבלות! לאַכט
יידעלעך, לאַכט, פאַר אַ צוואַנציקאַ, און זאָלן שוין זיין שמחות ביי יידן!“
אזא פאַרשפּראַכן ליכטל קויפט יעדער גערן.

ד) דער בודי-הענדלער

פערל פון דער וועלט-ליטעראטור ליגן אויסגעמישט אין אַ שמוציקן קויש —
אַלין צו 50 גראָשן.
דער בודי-הענדלער, אן אינטעליגענטער יונגעראון, מיט אַ בלייד פנים, האַלב-
פאַרלאָשענע אויגן, פאַסט צו די ביכער פאַר די פאַרשידענע קונים.
„האַללאַ, רב יוד, — ווענדעט ער זיך צו איינעם — איר דאַרפט קויפן
אומבאַדינגט דאָס בוך „הוננער“ — נאָר פאַר 50 גראָשן.“
„און איר היימלאַזער, — ווענדעט ער זיך צו אַ צווייטן — איר זייט דאָך
פון לובלין אָדער סלאָוואַקייט, טאָ קויפט זשע, די שחימה-שטאַט!“
„קויפט יודו מציאות! גאַנץ מענדעלע פאַר גראָשנס! וואָס טויג איר פטרן
אַ זלאַמע צו קומען אויף גושיבאָוסקע אָדער סלאָמאַצקע? פאַר דעם זעלבן
געלט האָט איר „דאָס קליינע מענטשעלע“ און „די סאַקסע“ ביי זיך אין דער
היים!!! קויפט, יודן! די בעסטע ביכער: „קייטן“, „רויבער“, „הינטער די קראַמפּ“,
„זיין קראַמפּ“, „ביים גוסס צו קאַפּנס“ — אַלין צו 50 גראָשן!“
דער עולם פאַרשטייט און שטייכלט...

שיק.

וואַרשע, געצויגן 1941.

(רינגעלבלום-אַרכיוו, ערשטער טייל).

¹ יודישע אַלוינגהילף — רעד.

² * ווערשער-שפּיל: „לאַכט“ — ליכט, און לאַכט — פּון וואַרט: — לאַכן — רעד.

³ אויף טשיכאווסקע און געווען דער יודענראַט אויף סלאָמאַצקע — דער „וויזשניץ“
(יוד. געזעלשאַפט פּון סאַזינאָלער חילוף) — רעד.

⁴ וואַרשעווער: שוויבקינדער.

XIII. Moral Defense and Resistance in the Literature

Children in sitting and lying positions, with their tiny arms and legs embraced, sing a song that goes like this:

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Give us a piece of dry bread and salt.”

3) Laugh, Jews, Laugh *

“Candles (“laugh”), Jews, candles (“laugh”), for 20 groshen.
They burn day and night, without mercy.
Candles (“laugh”), Jews, candles (“laugh”).!

While a smiling crowd gathers in the narrow lane, the pedlar shouts louder: “Buy, Jews, buy, and may they burn on memorial days, and during festive occasions, on days commemorating the dead, and God be willing, on days to commemorate the scoundrels! Candles (“laugh”), Jews, candles (“laugh”) for 20 groshen and may the Jews at long last be able to celebrate!” Jews are eager to buy candles like these.

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“And you, homeless one,” he turns to another, “you’re probably from Lublin or Slomatyecz, so why not buy *The City of Slaughter*!”

“Buy Jews, bargains! All of Mendele for a few groshen. Why waste a zloty to get to Grzybowska or Tlomackie? For the same money you can have *The Pipsqueak* or *The Taxes* in your home library. Buy Jews! The best books! *Chains, Robbers, Behind Bars, His Cramp* **, *At the Bedside of a Dying Man* — all 50 groshen apiece!”

The crowd comprehends and smiles.

Shin

Warsaw Ghetto 1941.

* In the pronunciation of the Jews of Warsaw, the word “laugh” (*lacht*) sounds like the word “candle” (*licht*) which all Jews understand to be Sabbath candles.

** In Yiddish *Zayn Krampf*, a pun on *Mein Kampf*, “Krampf” meaning cramp.

ישראל קאפלאן

דאס פאלקסמויל אין נאצי-קלעם

ריידענישן אין געטאָ און קאָצעט

פאַרברייטערטע אויפלאַגע
מיט הקדמות און ראשי-פרקים
אין עברית און ענגליש

תל-אביב תשמ"ב 1982

INTRODUCTION

In the ghettos and concentration camps, the enemy's only concern was the oppression and destruction of the Jews. Even when the Germans spared some Jews, it was primarily young men and women, who could do the required harsh physical labor. But even those "fortunate" ones — the work force — were subjected to unending suffering. By means of varied and weird schemes and tricks, the villains embittered their lives, in an attempt to debase and depress them, and finally bring them to ultimate despair and spiritual degeneration. And when their strength gave out, and they were no longer fit for exploitation, their turn too came for annihilation...

Nonetheless, the Jew did his utmost to hold on, not to collapse, but to go on living, in order to witness the longed-for liberation. With all his malice and treachery, the enemy succeeded only to a small extent in crushing the spirit of the Jew, in destroying all flickering of hope. With all his troubles, the Jew neither despaired nor gave up. He was tied to his people with all his heart and soul, and to the common fate for which he had been destined.

The life-potion which sustained his soul, and gave

III

him unlimited encouragement in those calamitous days, was the "voice of Jacob". The expressions, mottos and witticisms which were created by, and circulated among, the captives contained within them the power to comfort and encourage the tortured and broken-hearted. Even during the back-breaking work, with the guards standing over them, following every movement with hostile eyes, ears strained to hear every syllable which the mouth produced, in Yiddish — a language so close to their own German — even then, the Jews' tongues "did not cleave to their palates". In order to give expression to their innermost desires and thoughts, they created a secret way of talking, a sort of code, a language based largely upon Hebrew, "sacred tongue", especially as found in the prayer book, that faithful companion of the Jew from the days of his childhood in his father's house.

Thus the people somehow managed to continue its creativity even in the ghetto and the concentration camp, even under the most unbearable conditions. However, it was difficult, if not nigh impossible, to record this folk creativity. For in the camps, the individual was wholly enslaved and crushed. Rare indeed were the occasions on which the exhausted captive, in whom the spark of the historian still burned, could secrete himself away and make his notes. The very act of carrying a bit of lead pencil and a scrap of paper upon one's person was, in more than one camp, punishable by hanging. And if one did succeed in writing something down, then where to hide it? In addition to the routine searches carried out

at the daily roll-call, and at the gates, upon return from work, the Germans were wont to spring "sanitary inspections", "disinfection inspections" and other surprise inspections upon the captives. Furthermore, on their return from work, they often found themselves transferred, without warning, from one barracks to another, or to another camp altogether.

In spite of all these hardships, a few individuals, here and there, managed to do the impossible — to make notes and record some part of this awesome and unique process of folk creation as it was taking place; there were even those who managed to escape the fiery furnace, and come out alive, their notes — tiny, miserable, faded and crumpled bits of paper — still in their possession.

On the basis of such hidden and worn-out pages as these, together with a living and vibrant memory, the author took it upon himself, directly after the liberation, to collate the material and prepare a necessarily partial lexicon of ghetto and concentration camp folklore. With the encouragement of the poet H. Leivick, who arrived in Germany in the spring of 1946 with a mission to the survived remnants of the European Jewry ("Sheèrith Hapleta"), the material was first published in serial form in the *Fun Letzn Churbn (From the Last Extermination)*, a periodical for the history of the Jewish People during the Nazi regime, edited by this author. A collection of this material was later published in Munich, in 1949, in a booklet entitled *Dos Folksmoil in Nazi Klem (The Language of the People in the Grasp of the Nazi Claws)*.

This booklet also included additional material which the author had collected in the interim, directly from people who had come out of other camps and ghettos. In each case, before new material was included, the reliability of the source, and the authenticity of the material, were carefully checked.

The appearance of the booklet in 1949 aroused much interest. Encouragement was voiced by such personalities as Dr. Yom-Tov Levinsky, Prof. Yudel Mark, Dr. Ezriel Carlebach and Melech Ravitch, which induced the author to continue his work, to go on collecting new material. The result of these years of collection are presented here for the interested reader.

The present expanded edition includes a great deal of new material, both, that provided by the author himself, and that culled from other camps and ghettos, as reported to him by survivors. But the lion's share of the material comes first hand from the ghettos and camps in which the author himself was incarcerated : ghettos Kovno and Shavli (Lithuania), Riga (Latvia) and K.Z. Kaiserwald (Latvia), Panevezh (Lithuania), Stutthof and Dachau (Germany). Especially varied are the expressions originating in Dachau, since Jews were brought there from many countries, far removed from one another.

In order to bring this material to a wider audience, a general introduction as well as section summaries, in both Hebrew and English, have been included, and an index has been added.

The author is much indebted to Prof. Dov Sadan, Dr. Joseph Kermisch and Dr. Dov Levin for their encouragement, and for convincing him to bring out this present edition of the lexicon. The author further wishes to thank his daughter-in-law Miriam, and his son Dr. Shalom (Kaplan) Eilati for their assistance in the preparation of the present edition.

A special thanks owes the author to the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, New-York, which made possible the preparation of this book.

Israel Kaplan

Tel-Aviv, April 1981

TEXT IN SUMMARY

AT WORK

Warning Slogans (וּמְנַחֵם)

Surrounded as they were by armed German guards, and under the surveillance of Nazi "Meisters", the Jews found it necessary to create for themselves particular expressions and slogans to serve their own purposes. They attempted to make them unintelligible to their oppressors, whose own German was so similar to the Yiddish spoken by their victims.

The need to create a special secret language was most strongly felt during the long hours of harsh physical labor to which they were subjected. Obviously, the Jews had no desire to exert themselves for the Germans. This was quite clear to the Germans as well, so that they often said that the Jews expended ninety percent of their energy in finding ways to get out of work, and in setting up methods of counter-surveillance. However, in order to make these subterfuges and methods effective, the Jews had to coin idioms, expressions and code words for use amongst themselves ; these were useful in warning against impending danger, in announcing its passing, and in relating generally to what was happening around them.

In this way, all manner of warning slogans ("Paroles") came into being, relative to the situation of forced labour, which should be counted among the earliest folklore created by the Jews under the Nazi yoke.

(pp. 31-48)

Additional Work (צוגאב-אַרבעט)

People were particularly afraid of additional work. With their last bit of strength, they heard the whistle blow announcing the end of the work day, only to have the supervisors or the Meister appear, and grab a few people, some "figures" as they were called, for "special work". This work was special indeed, in its degree of difficulty, and in that it took many additional hours to complete. It is understandable that this "special work" merited some very special appellations. (pp. 41-42)

Evasion (סאַבאַטאַזש)

When the tiniest opportunity for getting out of work presented itself, the Jews immediately grabbed it, in order to rest a little. The Germans regarded such actions as sabotage. The opportunity for a moment of stolen rest occurred most often when the guard or supervisor moved away from the scene. Such situations gave rise to special warning signals. (pp. 42-44)

"Mum's the Word" (פאַרויכט מיט אַ וואָרט)

All such warning signals and special designations were effective only as long as the Jews maintained strict discipline among themselves. Great danger lurked in a

slip of the tongue or a careless remark, which might unintentionally contain some information useful to the supervisor. Such a slip-up might well lead to interrogation and new demands, accompanied by serious threats, all of which led to the repeated admonition : Mum's the word !

(pp. 44-45)

Opposition and Argumentation (רעפליק)

On occasion, the Jews would attempt to argue, or bargain, with their supervisors. Sometimes, their response was sharp, made directly to those who issued the commands ; sometimes it was directed mumblingly to their fellow Jews. Such a direct reply inevitably aroused their spirit to greater daring, a more up-right stance in the face of oppression, and redoubled stubbornness in evading the forced labor.

From time to time, the Meister would approach the work-gangs with a "Package deal" (job-lot work, as it were), whereby the gang would take upon itself the completion of a particular task, unsupervised, in exchange for which they would be credited with having completed an entire day's work. The Jews knew quite well that there was very little chance of any good coming to them from these "deals". as a result, they felt free to bargain with the Nazis as equals, on the details of the agreement, even though the latter did not refrain from "moralizing" or from the use of crude threats. (pp. 45-48)

KEEPING BODY AND SOUL TOGETHER

In addition to the fact that this secret language helped them to some extent to regulate both the pace of the work, and its shape, there were other pressing matters about which the Jews wished to speak among themselves, in the presence of the guards and supervisors. As a result, "borrowed" or newly-coined phrases cropped up from time to time which made it possible to conduct secret discussions under the very noses of the guards. Many of these related to food.

Code words of this sort, which stood for actual things rather than concepts, can be divided into several categories: the food stuffs themselves and the "valuables" which could be bartered for food; words relating to the capacity of the work-gang (the "Kommando") to act as a provider of food from the outside; and words for the subterfuges resorted to in order to bring the smuggled food stuffs into the ghetto or camp, particularly getting it passed the gate.

Food (אכילה)

Food was one of the prime interests of those confined within the ghetto or the "Konzentrationslager" — (K.Z. — concentration camp). Everyone was interested in knowing what types of food might be gotten, where and how much. (pp. 50-55)

Barter (חילופין)

In order to get food, it was necessary to have some-

thing of value to give in exchange. Where were such things to be found in the ghetto or the camp? The Jews had already been robbed of their possessions, their money and anything of value which they might have had. At the best, they still had a few used bed-linens, bits of clothing and some poor household goods. These remnants served them as "capital" in barter with the Aryans in exchange for food. Special terminology was developed for this purpose. (pp. 55-59)

Work-gangs and "To Organize" (קאמאנדעס און ארגאניזירן)

Getting food stuffs "on the side" was possible only for the Work Details employed outside the camp or the walls of the ghetto; their's was the only opportunity to meet Aryans and to enter into barter with them. There were even places of work where small amounts of food were provided for the workers, in which case it was possible to take a calculated risk and hide a bit of food away. However, Work Details such as these were very few indeed. At most places of work, supervisors stuck very close to the Jews, whips in hand, not distracted for a minute. One was required to work without pause. In such places, the Jews had absolutely no chance of gaining anything for themselves.

Relative to all this, terms developed denoting the classification of various places of work, and the respective possibilities for getting something which could be brought back "home".

Getting Things In (אַרײַנטראַגן)

When food was obtained through working outside, only then did the real worry begin : how to smuggle it into the ghetto or the camp. This was a difficult problem, which gave rise to specific groups of terms and designations. (pp. 68-70)

INTERNAL LEADERSHIP

Jewish appointees (such as the "Judenrat" within the ghetto) were in charge of a number of internal matters such as the distribution of food, the assignment of living quarters, etc. They also had a say in the composition of the work-gangs or in the assignment of a specific person to a particular gang. Without the help of a member of the Judenrat, or some other highly-placed official in the ghetto, it was virtually impossible to improve one's work situation. In this conjunction, various classifications were developed to describe the authority and power of those close to the powers-that-be.

People of Influence (תּקײַפּים)

"People of influence" and petty tyrants of all sorts, were the recipients of a long line of titles, mocking, deferential and cautious all in one. (pp. 73-81)

Jewish Supervisors (אַנטײַבערס)

As if the troubles and afflictions which the Jews were made to suffer at the hands of the guards, the Meisters

and all the rest of the official "pests" were not enough, in addition, they had to bear the afflictions of the Jewish group-heads. The latter were usually appointed to the ghettos by the Jewish Office for the Organization of Labor ("Arbeitsamt"). At the outset, their task was to assist in the formation of work-gangs, to accompany them to their place of work and to remain there with them. However, the Germans drew them more and more into the perverted task of prodding and supervising, until quite a few of them took on the role of supervisor and persecutor of their own people. In the Concentration Camps the situation was different. There the Germans themselves appointed the Capos (groupheads) according to their own discretion. Such appointees often bent over backwards to please their masters. As a result, a long list of adjectives and designations were assigned to them, reflecting their hateful arrogance. (pp. 81-90)

ANNIHILATION

Hunger (הונגער)

The German conquest led to the isolation of the Jews from their natural surroundings, as well as from their previous sources of livelihood and income. Hunger set in. During the periods of forced labor, bodies faint from hunger and longing for some small sustenance, more and more of their conversation tended to revolve around hunger, fasting, eating and satiation.

In the early days of the conquest, people who ap-

peared undernourished and bloated from hunger were still conspicuous in a crowd. However, as hunger became more generalized, it was no longer considered anything exceptional. (pp. 93-96)

Total destruction (פאַרלענד)

The Germans were not satisfied with starvation, forced labor and all the rest of their oppressive actions ; to achieve their ultimate aim ("The Final Solution"), they restored to "actions" in the ghettos, and deportations to the concentration camps. However, the "voice of Jacob" succeeded even in this almost totally hopeless situation to make itself heard, whether on the way to the camps or in the camps themselves.

Even during the "selections" — those sudden, unexpected acts of sorting the people out for "transport", mostly for their final journey — there was sometimes enough strength left for yet another word.

Sometimes, the "power of speech" even remained with those faced with the imminent danger of death.

And when they were "saved" from the current "action", or from the present transport which had already left, the Remnant of Israel was still able to give expression to what had occurred, and to what the morrow might hold in store... (pp. 97-106)

NEWS AND POLITICS

Horrendous events and sombre forecasts were the daily portion of the Jews trapped in the ghettos and the

camps, understandably sinking their spirits. A constant flow of bits of terrifying information regarding the fate of Jews in other places seeped in from the outside. To this were added the unhappy rumours about their own immediate future. Terror and the shadow of death were all around ! And yet, somehow, in the midst of this calamitous situation, there still shone in the hearts of the Jews, the light of hope and assurance : salvation is coming, it is on its way !... The source of this assurance was the Jews themselves, and their endless discourses, centering primarily around the progress of the war.

News (נייט)

In the evenings, when the people returned half-dead from their back-breaking toil ; or in the darkness of night, both in the fall and in the winter, when the people were hurrying, in the mud and frost, towards the parade-square ("Appelplatz") ; or when the work-gang going out at dawn met another returning from the night shift ; at all times when Jews met, even for a fleeting minute, even under the most strict and cruel supervision, at all times they were panting for news : may be someone had heard something...

In grunts, they attempted to evaluate the situation on the various fronts, as well as to muse upon the longed-for breakthrough ("The Invasion") which was so long in coming. (pp. 109-118)

פ א ר א ל ון

באוואכט פון באוואפנטע דייטשישע זעלנער און שטרענג אויפגעפאסט פון נאצישע מייסטערס, האבן יידן ביי דער ארבעט געמוזט זיך שאפן באזונדערע אויסדרוקן און לאזונגען וועגן זייערע ענינים. געפליסט האט מען זיך עס צו מאכן אין א שפראך וואס זאל זיין ניט פארשמענדלעך דעם שונא פון פאלק, אבער דער נאענטער „מחותן" פון אונדזער פאלקם-לשון.

די ערשטע נייטיקייט צו שאפן זיך ספעציעלע פאראלן אונטער די נאצים איז צווישן די יידן כמעט אומעטום אויפ-געקומען ביי דער צוואנגארבעט, צו וועלכער זיי פלעגן ווערן געטריבן. קלאר, אז די יידן האבן ווייט ניט געהאט קיין חשק צו אוועקגעבן זייער ענערגיע פארן דייטש. די דייטשן גופא האבן עס אויך גוט פארשטאנען און זיי פלעגן טאקע אפט זאגן, אז 90 פראצענט פון דער יידישער ענערגיע ביי דער ארבעט גייט אויף קליגלען זיך ווי ניט צו שאפן און אויף אומקוקן זיך, צי מען באמערקט ניט... פדי אבער דאס קליגלען זיך און אומקוקן זאל ווי געהעריק קלאפן, האט זיך פון די יידן געפאדערט צו איינשמעלן צווישן זיך בשותפותדיקע, און געהיימע, אויסדרוקן אויף ווארענען זיך ביי א ספנה, ווי אויך אויף „אפרופן די געפאר", און בכלל ווי צו האלטן זיך ביי דער ארבעט. אזוי זינען באלד מיט דער צוואנגארבעט אויפ-געקומען די פאראלן, וואס קאנען זיך רעכענען פון די ערשטע יידישע פאלקלאר-שאפונגען פאר דער צייט פון דער נאצי-קנעכטשאפט.

Nicknames (ציונעמענישן)

The prime place in these political discussions was of course allotted to the Germans, who were called by a variegated list of nicknames and designations of all kinds. The villainous enemy leader and his henchmen merited extra special treatment in this respect. In contrast, names reflecting love and affection were given to the Allied forces fighting against Germany. (pp. 118-121)

Conversation (שמועסן)

Deep within the ghetto, or within the confines of the barracks inside the camps, the Jews were able to hold their longer political discussions. Here, the people dared to converse openly, and even to argue with each other. Chronic pessimists and "experts" on every subject also had their place here, and a hearing was accorded to everyone.

An example of such a secret conversation, held in the concentration camp, in which veiled terms, hints and secret designations all appear in the course of a turbulent discussion held among the inmates, is presented in conclusion. (pp. 122-126)

Singing for Survival

Songs of the Lodz Ghetto,
1940-45

GILA FLAM

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
Urbana and Chicago

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2

Chaim Rumkowski: The Man and the Song

Of all the songs sung in the ghetto, one stands out in the survivors' memory: "Rumkowski Chaim." The song concerns the dominant figure in the ghetto, Chaim Rumkowski, head of the Jewish Council, and dubbed the Eldest of the Jews. Though he did not survive the war, the recollections and song that lived after him testify to his importance.

Although a discussion of Rumkowski's role in the ghetto appeared to the previous chapter, and the discussion of the "hit song" could comprise the beginning of the next chapter (dealing with street songs), I devote this chapter to the man and the song. I do this in response to the sources I have examined and the testimonies I have recorded from survivors. All sources focus on the visible power in the ghetto reflected in Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski.¹ The questions of how much power and control of ghetto life he really had serving under Nazi terror, what he knew about the fate of the deported Jews, and whether his ghetto policy was right prompt endless discussion among scholars, survivors, and others. It is beyond the scope of my study to participate in this discussion, thus I make a point of portraying the man from both the historical perspective and the artistic outlook as a central figure, the principal actor in the ghetto streets—the ghetto stage.

The Man: King of the Ghetto

A German document signed by City Commissioner Leiser on 13 October 1939 states:

The Eldest of the Jews in the City of Lodz, Rumkowski has been named to implement all orders by the German Civil Administration of the city of Lodz concerning persons of Jewish race. He is personally



Chaim Rumkowski (center) and members of the *Sonderkommando*. Zona-bend Collection, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

responsible to me in this connection. To implement these tasks, he is entitled to 1. Move freely in the streets at any hour, day and night; 2. Have access to the offices of the German administration; 3. Choose a Council of Elders and to confer with them; 4. Use wall posters to announce his orders; 5. Control the assembly of Jewish labor detachments. Every person of Jewish race is obliged to absolutely obey all of the Eldest Rumkowski's orders. Opposition to him will be punished by me. (Adelson and Lapidés 1989: 19)

There are various explanations of how and why Rumkowski was nominated to this position. A childless widower and the director of an orphanage, he had been elected to the Lodz *kehilla* (Heb.: Jewish community; before the war, the name of the Jewish community's council) on the Zionist ticket. When the Germans burst into the *kehilla* offices in October 1939 and asked for the *Altester*, Rumkowski, then sixty-two years old, responded, thinking they meant "oldest," not "Eldest," an honorific for council leader, whom they wanted to appoint. Another story has it that on learning that the

Germans were trying to locate *kehilla* officers, Rumkowski voluntarily reported and offered his services. And yet another version has it that he was selected because of his noble appearance. None of these accounts can be substantiated (Dobroszycki 1984:xliv and n. 118).

Rumkowski was not an exception in proceeding directly from the *kehilla* board to the Jewish Council, the *Judenrat*.² Following his nomination on 13 October 1939, Rumkowski had been ordered to select a Council of Elders, known as the *Beirat*. All but eight of its thirty members were arrested on 7 November 1939, taken away, and killed less than a month after their selection.

Three months later, on 5 February 1940, the nomination of a new twenty-one member *Beirat* was announced by Rumkowski. The Germans, however, treated it as a mere formality. Rumkowski became in effect the sole ruler of the Lodz ghetto. One man was sufficient for the Germans in Lodz, and it did not matter who he was as long as he was obedient, able to maintain order in the Jewish quarter, and could mobilize people for work.

Rumkowski took his appointment as Eldest of the Jews very seriously, although it is difficult to assume that he considered it a step forward socially or politically. According to Dobroszycki (1984: xlvi–xlvii), it is also unlikely that Rumkowski accepted the post in the hope of gaining material or personal advantage. To deal with the affairs of a community seemed to be his calling, and with the outbreak of the war his activities in the field and sense of his own importance grew considerably.

Rumkowski approached the German authorities with a proposition to use the ghetto's manpower to manufacture goods for the Germans in exchange for food. The Germans accepted his proposition and the Chairman began to register workers, build workshops, and negotiate the exchange of products for food. He was well aware of what the Nazis were capable of doing, but believed that with obedient behavior on the part of the Jews, things could be worked out. His credo throughout the ghetto period was "calm and work": by "calm" he meant obedience to his authority; by "work" he meant making the ghetto indispensable to the German war machine.

Rumkowski addressed the ghetto inhabitants very often in public speeches and printed announcements in a patronizing way, the way he had spoken to his helpless orphans: "Jews, remain calm. I will do everything possible and I will endeavor most energetically to carry out my tasks" (Announcement no. 104, 12 August 1940, in Adelson and Lapides 1989:92–93).

Obedience and work would keep the Jews alive until the end of the war, and his slogan made sense in the early period of the ghetto. Rumkowski maintained that conviction until the very end, even when he realized that ghetto inhabitants were being deported to death camps.

Rumkowski's rule can be divided into two periods. In the early part of the war he acted forcefully, efficiently, and speedily to establish a well-run ghetto empire: workshops, police, courts of justice, jails, and schools. To visit the various departments, he traveled in a horse-drawn carriage donated by the Germans. He supervised workers in the public kitchens as they doled out soup to the starving population and checked on the food stores.

Rumkowski spoke ironically about the Warsaw *Judenrat*, which he had visited. In Warsaw, he said, chaos reigned—children were dying in the streets while food was plentiful in elegant cafes and restaurants. In actual fact, starvation in Lodz was even worse than in Warsaw; in the latter, smugglers brought in food and other essential products from the outside with the support of the Jewish authorities. Lodz, on the other hand, was a completely isolated ghetto. The difference, however, was that while in Warsaw the dead lay on the streets for a long time before they were buried, in Lodz burial took place almost immediately.

Some Lodz inhabitants, including members of Rumkowski's administration, agreed with his strategies; but others frequently rebelled. When a "go-slow" movement began in the workshops, Rumkowski spread rumors among the workers that would either calm them down or threaten them with reprisals. Order was maintained by any and all means. To silence his opponents he used the threat of unemployment, starvation, and finally deportation.

The situation changed, however, when in mid-1942 Rumkowski realized that Jews were being murdered. In deep pain Rumkowski asked the inhabitants to deliver twenty thousand of the sick, the elderly, and children on 5 September 1942. After the eight-day curfew known as the *groyse shpere*, the quota was delivered. Rumkowski addressed the remaining ghetto population and ordered them to work: "Here in the ghetto we are all workers, we are all equal!" (from Rumkowski's speech of November 1942, in Adelson and Lapides 1989:373). Rumkowski did not change his policy and continued to obey Nazi orders, believing that by sacrificing some he could save many others.

Rumkowski was the one to determine which of the ghetto's re-

maining 60,000 to 70,000 Jews should die and which should live, until he was deported in August of 1944. Sixty thousand people died in the ghetto, whether from starvation, freezing, disease, hanging, or suicide. From the ghetto, 130,000 who were deported died either in the exhaust vans at Chelmno or the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

Rumkowski's strategy was almost successful. The Lodz ghetto was the last one to remain in existence in Poland. However, when the Germans proceeded to the final solution, "productivity" ceased to be a consideration and thus no longer any help.

In August 1944 the Nazis sent Rumkowski and most of the ghetto inhabitants to Auschwitz-Birkenau. There are several accounts of how Rumkowski perished, but all versions note that he was "welcomed" with great hatred by his fellow Jews from Lodz who were already in Auschwitz. In one account, Rumkowski was beaten to death by Jews from the ghetto who were awaiting his arrival. His body was then thrown into an open pit where bodies were burned. A second account describes Rumkowski's arrival at Auschwitz with his young wife and their adopted son. He presented a letter of introduction provided to him in Lodz by Hans Biebow. He was welcomed on the platform and told he would be given a tour of the facility. But he was brought instead to the crematorium. He and his family were burned alive without being gassed. The last account has it that Rumkowski was separated for his age and put to death in due course. As with the accounts of the "king's" nomination, none of the accounts of the "king's" death could be substantiated (Adelson and Lapides 1989: 493-99).

Would Rumkowski have been vindicated after the war for saving Jewish lives, or would he have been condemned as the murderer of tens of thousands? Survivors have asked themselves this question for four decades. It would seem a moral issue difficult or even impossible to resolve.

The Song: A "Hit"

During the first year of the ghetto's existence the song "Rumkowski Chaim," performed by the street entertainer Yankele Hershkowitz, became very popular. Most of the survivors remember the song, even if they do not recall the singer's real name and do not remember seeing him in the ghetto.

Yankele Hershkowitz and his "hit song" are described by the chroniclers in their entry of 5 December 1941:



Yankele Hershkowitz performs in the street, accompanied by Karl Rosentsweig. Zonabend Collection, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

The author and performer of this song is the popular ghetto street "troubadour" (Yankele) Hershkowitz, formerly a tailor by trade. Last year he composed the extremely popular topical song entitled "Rumkowski Chaim" . . . and once even received a gift of five Marks from the Chairman himself, who had chanced to hear the song. Another time, the ghetto "troubadour" received a package of *matzoth* from the Chairman in person when he was performing his song in front of a store which the Chairman happened to be visiting before the holidays. At present the song writer has formed a partnership with a man from Vienna, a certain Karl Rosentsweig, a former traveling salesman. Rosentsweig accompanies Hershkowitz on the guitar or zither. And this duo, which, like everything else in the ghetto, is a bit peculiar, being composed of a tailor from Balut and a traveling salesman from Vienna, is enjoying great success with the populace. This is of course good for their business and the duo sometimes ends up with six Marks to share after a full day's work, a tidy wage indeed. The partnership has recently launched a new song.³ . . . The ghetto's songwriter also composed another very popular "hit song" entitled "lebn zol prezes Chaim" (Long live Chairman Chaim). (Dobroszycki 1984: 92)

Yankele Hershkowitz composed and sang his songs in Yiddish, the Jewish vernacular. The verses covered a broad range of political and social topics in which the singer lamented the past and commented on the present. He continued the tradition of the *broder-singers* (singers from Brody) of the *Haskalah* period, the wandering minstrels who entertained on the street corners of Eastern Europe with topical and satirical songs. However, unlike his predecessors who traveled from one town to the next, the ghetto singer was confined to the ghetto.

Yankele Hershkowitz could also be classified as a typical Eastern European Yiddish folk singer, one of those performers of the last two centuries who later became popular singers in the growing urban centers of Poland and elsewhere. According to Cahan, one of the early folklorists of Jewish folksong, such a singer came from a low-to middle-class family and used his talent to earn additional income. Due to his background, his repertoire addressed the issues of "all people," and he drew on familiar topics and musical sources: "his outlook of the world is the same as that of his fellow men, he draws his ideas from the common life of his surroundings, using the folk's mouth and his own soul. He is one of the masses with a natural poetic nature, but not a famous [literate] poet" (Cahan 1952: 11).

The Jewish folksinger of the interwar period was exposed to both Yiddish and Polish folk music and popular music, as well as to American popular music, both Jewish and non-Jewish, which made its way to Europe. In addition, the singer could be exposed to classical music or its popular rendition and to Jewish sacred music. The main difference that separated the Jewish singer from his neighbors before 1939 was his use of two internal languages: Yiddish and Hebrew.

Thus the description of Yankele Hershkowitz given by Rachmil Bryks in his novel *Di papirene kroyn* (The paper crown) fits into the framework of the typical Jewish folksinger:

Yankele was a genuine folksinger. . . . Just before World War II he arrived in Lodz from Aft. He was a tailor of cheap designs, a simple, nice man. All his education came from the *kheyder* where he studied 'vry [the basic Hebrew alphabet and biblical stories]. . . . At a young age he had to go to work to help his poor family. He did not even know Polish; he wrote Yiddish with mistakes. . . . He traveled with other tailors to nearby towns to trade his merchandise and thus he learned folksongs and folktales. . . . He had a pleasant voice. He enjoyed singing and sang very emotionally. For each event of the *shtetl* he com-

posed a poem and adapted it to a well-known melody. Soon afterwards, all the people of the *shtetl* sang his rhymes. . . . When the ghetto was sealed and Yankele did not have anything on which to survive, he knew that Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski was responsible for that, and this was what most of the ghetto inhabitants thought. . . . Thus he composed the song about Rumkowski . . . and adapted the lyrics to an old folk melody. . . . (1969: 34–35)

In the ghetto, where no radios were allowed, newspapers forbidden, and political gatherings outlawed, the only form of expression still permitted (albeit supervised) was singing. Thus, it is not surprising that the "king of the ghetto"—Chaim Rumkowski—became the theme of "Rumkowski Chaim," a song that was to be the ghetto's greatest "hit."

Yankele Hershkowitz was accompanied, some survivors observe, by a musical instrument. However, there is some debate over the instrument used. The conflicting reports prove one thing at any rate: his accompaniment was most likely an ad-hoc affair determined by the availability of instruments and accompanists.

Hershkowitz uses a verse-refrain structure for this song as well as for most of his songs. These are most likely *contrafact*, that is, songs created by setting new words to a pre-existing melody, a method traditional among folk poets who are also folksingers. According to Beregovski, the "new" satirical songs "largely use the devices of contrast and parody, as did the older satirical songs . . ." (1982: 34). My research has not yielded an original source for the melody of "Rumkowski Chaim," and it is more than likely that Hershkowitz drew his melody from the body of Yiddish folk tunes.

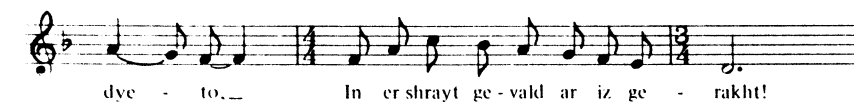
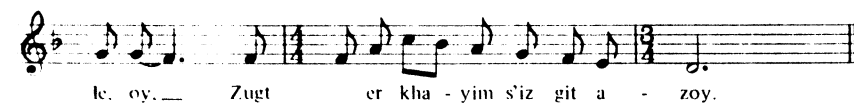
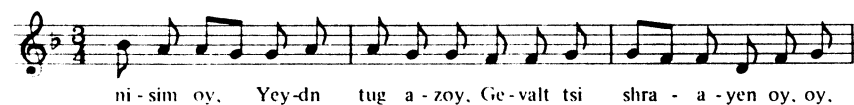
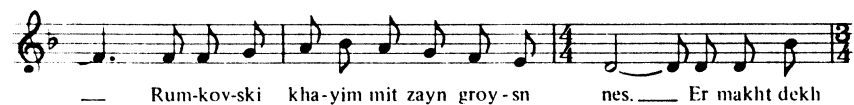
The version I present here is one I recorded in Israel during the summer of 1985.⁴ It was sung by Yaakov Rotenberg, a survivor of the Lodz ghetto who was fourteen when the ghetto was sealed. The text is transcribed into Latin characters according to the pronunciation of the informant in his special Lodz dialect. An English translation is provided along with the Yiddish. (The words in the lyrics which are marked with an asterisk are discussed in note 4.)

Song 1

Rumkovski khayim (Rumkowski Chaim)

Verse

Yi - da - lakh zay - nen ge - bentsht mit kha - yim, _ Kha -



Verse 1:

Yidalakh zaynen gebentsht mit khayim,
Khayim leoylam muves, ? מוונ פ'יח'ס פ'ח
Khayim fin beys ha'khayim,
Rumkovski khayim mit zayn groysn nes.
Er makht dekh nisim oy,
Yeydn tug azoy,
Gevalt tsi shrayen oy, oy, oy,
Yeyder ayner freygt:
A tsvayte shayle, oy,
Zugt er khayim s'iz git azoy!

Refren:

Vayl [er iz] indzer khayim,
Er get indz klayen,
Er get indz gropn,
Er get indz man.*
Fartsaytns hobn di midber yidn gegesn man;
Haynt est shoy n yede vayb ir man.
Rumkovski khayim hot git getrakht,
Gearbet shver bay tug bay nakht,
Gemakht a geto in a dyeto
In er shrayt gevald a[z] [e]r iz gerakht!

Verse 2:

Khayim vaytsman hot gezugt:
Az er vil di yidn in palestine hobn.
Hot zay gehaysn akern zeyen,
Er hot zay dortn tif bagrubn;
Ober indzer khayim'l,
Rumkovski khayim,
Er get indz yeydn tug shrayim: shirayim א'י'ע
Aynem a shtik broyt,
In tsvey n a shtik ferd,
Me leygt bay eyem oyeckh tif'n dreder.

Refren: Vayl iz indzer . . .

Verse 3:

Der driter khayim fin beys ha'khayim,
Hot mit malkhe [ha]muves a git gesheft gemakht:
Er zol im tsishteln maysim vus mer,
Er zol im tsishteln bay tug bay nakht.
Hot zekh der malekh ha'muves genimen
Tsi der arbet shnel.
Er makht fin yedn giber* oy a tel:
Er makht des flink,
Er makht des git.
Er makht di gantse geto* shvakh in mid.

Refren: Vayl iz indzer . . .

Verse 4:

In a zimer tug,
Geveyzn iz a tug a hayser,
Geyt rumkovski in der gas,
Er zet dokh oys vi a keyser.
A hele antsug, oy,
In tinkele briln,
Politsay arim bevakht.
Iekh zug aykh guer
Indzer keyser hot groue huer,
Leybn zol er gantse hindert yuer!

Refren: Vayl iz indzer . . .

Verse 5:

Rumkovski khayim der eltster yude,
Iz ungeshtelt bay di gestapo.
Meyc yidalakh zaynen zayne bruder,
In er farzorgt indz di papo.
Er makht dekh nisim oy,
Yeydn tug azoy
Gevald tsi shrayen oy, oy, oy!
Yeyder ayner freygt:
A tsvayte shayle oy?
Zugt er khayim: s'iz git azoy!

Verse 1:

Jews are seen to be blessed with life,
Life until death,
Life from the [house of life] cemetery
Rumkowski Chaim and his great miracle.
He makes miracles, oy,
So every day,
For heaven's sake, oy, oy, oy,
Everyone asks:
A second question, oy?
Chaim says: It's good this way!

Refrain:

Because [he is] our Chaim*
He gives us bran,
He gives us barley,
He gives us manna.*
Once upon a time Jews of the desert ate manna;
Now each woman eats her husband.
Rumkowski Chaim thought it through,

Worked hard day and night,
Made a ghetto with a diet (store),*
And claims gevald that he is right!

Verse 2:

Chaim Weizmann said:
He wants to have the Jews in Palestine.
He told them to plow, sow,
He did them in there deep;
But, our Chaim,
Rumkowski Chaim,
X Everyday he gives us leftovers:
One a piece of bread,
The other a piece of horse,
And we are also done in deep.

Refrain: . . .

Verse 3:

The third Chaim of the house of life,
Made a good deal with the angel of death:
He should provide him more and more corpses;
He should provide them day and night.
So, the angel of death
Got to work right away.
He makes a mess out of every hero:
He does it quickly,
He does it well.
He makes the whole ghetto weak and tired.

Refrain: . . .

Verse 4:

On a summer day,
It was a very hot day,
Rumkowski walked in the street,
And looked like a Royal Highness.
He wore a light-colored suit, oy,
And dark glasses,
Surrounded by the police.
I tell you
Our Royal Highness has gray hair,
May he live to be a hundred!

Refrain: . . .

Verse 5:

Rumkowski Chaim, the Eldest of the Jews,
Is employed by the Gestapo.
We Jews are his brothers,

And he supplies our food.
 He makes miracles, oy,
 So every day,
 For heaven's sake, oy, oy, oy!
 Everyone asks:
 A second question, oy?
 Chaim says: It's good this way!

I have recorded an additional verse on Rumkowski, from Yaakov Flam, sung to the same melody. This verse was recalled and published by Frenkiel (1986b:43-44), a survivor of the Lodz ghetto who considers it an independent song and not as a verse of this "hit song," even though it is sung to the same melody:

Verse 6:

Ikh hob aykh yidclekh epes tsi zugn:
 A kaidhes vel ikh aykh zugn.
 Di yidelekh zugn shoyn fil nevues,
 "Az di geto efenen vet men shevues!"
 A tsveytn tug er redt,
 Yidelekh makhn shoyn a gevet
 Un lernen zekh shoyn vayter trefn,
 Rumkovski fin di yidelekh lakht:
 "A krenk vus ir trakht!"
 Di geto blaybt oykh vayter git farmakht.

נסבן

Verse 6:

I've got for you, Jews, something to tell you:
 It's a big nothing I've got to tell you.
 The Jews mouth many prophecies already,
 "The Ghetto will open
 on Shavuot!"
 A second day he makes a speech,
 Jews are already betting
 And trying to guess,
 But Rumkowski laughs at the Jews:
 "Who cares what you think!"
 And still the ghetto stays tightly closed.

The song, especially the refrain, is known to every survivor of the Lodz ghetto. In addition, Yaakov Rotenberg even calls it *ha-shir ha-gadol* in Hebrew, meaning the "hit" song of the ghetto. Rachmil Bryks quotes the refrain in his novel *Der kayser in geto* (The emperor in the ghetto) and describes children and adults singing it, accompanying themselves with hand clapping and foot stamping

(1961:29). Bryks also quotes a variant of the refrain (1961:196) which was composed by the ghetto children for a play they performed on a street corner:

Rumkowski Chaim

Er get indz mayim,
 Er get indz fefer,
 Er get indz sam . . .
 R'hot gemakht a gete mit a dyete.
 R'hot gemakht a gete mit a mete^e [Pol.]
 Und er shrayt
 Az er iz gerekht!

Rumkowski Chaim

He gives us water,*
 He gives us pepper,
 He gives us poison.
 He made a ghetto
 With a diet.
 He made a ghetto
~~By the meter~~ Guarded by sentries
 And he claims
 That he is right!

Chava Rosenfarb in her trilogy *Der boym fun lebn* (The tree of life) also quotes an abridged version of the song (1972, 2:550).

The opening three verses speak in turn about the three "Chaims": Chaim Rumkowski; Chaim Weitzmann, the Zionist leader; and Chaim *der grober* (the fat), the undertaker of the ghetto. The latter's nickname is a multilevel pun relating to his physical appearance (*grober* in Yiddish means fat one) and to his profession (*gräber* is German for gravedigger). The real name of Chaim *der grober* was Chaim Perzerkowski; he survived the war and died soon after its end, in 1945 in Lodz.⁵

The final two verses give sarcastic praise to Rumkowski. These might be considered as dues paid to the "Royal Highness" so he would not get angry and arrest the singer. These verses could have been improvised when the singer saw Rumkowski in the streets, and were probably not composed at the same time as the first three verses. My sources could not give any dates for the composition in general or for any particular verses.

The sixth verse comments on Rumkowski's speechmaking, for while he favored big words in order to foster hope, his words actually contained nothing of substance.

Throughout the song, contrasts are made between "him," the leader, and "us," the ghetto dwellers. The name Chaim literally means "life," but the song which was composed in the ghetto has other important features. In its many-layered allusions to the heritage of Jewish cultural life, biblical themes, Hassidic folklore, and Zionism, "Rumkowski Chaim" is a powerfully ironic commentary on the abuses of power, the senseless infliction of suffering on one's fellow man, and the negation of life—death.

The following is my line-by-line interpretation of the text based on this background and the interviews I have conducted.

The word *khayim* (Yidd.: Chaim) serves as a leitmotif for the first verse as well as for the entire song. The song declares: "Jews are seen to be blessed with life, life until death." This statement has morbidly recast the biblical verse "For dust we thou art, and unto dust shall thou return" (Gen. 3: 19), as "from the cemetery we are created and to the cemetery we return." (Cemetery = *beys ha-khayim*, that is, euphemistically, house of life.) An analogy is made between Chaim Rumkowski, the Jewish leader, and Moses, the Jewish historical leader. Chaim promised the ghetto dwellers miracles, promised them food (life) that would descend as a result of miracles, when in actuality the result of these promises is that they starved. However, when the ghetto dwellers complain, Rumkowski answers, "It's good this way." The question reflects their misery, but also Rumkowski's belief that he was doing the right thing.

The refrain makes clear the analogy to Moses: Moses gave his people the "manna" by miracles. Rumkowski, on the other hand, "gives us bran / he gives us barley / he gives us wine." The wine was made from barley, the informant explains, just as in the variant (quoted above) Rumkowski is like Moses and "gives us manna." But unlike the children of Israel in the desert, the ghetto-dwellers starve. Nothing is left but to complain. The wife complains to her husband, as described in the song: "Jews in the desert ate manna / Now each woman eats her husband." This plays on the Yiddish idiom *esn zikh*—to eat away at something; in this case the woman's complaints "eat up" her husband. The poet also plays on the rhyme-association—*manna*, the biblical sustenance, and *man*, Yiddish for husband. The poet gives an explanation as to how the ghetto reached its desperate condition, in the line "Rumkowski Chaim thought it through, / worked hard day and night, / made a ghetto with a diet." As Rute Pups (1962: 56–58) explains, the word *dyeto* meant a special food store which carried better food products. Officially the

store was for "sick people," but in fact it was for privileged people from whom Rumkowski wanted support. So, while Rumkowski and his friends are eating well, everyone else eats poorly.

The refrain reminded Hershkowitz's audience as to who was responsible for the deteriorating situation in the ghetto, describing the lack of resources and identifying the main cause of the suffering.

The repetition of the word *khayim* in the refrain brings to mind the blessing of the new month in which the reader and the congregation ask God for eleven different kinds of *khayim*: life. On the Sabbath preceding *Rosh Hodesh*, Jews call upon God: "grant us long life, a life of peace and well-being, a life of blessing and sustenance, a life of physical health, a life of piety and dread of sin, a life free from shame and disgrace, a life of wealth and honor, a life marked by our love for Torah and our fear of Heaven, a life in which the wishes of our heart shall be fulfilled for happiness" (translation in Birnbaum 1969: 430). This contrast of a blessing which becomes a curse, life which is like death but not death itself, is the central motif of this song.

The second verse introduces Chaim Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist movement. Again the contrast is made: Chaim Weizmann entrapped the Jewish people in the Holy Land by telling them to work the soil; and in the ghetto, the dwellers work and yet receive *shirayim* (Heb.: leftovers). The reference to *shirayim* also requires some explanation: This Hebrew word for leftovers specifically refers to that part of the meal a Hassidic Rebbe would leave for his followers. In the song text this tributary food, originally an act of respect, is "a piece of bread, . . . a piece of horse" (the latter is not kosher). Yaakov Rotenberg recalls how Orthodox Jews spat at the singer when he mentioned the horsemeat. For many Jews, however, it was at that time the food that saved their lives. *Shirayim* rhymes with *khayim* (life), and *ferd* (horse, i.e., horsemeat = food = life) rhymes with *dzerd* (the earth), making life like death.

The third verse presents the third Chaim, the gravedigger, who brings corpses to the "house of life," the cemetery. This Chaim, as described in the song, is very productive: "(He) made a good deal with the angel of death: / He should provide him more and more corpses; / He should provide them day and night." The "deal" was struck between the Angel of Death (the only angel known in the ghetto) and the undertaker. The Angel of Death is a good worker: he "got to work right away. / He makes a mess out of every hero. / He does it quickly, He does it well. / He makes the ghetto weak and tired." This efficient cooperation between the two creates a weak

ghetto, or in some versions, a weak world—which for the inhabitants means probably the same thing. This partnership, made in heaven, causes dreadful results on earth.

Here the song could come to an end (as in Itka Slodowsky's version);⁶ however Yaakov Rotenberg remembered two additional verses devoted exclusively to the "Royal Highness," the "First Chaim," Chaim Rumkowski.

The fourth verse begins with a description of a seasonal moment in the ghetto: it is a summer day, a hot summer day; Chaim Rumkowski wears a light-colored suit, his eyes are shielded by dark glasses. Why? Does he not wish to see what is going on in the ghetto? In his kingdom? In contrast to the cold and darkness suffered by the ghetto dwellers, a motif found in many songs of the period, the sun always shines for Rumkowski. He walks in the streets surrounded by personal guards; he is not alone "and look[s] like a Royal Highness." And the verse concludes: "I tell you / Our Royal Highness has gray hair; / May he live to be a hundred!" The poet tells his audience that although Rumkowski is not young—after all he was appointed to be the "Eldest of the Jews"—he wished him to live to be a hundred. This blessing is actually a curse, since Jews bless each other with *hundert und tsvontsik yor*—"may you live to be a hundred and twenty," the number of years that Moses lived (Deut. 34:7). Here, then, it becomes clear that Rumkowski is not Moses; as a "tribute" to his leadership even a hundred years are more than enough.

Yaakov Rotenberg and Rute Pups (1962:56–58) both report that when the singer used to sing the last line of that verse, "may he live to be a hundred," the audience would respond with an additional sarcastic sentence: *Az aynnemen zol er a shvarts yor*, meaning "May he live through a black year," i.e., may the devil take him. And thus they expressed their anger and "love" to their Royal Highness.

The fifth verse continues the line of thought presented in the fourth verse: yes, Rumkowski is the "Eldest of the Jews"; that is the title given to him by the Germans. He has to obey the *Gestapo*, but "We Jews are his brothers / and he supplies our food" (*papo* is the Polish word for cereal, meaning basic food). In addition one should not forget that "He makes miracles, so every day / for heaven's sake, oy, oy, oy."

The sixth verse is a commentary on Rumkowski's speeches, which created fear and at the same time hope. They were the source for rumors, and were delivered in a Lithuanian dialect; Rumkowski thought this to be the dialect of the Jewish intelligentsia of which he wanted to become a part. Rumors such as "the ghetto will open on

Shavuot" were spread often, but this and other rumors were pure fantasy. *Shavuot* is the holiday that commemorates Moses' bringing the Torah (God's law) from Mount Sinai to the Children of Israel. However, in the ghetto there was no Torah, no Moses, no holiday, and no freedom; it remained tightly closed, its dwellers hopeless and weakened.

Dobroszycki writes, "Rumkowski rarely doubted that he was in the right" (1984:1). Indeed, Yankele Hershkowitz ends his song with the last words of its refrain manifesting the same idea.

The melody of "Rumkowski Chaim," which contributed to its popularity, may have been adapted from another source. The melody has many characteristics of Jewish folksong with reminders of cantorial recitation, and this may have been its origin. It is cast in a minor mode. It makes use of a distinctive rhythmic manner of text setting—iambic primas—a melodic-rhythmic figure with a universal repetition. This figure, according to Braun (1984:285 n. 44), is characteristic of Jewish folksong.

The song form is: verse, A A' B B'; refrain, A A' B B'. This form is common in both Jewish folk music (cf. Beregovski 1982:293) and European and Jewish popular music (cf. Idelsohn 1967:400). The verse and the refrain share similar rhythmic and melodic material. It is sung in a triple meter with an upbeat which causes asymmetric accents on weak beats. Like other Jewish folksongs, according to Beregovski (1982:293), the melody is symmetrical; the underlying structure of this song is in four measures.

The "sweet" melody with its ironic cantorial ornamentations carries a profound commentary on daily suffering in the ghetto. The match between the text and the melody caused the song to live in the memory of the survivors.

NOTES

1. For a fictionalized account of this most interesting character of World War II, see Leslie Epstein, *King of the Jews* (New York: Avon Books, 1979).

2. Dawidowicz compares Rumkowski with Moses Merin of Sosnowiec, another leader who was flattered by the power given to him and who used it (1975:226–27).

3. Possibly the "new song" mentioned by the ghetto chronicle refers to a song which is a parody on a Yiddish folksong, "Lebn zol Bistrizky und zein hora" (Long live Bistrizky and his horah), or "Lebn zol undzer khaver Stalin (Long live our friend Stalin), a prewar folksong which none of the informants could recall. In his article (1985:65), Yaakov Gelman transcribes one verse of this song, which is based on the recording made by the Historical

Committee in Munich in 1946, and which is available at Yad-Vashem and at the Sound Archive of the National Library in Jerusalem. In the same article he discusses another song about the "two Chaims," the undertaker and Chaim Rumkowski (1985:69–71) based on the same recordings. In that song the two Chaims agree to divide the world's government: one will be in charge of death and the other in charge of life. This song, as with most of the songs of the Historical Committee, is unknown to the informants I interviewed, and therefore is not included in the text.

4. In this version, recorded from Yaakov Rotenberg, there are three words which he sings differently each time: he sings *vayn* (wine) instead of "man." However, he said that the correct version is "man" (*manna*), but changed it as he remembered that they made wine from barley. He sings "yeyder giber" (every hero) in one recording, and in another he sings "yeyder ayner" (everyone). He also sings in one place "geto" (ghetto) and then "velt" (world) in the fourth verse. He also omits or shortens the beginning of the refrain, indicated by the brackets. These variations are evidence that the songs are still alive in his mind.

Like the word *dyeto* explained in the text, the word *mayim* (literally, water) in the ghetto slang became the proper name for another entity, ghetto soup.

5. Chaim Perzerkowski's son survived and carried on the family tradition in Israel, where he served as the supervisor of a hospital morgue. I interviewed him in May 1990 about his and his father's experiences in the ghetto.

6. Interview with Itka Slodowsky, Bat-Yam, 10 September 1985.

3

Yaakov and the Street Songs

"Rumkowski Chaim" was the hit song of the street song genre. Other street songs, if not so prominent in the memory of Holocaust survivors, nevertheless reveal a great deal about the history of the ghetto and about those who sang them. Yaakov Rotenberg sang most of the street songs presented in this chapter; it is instructive to look first at his life story.

Yaakov's Story

Yaakov Rotenberg was born in Lodz in 1926. He was forced to move with his parents, his three younger sisters, and his elderly grandmother into the ghetto, where he was interned until 1944. He was later transported to Auschwitz and from there to a labor camp in Gleiwitz, where he was liberated by the Russians. The only member of his family to survive, he immigrated to Israel in 1948. He now lives in Givatayim, with his wife and two children.

It was Yaakov, in fact, who conducted the interview. He had prepared himself for my visit and rehearsed in his mind the main themes for our discussion. He did not enjoy being interrupted by my questions and insisted on telling me when to turn on my tape recorder and when to shut it off. Unlike Miriam Harel, Yaakov did not want to tell me about his life; rather, he wished to discuss four themes which he defined as fear, the cruelty of the Germans, sacrifice, and heroism. These themes were to be the core of the interview. Although he was aware that the songs he remembered were my primary interest, he had prepared a selection on cassette before I arrived. Throughout the interview he sang several fragments of the songs to illustrate certain points.

Yaakov was worried that I would not be able to withstand the emotion of his story. He asked me to tell him when I felt it was be-

coming "too hard for me." He told me that he was no longer concerned about himself; his wife, however, worried about him and she was present throughout the interview session.

Yaakov organized his experiences around the four themes listed above; that was how he chose to relate them to me and it is thus that I will present them.¹

Fear

We were educated to be afraid. When you see a drunk Gentile staggering on one side of the street, cross over to the other side. When you see a fight, go away. I was educated this way. I was educated to be afraid. When the Germans came in, they persecuted the Jews drastically. They kidnapped Jews for work. How did they do it? Two armed Germans stood in the street. A Jew was walking by. One German put a gun against his head, and the other one asked him to come with him. The Jew had no choice. He came. Then, they gathered a group of Jews, took them to work, and brought them back in the evening. In the evening was a curfew. Jews could not walk in the streets, Jews could not get food. This was even before the ghetto. To get bread, one had to stand in line. So we stood in line, and they took us out of the line. How did the Germans and the Poles know that we are Jews? Because of our behavior: because of our fear.

Yaakov felt that it was very important for me to understand fear. He assumed that as a native Israeli I had never experienced it, and in order for me to grasp fully the events of those times, I ought to try to identify with the people living through them.

Cruelty

The Germans took ten Jews and sat them in a row on a bench. They ordered the first one to come in. He walked in and all the other nine heard a terrible screaming. After a couple of minutes, a German dressed in a bloodstained white robe, holding a butcher's knife full of blood, came out of the room and told the second Jew to come in. The other eight were still waiting. The second one went in. All the rest heard his screaming and the German came out with the same knife covered with fresh blood. The people waiting were faint with fear, trembling, until their own time arrived. Among them was my father. By the time he was called, he was almost frightened to death. He simply thought that the German was going to kill him. But when he walked in, he saw the Jews sitting in a row on a bench, plucking duck's feathers. When each was called in, the German slaughtered a duck, and commanded the Jew to scream and pluck off the duck's feathers. Can you understand the cruelty of this kind of mind?

Sacrifice

Yaakov began another story in order to explain to me about sacrifice. He then immediately instructed me to turn off my tape recorder. When I had permission again to turn it on, the story was at its end. While the machine was running, Yaakov spoke of other issues. After the interview was over, I thanked him and he said: "Why do you thank me, do you want to go? I still have not told you about sacrifice." Then he told me two stories, the first of which begins thus:

There was a rabbi from Germany who was brought to the ghetto. He was translating the Talmud from Hebrew to German for the Germans. He was probably a great scholar. I met him in 1943. He used to gather a *minyan* for Yom Kippur and my mother and I both joined. At that time I was still saying *kaddish* for my later father. After the *minyan* he gave a *drasha*—a speech in which he attacked the Germans. He was very loyal to the Jewish nation. It was not a provocative speech—it was his belief. This was my first meeting with him.

He continued the narrative so as to reach the real sacrifice:

I met him for the second time after we passed the gates of Auschwitz, after we passed the "shower." The ones who survived the shower, survived. And there I saw him, surrounded by a small group of Jews preaching again. He preached to them—and I tell you about him so this dear Jew will not be forgotten. He arrived in Auschwitz with his beautiful daughter and his grandson. The Germans wanted to take his daughter to the house of ill fame. They gave the child to another woman. The rabbi was not afraid; he understood what the Germans were about to do. He gathered his daughter and grandson and brought them to the section of the camp where people were sent to die, and both were burned. In his speech there he said: "It is better that I sacrifice my daughter than let her be a prostitute for the Germans."

And Yaakov repeated, "This story should not be forgotten. This Jew did not survive. I inquired and found out that he died in a labor camp in Jaworzno. Things like that happened to the Jewish people. These things are so significant in the Jewish mind. I do not know if I expressed it well enough, I do not know if you in your work will be able to transmit the depth of that. This was one of the manifestations of this sacrifice I am talking about."

Sacrifice is a prominent theme in Jewish life. The sacrifice of the beloved son by his father is well known from the story of Abraham and Isaac. But the question of where God was remains unanswered.

Yaakov received a Jewish education before the war. Later, in the

ghetto, he was a member of the Zionist organization Gordonya for a short time. In Israel he lived as a secular Jew, like most of the survivors who grew up in this youth organization. Several years ago, however, after his daughter converted to orthodoxy, he changed his life drastically and became a religious Jew, living according to the principles of Jewish law. It may be that the "theme" (as he calls it) of sacrifice became more significant to him as he delved into his own religion. He spoke about sacrifice in a special way that was almost biblical, full of piety and respect.

He continued with a second narrative, "maybe parallel to the previous one, but of another character," to demonstrate the nature of sacrifice. This story took place in a labor camp:

We were several men from Lodz in one camp, called Gleiwitz Four. One day we came back from work and we were all searched. The Germans were looking for an electric wire. Someone pulled out the electric wire from the bathroom with the lamp. The Germans wanted to know who took the wire and why. One thought that someone had stolen it to hold up his trousers which were too large. So, therefore we all were searched. But they could not find the wire. So the Germans explained that as a punishment we would be forced to do sit-ups for hours after work—an awful punishment. So one of the Jews volunteered to say, "I did it. Instead of the torture of all of us, I will go." And he was about to. He was in the third row back, and the Jews in the second row stopped him. One said, "If you went without explaining, we would have let you go, but since you said you are going in order to save us, we will not let you go. What will be with us will be with you." So he stayed and we were all punished. We did the sit-ups and when we became exhausted the Germans took the lash to us. It was terrible. Then someone said in Yiddish, "We shall overcome it." And after him everyone repeated, "We shall all overcome it." This went on for several days. We worked, and then were punished. Then, one day one of the other Germans found out what was going on with us. He said, "These Jews did not pull the electric wire, I did. The enemy was bombing from the air, and I did not want our camp observed, so I removed the power wire. I forgot to report it when I went on vacation." The German did not report and we were punished.

This is the story, but Yaakov explains the point: "The point is not the punishment and not the event, but the spirit of the individual who could make the sacrifice. And the spirit of the others who did not want to sacrifice him in order to survive. This is even a greater sacrifice. To receive a sacrifice is even easier than to do it. To make a sacrifice, to refuse a sacrifice, this is the important point I wanted to tell you about."

In this story sacrifice is associated with heroism, the two central themes Yaakov wants to remember and transmit.

Heroism

Yaakov Rotenberg mentions heroism as manifested in a street singer whose name he does not recall. A short Jew who went from street corner to street corner singing revolutionary songs, the man would stand on a stool, raise his right fist, and sing out, "One must fight." Yaakov explained, "The song is not important. The important thing is the expression in the hand movement." (Cf. song 5.)

The call for revolt in the ghetto, the actions people took in public, are for Yaakov heroic acts. The songs he recalls are a representation of the common destiny of the Jews. Yaakov does not talk about himself and his life. He talks about "us," the Jews, and "them," the Germans, the Poles, and other groups. He recalls songs which were in the public domain, such as street songs and theater songs.

He explains that he remembered his repertoire of street and theater songs because he was a young boy at the time:

I was wandering around the ghetto. At the beginning of the ghetto I did not work and fortunately enough I did not go to school. When I came to register for school I saw a big line and I said I would come tomorrow. All the children who registered went with the first transports to their death. The next day, they did not open the registration. So I was without a job, without school, and without friends and people to keep me company. A human being always strives for something. So I found the songs. A song is also something. It is a relaxing drug for people. It was something like that for me. At that time I did not understand the significance of these songs. Now I do; when one listens to a song he escapes from everyday life, he escapes from his despair.

This is Yaakov's personal psychological explanation. His other explanation is both textual and contextual: "These songs reflected the everyday reality. They served in place of newspapers, radios, and other forms of entertainment." A song had to be based on everyday life to attract attention, because singers live on the mercy and pockets of their audience.

When the ghetto was sealed, Yaakov's father went to work as a janitor for his portion of bread. After his father died, Yaakov's mother requested the job, which she obtained. Yaakov, seeing her difficulties, asked to be transferred from his job in the coal storage department to this department of ghetto maintenance. Thus he worked for himself, for his mother, and also for others cleaning houses and streets.

One of the people he helped was a theater makeup artist. As a result of their relationship, this man would take him to the theater. He used to carry his makeup case and would enter the theater from backstage. "The theater was a different world. A world of actors and actresses, all singing, humming, constant motion. And I was in the middle of this action. So I saw some theater shows."

Yaakov was attracted to people from whom he could learn something. That is how he became friends with Yelin, the makeup artist, and with Rachmil Bryks, the writer. The latter, lonely and suffering from the cold, used to sit in the area Yaakov had to clean. So Yaakov would bring him some hot water, and make him a special kind of ghetto coffee. From Bryks, Yaakov learned about writing.

As a natural-born leader, Yaakov felt the need to speak in defense of Rumkowski. He thought that Rumkowski organized the ghetto in a very efficient way and honestly tried to help the Jews of Lodz. He attempted to be fair. Unfortunately, it took the Russians four to five extra months to reach Lodz (because of difficulties in liberating Warsaw), a delay which allowed the Germans to deport sixty to seventy thousand Jews to the death camps. If the Russians had arrived earlier, these Jews could have been saved and Rumkowski would have been their savior. Yaakov concludes, "One should not judge him in a superficial way, not judge him quickly without knowing the facts."

He also told me that there were two other groups of people whom we must remember: the German Jews, and the Gypsies.

The German Jews could not adjust to the ghetto conditions and almost all of them perished. Yaakov describes their tragedy with pain: "I have no words to tell you how they disappeared. They came from a completely different life. Their dignity and self-esteem were so low when they arrived. They found themselves humiliated and unable to adjust psychologically, not like the Polish Jews who were used to bad conditions all the time in Poland. As a young boy, watching these people suffer left a strong pain in me, I can't even talk about it; I've never talked about it before." Yet, this trauma reminded him of a song describing the tragedy of the *Yekes* (Yiddish name for German Jews): "S'geyt a yeke" (It's a Yeke walks around) (see song 14).

The other group is the Gypsies, who had a special quarter in the ghetto: "They were completely isolated, and they were killed very fast. They were killed like dogs. Many musical instruments were found among their belongings when taken away. They were very intelligent, maybe they were diplomats? During some months they deported every single one, and there was no memory of this horror."²

Yaakov's life story is not complete. However, this trauma, expressed in his testimony and the songs he remembered and collected, helps us to understand the repertoire of songs in the Lodz ghetto. At the present time Yaakov has turned to writing poems of his own in Hebrew.

The Street Songs

Yaakov Rotenberg's interpretation provides the key to the reconstruction of the original context of his songs. In each one, the text, transcribed into Latin characters, follows the pronunciation of the informants in their special Lodz dialect, as in the "hit song" discussed earlier.³ Yaakov always sings the refrain before the verse and that is how I introduce the songs.

The title of each song is taken from the first line that the subject sings (which is the first line of the refrain, as in "Rumkowski Chaim"). When Yaakov supplies an additional title to a song, I include it in brackets under the first title.

In addition, I append verses and songs from other sources. An English translation is given for the transcription of the text. The translation does not imitate the rhyme scheme of the poetry, but follows closely the meaning of the text.

Song 2

Es iz a klug (It Is Our Grief)
[Der feter leml] [Uncle Leml]

Refrain (1)



Es iz a klug, Es helft nisht kayn ge-shray,



Nor mi-er lo-dzer, Ze-nen di ka-pu-re!



Es iz a-zayn ge-bot, Der klig-ster blaybt haynt a id-iot.

Fine

Verse



Ikh hob a fe-ter hayst er le-ml, Er iz ke-rov-nik bay di strasz.

Fr rirt zikh pinkt zo vi a ke - ml; - A fa-yer lesht er mit a flash.

Refrain (2) to Refrain (1)

Es iz a klug, Es iz tsi indz a tsu - re.

Refren:

Es iz a klug,
 Es iz tsi indz a tsure!
 Es iz a klug,
 Es helft nisht kayn geshray!
 Nor mier lodzer,
 Zenen di kapure!
 Es iz azayn gebot:
 Der kligster blaybt haynt a idiot.

Verse:

Ikh hob a feter hayst er leml,
 Er iz kerovnik bay di *straz*.
 Er rirt zikh pinkt zo vi a keml;
 A fayer lesht er mit a flash.

Refren:

Es iz a klug . . .

Refrain:

It is our grief,
 It is our problem!
 It is our grief,
 It won't help to complain!
 But we Lodzers
 Are being sacrificed!
 It is a sort of commandment:
 The wise man stays an idiot.

Verse:

I have an uncle, his name is Leml,
 He is the head of the Fire Department.
 He moves as swiftly as a camel;
 He puts out fires with a bottle.

Refrain:

It is our grief . . .

The song is a commentary on the "protection pill" system of Rumkowski (favoritism), who appointed his favorites for the pre-

ferred positions held in the ghetto. In doing that, of course, he did not consider the relevant qualifications but rather the relationship according to his "understanding."

This song was sung toward the end of 1940 and was remembered by many survivors because of its satirical but realistic description of "Uncle Leml." "Uncle Leml" rhymes in another version with "Kuni Leml," one of the stock characters from the Yiddish theater, from the play *Kuni Leml* (1870) by Goldfadn.

Frenkiel (1986b:48) includes a second verse which presents the same idea with another example of the system of "favoritism":

A komisar ken ikh zayer a kliger.
 Ikh gay mit aykh a gevet:
 Az onfirn ken er nor mit flign,
 Dertsu iz er an analfabet.

I know a clever Komisar.
 I'll make with you a bet:
 That only flies would follow him,
 Besides which he's illiterate.

Following the publication of his article (1986b), Frenkiel claimed in a meeting with me that this song was not composed by Yankele Hershkowitz but by the theater writer Shimeon Janowski. It may have been that the song was first introduced in the theater and was later sung in the streets, a common "way" for popular tunes.

The melody, in a minor key, reminds the listener of the internationally popular tango due to its rhythmic pattern in which all beats are sharply accented and occasionally interrupted by sudden pauses or emphatically syncopated passages. The tango remained popular throughout the twentieth century, and its popularity was probably the reason for its use in this context.

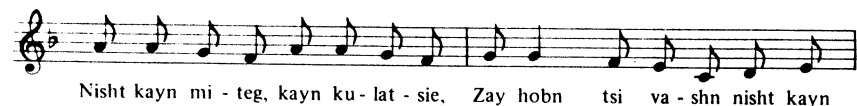
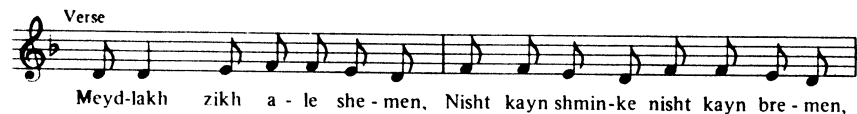
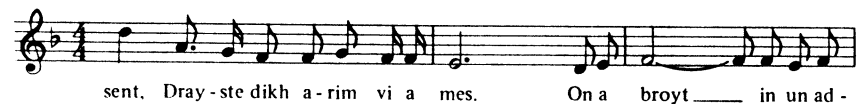
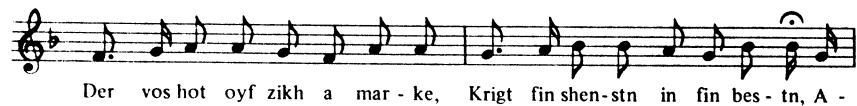
Song 3

Geto, getunya (Ghetto, Oh Little Ghetto)

Refrain

Ge - to, ge-tun - ya, ge - to-khna, ko-kha - na, Tish ta-ka ma-lut - ka

e ta - ka shub - ra - na, Der vos hot a hant a shtar - ke.

*Refren:*

Geto, getunya, getokhna, kokhana,
Tish taka malutka e taka shubrana,
Der vos hot a hant a shtarke,
Der vos hot oyf zikh a marke,
Krigt fin shenstn in fin bestn,
Afile a postn oykh dem gres-tn.
Ven di bist inteligent,

On a sent,
Drayste dikh arim vi a mes.
On a broyt in un adres,
In di zingst oyf terkish zikh,
Oy es (yes).

Verse 1:

Meydlakh zikh ale shemen,
Nisht kayn shminke nisht kayn bremen,
Nisht kayn tabarin nisht kayn fayf,
Nisht ruz kayn andulatsie,
Nisht kayn miteg, kayn kulatsie,
Zay hobn tsi vashn nisht kayn zayf.
Nor pzimartovyene zayt nisht tsitsi pulkes.
In ale zingt mit meye dem refrayn:
Oy, oy, oy.

Refren: Geto, getunya . . .

Verse 2:

Nisht zorgn in nisht kleyrn,
S'vet bay indz git nokh veyrn,
S'vet dekh kartofl oykh du zayn.
Men iz shoyn korev meykakh,
Yom tov vet men esn leykekh,
Trinkn fin gropn karmel vayn,
Nor pzimartovyene zayt nisht tsitsi pulkes.
In ale zingt mit meye dem refrayn:
Oy, oy, oy.

Refren: Geto, getunya . . .

Refrain:

Ghetto, oh little ghetto, oh ghetto my love,
You are so small and so poor,
Everyone who has a strong hand,
Everyone who wears the mark,
Gets the best of everything,
He also gets a job—the best.
However, if you are intelligent,
Without a cent,
You will walk around like the dead.
With no bread and no address,
And you will sing to yourself in Turkish,
Oy, eat! (Oh yes).

Verse 1:

The girls are all ashamed,
They've got no makeup, got no eyeliner,
No bed, no whistling,

No rouge, no permanent-wave hair,
 No lunch, no dinner,
 They have not got soap to wash themselves.
 Just do not be cheap women.
 So everyone sing with me the refrain:
 Oy, oy, oy

Refrain: Ghetto, oh little ghetto . . .

Verse 2:

Do not worry and don't fret,
 Someday things will be good for us here,
 We will soon eat potatoes here.
 The time will come, soon,
 We will eat cake on holidays,
 We will drink Carmel wine,
 Just do not be cheap women.
 So everyone sing with me the refrain:
 Oy, oy, oy

Refrain: Ghetto, oh little ghetto . . .

This song, composed and sung by Yankele Hershkowitz, is a commentary on events that took place in the ghetto during late summer 1940.⁴ The burdens of distress and lack of work caused the ghetto inhabitants to protest against Rumkowski, and they held demonstrations. Rumkowski, whose life was threatened, decided to establish a Jewish police for personal protection, the *Sonderkommando*, which was detailed for internal affairs. To this special police section he appointed all the physically strong men he could find in the ghetto.

Full of irony, the song begins with the refrain as a love song for a woman. The small, weak woman, however, symbolizes the ghetto inhabitants, while the strong men are the *Sonderkommando*; they are there not really to keep the women alive but to keep themselves alive, strong, and happy. The strong man gets "the best of everything, he also gets a job—the best," while the "poor, intelligent" man "walks around like the dead."

And what is left for the inhabitants? Singing. In every language they are singing that they want to eat. In one version I recorded, the informant (Itka Slodowsky) substituted "Oy yes" for "Oy es."⁵ Noting the bilingual pun, she explained that it was proof the audience was sophisticated and expected to comprehend such wordplay.

In this song the whole situation is described in negative terms. The verse uses a number of ghetto slang words, such as *kolacja* (Yidd.: *kulatsie*), a Polish word for "dinner"; in this context it refers

to a meal given as a prize to the good workers once in fourteen days at the public kitchens (Dobroszycki 1984: 510).

The second verse has a different ending in Frenkiel (1986b: 47) and in *Min Hametsar* (Blumental 1951: 132–33), which was probably forgotten by Rotenberg and even Slodowsky; they therefore repeat the same ending as the first verse. I should mention that Rotenberg and Slodowsky met to "complete" the fragments for each other.

Frenkiel's versions are very helpful in explaining some of the text's "illogical" content. In Frenkiel's essay and in *Min Hametsar*, the last two lines of the verse bring back the "favoritism" idea of Rumkowski's specially appointed henchmen:

Der vos hot vet esn dubeltove,
 Un der vos nisht—
 Vet grizsen a bayn.

The one who has will eat double portions,
 And the one who has not—
 Will chew on a bone.

The beginning of the verse sounds optimistic. To paraphrase, "we will soon eat potatoes, . . . cakes, . . . we shall drink Carmel wine." For the singer, however, these are only past memories and hopes for the future, while for Rumkowski's favorites these benefits constitute the present.

Min Hametsar (Blumental 1951: 132–33) has a third verse to the song, in which the inhabitants are called upon to produce new babies so they can get more money to buy the food rations. The underlying implication is, of course, that it is foolhardy to do that.

The melody of this song is probably of Jewish origin. It is reminiscent of a Jewish cumulative song such as "A Geneyve" (Rubin 1985: 10). Humorous songs of this type are common in Yiddish folk tradition. "A Geneyve" and "Geto getunya's" verses are based on short melodic motives in sequences to which one could add ever-increasing numbers of sequences according to the lyrics.

Song 4

S'iz kaydankes kaytn (It's Shackles and Chains)

Refrain

S'iz kaydan - kes kay - tn, S'iz gi - te tsay - tn.

Yaakov Rotenberg calls the song "Amerike hot erkleret" (America has declared) "a song of prophecy." The refrain brings comfort and hope and instructs the Jews not to be anxious since, God willing, all Jews will go to *Eretz-Yisrael*, the promised land.

The song introduces the political issue of establishing a Jewish state, as it was stated in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. The song declares that America put pressure on Britain to grant Palestine to the Jews; as a result, the Jews who were already there rejoiced in the streets when the agreement was signed—a fact which historically came about in 1947 with the United Nations' Partition Resolution.

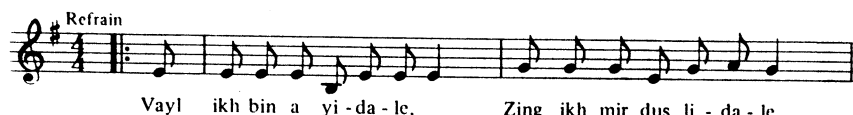
The second verse suggests with some pride the need for a Jewish army in an independent Israel, a pleasant fantasy considering the ghetto audience's total impotence in the face of their current enemies. *Min Hametsar* (in Blumental 1951: 140–42) continues a longer version of this song with an additional issue: Rumkowski's "favoritism," mentioned above in other songs.

The melody of "Nor zorget nisht yidn" is in a major key and a marching rhythm. My informant performs the refrain-verse of this number in the structural sequence of A B A B' A. As mentioned before (see discussion of song 5), the original melody comes from David Beyglman's song "Ganovim lid" (Thieves' song), probably a Yiddish theater prewar hit that made its way to the ghetto's street "cabaret."

Song 11

Vayl ikh bin a yidale (Because I Am a Jew)

Refrain




Vayl ikh bin a yi-da-le, Zing ikh mir dus li-da-le,

Fine

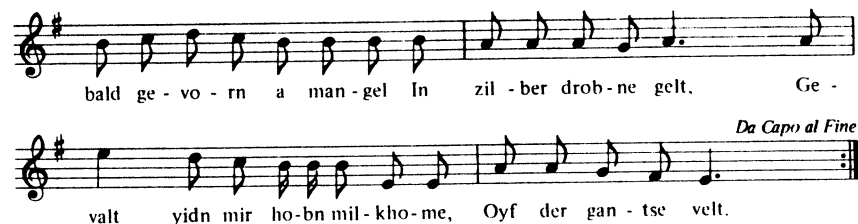


Vayl ikh bin a yi-d, Zing ikh mir dos lid.

Verse



Mil-kho-me hot en-fan-gn, Nisht gehat kayn shtik ko-la-tsie, Yi-delekh ho-bn un-ge-hoy-bn mit di shpe-ku-lat-sie. S'iz



bald ge-vo-rn a man-gel In zil-ber drob-ne gelt, Ge-valt yidn mir ho-bn mil-kho-me, Oyf der gan-tse velt.

Da Capo al Fine

Refren:

Vayl ikh bin a yidale,
Zing ikh mir dus lidale,
Vayl ikh bin a yid,
Zing ikh mir dos lid.

Verse 1:

Milkhome hot enfangen,
Nisht gehat kayn shtik kolatsie,
Yidelekh hobn ungehoybn
Mit di shpekulatsie.
S'iz bald gevorn a mangel
In zilber drobne gelt,
Gevalt yidn mir hobn milkhome
Oyf der gantse velt.

Refren:

Vayl ikh bin a yidale . . .

Verse 2:

Nishtu a mentsh oyf der velt
Vus vaynt nisht oyf dem khurbn.
Mayn shvester's a froyndine iz oykh gefaln a korbn,
Ikh zey dos bild bay mayne oygn:
Der himl veyet royt,
Sha! a shrapnel iz gefloygn
Trakh dos meydl toyt.

Refren:

Vayl ikh bin a yidale . . .

Verse 3:

Ayner falt fin biksn shos,
Der tsvayter fin shrapneln.
Yetst zeyn di mentshn vi es vert fin a gvir a tel.
Es geyt a yid a fabrikant
Mit a grobn boyekh.
Trakh! a bombe iz gefaln;
Oys fabrikant bloyz royekh.

Refren:

Vayl ikh bin a yidale . . .

Refrain:

Because I am a Jew,
I sing a little song,
Because I am a Jew,
I sing a song.

Verse 1:

When the war started,
We didn't have any dinner,
So Jews started with the speculation.
Immediately there was a shortage
In silver small change,
For heaven's sake: we have a war
Over the entire world.

Refrain:

Because I am a Jew . . .

Verse 2:

There is no one in the world
Who doesn't cry about the destruction.
My sister's friend also became a victim;
I still see the picture before my eyes:
The sky becomes red,
Sha! a shrapnel flew,
Struck the girl dead.

Refrain:

Because I am a Jew . . .

Verse 3:

One is killed by bullets,
The second is killed by shrapnel.
Now people realize how the rich become ruined.
There goes a Jew—a manufacturer
With a great belly.
Crash! A bomb fell,
No more manufacturer, just smoke.

Refrain:

Because I am a Jew . . .

The song was sung to me by Yaakov Rotenberg, and later by Itka Slodowsky, but neither could recall who sang it in the ghetto, nor when they first learned it. Later on, Rotenberg claimed that the song describes the events of the beginning of World War II: "This is what happened on the way to Warsaw. The Germans bombed the roads

from the air to clear out the way for the marching German troops approaching Warsaw. Thus, many innocent people were killed on these highways."

Itka Slodowsky attributed the song to Yankele Hershkowitz, but Frenkiel, in his article on Hershkowitz's songs (1986b), makes no mention of this particular composition. This may be because the lyric is from an earlier period, most likely World War I.

The refrain is an ironic commentary on the question "Why do they sing?" The answer follows: "Because I am a Jew." The statement is developed by contrast, each verse reflecting on the innocent refrain, which in turn becomes less innocent and more ironic as the song progresses.

The first verse describes a war which caused all sorts of "speculation" on the part of the Jews. "Gevald" [for heaven's sake], they all cry, "we have a war all over the world."

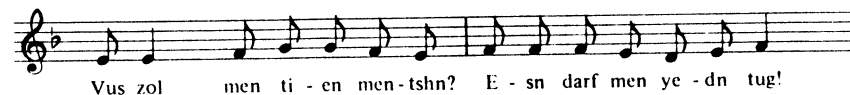
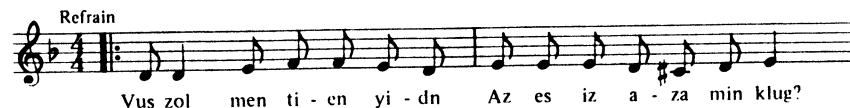
The second verse stresses the results of the war for the Jews and refers to their common heritage as a source of comfort. Every Jew must mourn and remember the destruction (*khurban*) of the Temples in Jerusalem. And yet this was not the end of the destruction; more and more victims fell. The verse provides the example of a young girl struck down in the street by flying shrapnel. And yet, although all this is happening, "because I am a Jew I sing a little song." There are no more words to describe catastrophe, no more words to cry out, and therefore I sing! The singer must keep on singing, and the audience must follow his tune.

The third verse concludes with the moral: shrapnel and bombs can hit and kill anyone, rich or poor, fat or thin.

The melody is a "catchy" one (in a minor key) probably of Yiddish folk or theatrical origin. Its short, repetitive motives and the repetition of the symmetrical short refrain make the song easy to remember.

Song 12

Vus zol men tien yidn? (What Shall We Do, Jews?)



Other Contexts for Singing: The Theater, the Youth Organization, and the Workplace

Through Yaakov Rotenberg we can understand the context of street performance, and through Miriam Harel that of domestic entertainment. Yet they also recall songs that, though sung in the ghetto, were not composed there. This chapter presents a variety of other song styles, defined as genres according to their context of performance.

Pinchas Shaar (Schwartz) will introduce us to the ghetto theater. Born in Lodz in 1920, he now resides in New York City, making his living as an artist: "I can't do anything else, so I paint."¹ Pinchas has been painting since he was five years old and served in the ghetto as the "official" theater painter and set decorator.

The Theater

Pinchas's Story

Pinchas, it seemed, did not really want to be interviewed. His answers to my questions were as brief as could be. He was not convinced that I had chosen the right man to interview. Although he speaks fluent Yiddish, Polish, French, and English, he preferred to converse with me in Hebrew as a sign of respect for my native language.

In the living room of his Manhattan apartment, surrounded by his books and original works of art, he opened the conversation by asking, "Why are you interested in me?" I explained that I was interested in survivors who were sensitive to art and who took part in artistic productions in the Lodz ghetto. He then admitted that he had not only seen all the theater shows, but that he had created their set decorations and participated in the artistic committees.

He became annoyed when I asked him, "What happened in 1942 when the theater was closed down?" He responded:

For you, the theater is a central issue. But in real life, the theater was a side issue. Most of the people in the ghetto did not even know it existed. Like today, you will find people who are not interested in theater. Ask some people what's going on on Broadway tonight and they would not know. Because only a certain type of person is interested in theater. In the ghetto, some people attended the theater in an organized way, as they received tickets through their working places. For them it was an unexpected entertainment. But not everyone got tickets. So, asking what happened in the ghetto when the theater was closed down is like asking what will happen in New York City if I drop the cup of tea that I am drinking now. When they closed down the theater, it had no impact whatsoever on the life in the ghetto.

Although he enjoyed his work for the ghetto theater, Pinchas never considered artistic work a means of survival. He could not earn a living from his set designs since all theater work was voluntary, unpaid. His talented hands could not support him financially, but they helped him get through otherwise.

Describing his time in the ghetto, Pinchas remarked: "At the beginning there was a severe danger of typhus, so they took me to work for the health department drafting signposts illustrating how to fight the disease. I worked there for about three months. Then they organized the statistics department. I was the first one to work there under the supervision of Neftalin.² In this department I did the graphics for the ghetto's money, and other jobs. I was starving in this department, I was swollen from hunger. I stayed there until 1942."

It is not surprising that Pinchas's attitude toward art was ambivalent. He was talented, but his talent would not sustain him during the abnormal times of the ghetto. I asked him to continue his story, which even he admits is rather interesting: "I had a friend in school who was the son of Rumkowski's sister-in-law. He left Lodz in 1939, before the war. This woman used to be seen with Rumkowski on public occasions, since Rumkowski did not have a wife. [This was before Rumkowski's ghetto marriage on 27 December 1941; see Dobroszycki 1984: 101.] She was called 'the princess from Kent,' *ver hot zi gekent und ver vil zi kenem.*" He explained the joke:

Who knew her before, and who will know her after the war? Before the war I helped her son to draw the diagrams and drawings he needed for his studies in chemistry, physics, etc. So I used to come to their house. But I did not think she would remember me. One day I was walking in the ghetto's streets and she passed by, riding her *droszka* [cart]; she

recognized me. She said: "Pinek"—that's how they used to call me—"you look terrible. Call me in a day or two, and I will find a better job for you." Next day, I was sitting in the statistics department office, and I was called to the phone. With great respect, my fellow workers told me: "Mrs. Rumkowski is asking for you over the phone." And she told me that she'd gotten me a job in the food provisions department [Polish: *pro wizaceja*] of the bakery. I got that job and held it for almost one year. This saved not only me, but my whole family. I was there until 1943. Then I got even a more important job.

He started to tell me another story, but stopped suddenly, asking himself, "How should I begin?" Finally he found a way and opened with a question: "You know that the liquidation of the ghetto was done in parts? First they took the sick people, then the elderly, then single people. Before that, infants and children. I do not remember dates."

After this preamble he got around to the point of his story:

Many children were hidden. But in order to survive they had to go to work, and they were spread out over all the *Ressorts* [a ghetto slang word for the workshops]. It created a problem, because when the Germans came to inspect the workshops they could discover the children. The German head of the ghetto, Biebow, was interested in the ghetto's productiveness—he made a lot of money out of it. He would therefore invite German delegations up to the ghetto to show them the products the Jewish population made for them. So someone had a brilliant idea to create a central exhibit place where all the *Ressorts* would show off their products, and the German delegation would not have to inspect the whole ghetto. To create this place was my job. They gave a special house for that. I built showcases like you see nowadays in fashion and jewelry stores. All the time I had the feeling that the Germans would not let us out of the ghetto alive. I did not know yet about the gas chambers, but I was afraid that they would bomb us when they had no longer any need for us. So I decided to build a bunker. And how do you build a bunker? When you take dirt out it piles up. . . . The fact that we were building [the exhibition hall] there helped me to build this bunker without anyone discovering it. We built this bunker over a year and a half, all three brothers. And this bunker saved us.

Pinchas did not want to continue this story in detail, assuming that I had already heard it from his brother, whom I had interviewed earlier. He simply stated that he and his family hid in the bunker until they ran out of food. During the final days of the ghetto the authorities were searching for people to maintain it after the mass deportations of 1944. So the family worked in the ghetto and were finally taken off to a concentration camp. Pinchas noted, "But it was

not like Auschwitz, and there we survived and were liberated in Germany" (see Dobroszycki 1984: lxvi n. 168).

This, in brief, is Pinchas's story. The Holocaust does not figure as a theme in his art, but it is an undeniable part of his life experience. His ghetto art remains in the albums he illustrated for the ghetto's statistics department, and is stored in the archives of the YIVO Institute in New York. He has no words to define his painting style; he does not like to talk about it. His paintings, he feels, speak for him better than his words can.

Pinchas describes the nature of the Revue Theater:

It was a revue, containing ten to fifteen numbers. Eighty percent of the repertoire was prewar pieces which the theater director, Pulaver, remembered from his previous activity in the Ararat Theater. I did not know the pieces from before the war, so my set decorations had to be new. The texts and the music were from before the war. There were also two or three new sketches on ghetto life, topical. From time to time maybe they also had new musical pieces. The theater was not political, Yankele [Hershkowitz's] songs were much more political. The theater was more abstract, it was concerned with Yiddish literature, poetry, and Jewish folklore.

Pinchas did not feel like singing when I interviewed him. However, he commented on some theater songs I had recorded from other survivors. Most of the theatrical revue repertoire consisted of songs which could be adapted to the new situation: songs about hunger and oppression (part of Jewish life before World War II), and the "universal" song types, lullabies and love songs.

Song 26

Ver der ershter vet lakhn? (Who Will Laugh First?)

Text and music Mordechai Gebirtig

Allegretto

Kh'vel zi - kher av - rey - ml, der ersh - ter nisht la - khn Ikh

vet zikh, Megst vi nokh zikh vits - len _____ Kh'vel

ne - men in zi - nen mir tro - ye - ri - ke za - khn, Nu, meg - stu a -

fi - le mikh kits - len. Kh'vel ne - men in zi - nen mir
troye - ri - ke za - khn, Nu, meg - stu a - fi - le mikh
kits - len. Vest la - khn, ikh vet zikh, Vest shloy-me-le shoy'n
la - khn Ikh hob a mi - tl gor a voy - le zakh Megst
ho - bn zikh in zi - nen di tro - ye - rik - ste za - khn, Vet mu - zn zayn bay
dir der er - shter lakh. Megst dir der er - shter lakh.

Verse:

Kh'vel zikher, avreym,
Der ershter nisht lakhn
Ikh vet zikh,
Megst vi nokh zikh vitslen,
Kh'vel nemen in zinen
Mir troyerike zakhn,
Nu, megstu afile mikh kitslen.

Refren:

Vest lakhn, ikh vet zikh,
Vest shloymele, shoy'n lakhn
Ikh hob a mitl gor,
A voyle zakh—
Megst hobn zikh in zinen
Di troyerikste zakhn,
Vet muzn zayn bay dir der
Ershter lakh . . .

Letster Refren:

Vest lakhn, vest lakhn,
Aher gib shoy'n dos knepl,

Zeh, shloymele,
Vos hob ikh do far dir!
A zemele mit piter,
In heyring a fayn kepl,
Anu, zog shlomke,
Ver vet lakhn friyer?
—A zemele mit piter
Un hering a fayn kepl,
Kh'vel morgn vider
Vet'n zikh mit dir.

Verse:

You, Avreym, definitely
Won't be the first to laugh
I'll bet,
You can make jokes,
But I have in mind
Tragic things,
You can even tickle me.

Refrain:

You will laugh, I'll bet,
You, Shloymele, will laugh,
I will find the way,
A good way—
You could think
Of the most tragic things,
But you will have to crack
The first laugh . . .

Last Refrain:

You will laugh, you will laugh,
Hand me the button,
Look, Shloymele,
What I've got for you!
A roll with butter,
And a fine head of herring,
So, what do you say, Shlomke,
Who will laugh first?
—A roll with butter
And a fine head of herring,
I will once more tomorrow
Bet with you.

This song, which is presented only in part, is a duet composed by Mordechai Gebirtig (1877–1942), a popular Yiddish songwriter before the war who continued to write and compose in the Cracow ghetto.³

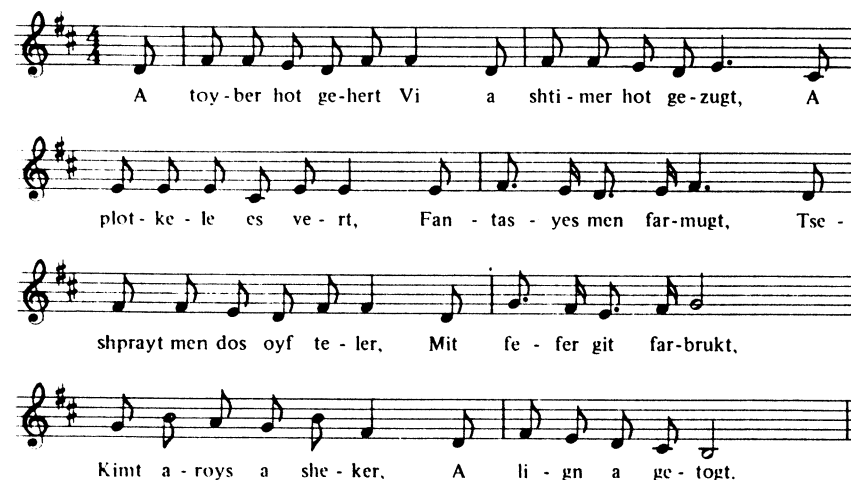
The song is a duet sung by two boys, Avreyml and Shloymele, who make a bet as to who can make the other laugh first. Shloymele asks: "How can I laugh when my father is sick and cannot find a job? How can I laugh when I am so hungry that the Rabbi hits me for not listening?" Avreymele tries to make him laugh by imitating the sounds of a cat and a dog. At last he shows the contents of his pocket: "A zemele mit piter" (A roll with butter), "In heyryng a fayn kepl'" (And a fine head of herring), and Shloymele starts to laugh.

Gebirtig probably never had a more perfect empathy with his audience—with the misery and the joy of two boys looking at a roll with butter and a herring head—than with the audience of the ghetto.

The song became a "hit of the ghetto theater" since it suited the new situation so well. With the exception of Pinchas Shaar, who knew that it was a song sung before the war and adapted to the ghetto theater, all of my informants believed the song to be an original ghetto composition. Indeed, most of the interviewees remembered with amusement the song on "A zemele mit piter."⁴

Song 27

A toyber hot gehert (A Deaf Man Heard)



A toy-ber hot ge-hert Vi a shti-mer hot ge-zugt, A
plot-ke-le es ve-rt, Fan-tas-yes men far-mugt, Tsc -
shprayt men dos oyf te-ler, Mit fe-fer git far-brukt,
Kimt a-roys a she-ker, A li-gn a ge-togt.

A toyber hot gehert
Vi a shtimer hot gezugt,
A plotkele es vert,
Fantasyes men farmugt,

Tsheshprayt men dos oyf teler,
Mit fefer git farbrukt,
Kimt aroys a sheker,
A lign a getogt.

A deaf man heard
What a dumb man said,
A rumor of a plot,
Feeds our fantasies,
Served up on fancy plates,
Spiced so very nice,
Makes a tasty lie,
A beautiful calculated lie.

This verse was sung to me by both Yaakov Rotenberg and Itka Slodowsky. However, they could not say for certain whether they first heard it sung in the streets or in the theater. Yehiel Frenkiel confirmed that the song had its origins in a theatrical sketch, where it was followed by another number, "I Am a Little 'Intellectual'" (see song 28, below).

The song "A toyber hot gehert" describes the process of inventing and spreading rumors in the ghetto. The one who hears a rumor is deaf, and the one who spreads it is dumb; as a result a new story is created, a fine story to feed the ghetto's need for fantasy. Indeed, besides fantasy, what was left? Rumkowski, the official source of information, permitted only the news he wanted known to circulate. Thus, rumors served as the most important discovery about present and future events. As Yosef Mulaz, who also recalled the song, described: "Every sentence you'd hear in the ghetto began with 'Have you heard what he was saying?'"⁵ Even the *Chronicle* devoted a column to what "People Are Saying." For officials, too, rumors were the main source of information in the ghetto.

Song 28

Ikh bin an inteligentl (I Am an "Intellectual")



Verse
Ikh bin an in-teli-gen-tl, Ikh es nisht mit dem hen-tl, Oyb ir vilt
a do-ku-men-tl, Tsayg ikh aykh dos bald, Ikh

fil mikh do *pos-voys-ku*, Ikh es kok-le - tn *koyn-ske*, Ba -
 go - sn mit *ko-loys-ke*, In ikh shray ge - valt!
 Refrain
 Oy, halt mir s'te - pl! S'te - pl halt mir! In di kar-to -
 fl. Oykh ba-shmalts mir! Vus toyg mir gli - kn, In
 di rayes shti - pn, Vus toyg mir zu - pn, O! zup, zup!

Verse 1:

Ikh bin an inteligentl,
 Ikh es nisht mit dem hentl,
 Oyb ir vilt a dokumentl,
 Tsayg ikh aykh dos bald.
 Ikh fil mikh do *posvoysku*,
 Ikh es kokletn *koynske*,
 Bagosn mit *koloyske*,
 In ikh shray gevalt!
 (oder: In ikh zing mir tsu.)

Refrain:

Oy, halt mir s'tepl!
 S'tepl halt mir!
 In di kartofl,
 Oykh bashmalts mir!
 Vus toyg mir glikn,
 In di rayes shtipn,
 Vus toyg mir zupn,
 O! zup, zup!

Verse 2:

Es tsit mikh shoyn shtark baym mugn,
 Di fis viln mir nisht trugn,
 Az es hengt a ratsie in di rayn
 Dan ver ikh shoyn gesind.

Di zup is haynt mit knokhn,
 S'iz yom tov in der vokhns.
 Men tut arayn ale tsores brekhn
 In men zingt azoy:

Refrain:

Halt mir s'tepl . . .

Verse 1:

I'm an intellectual,
 I won't eat with my hand,
 But if you want to see a document,
 I'll show you right away.
 I feel right at home here,
 Eating my horseflesh meatballs,
 Smothered with cologne,
 And yet I scream *gevalt!*
 (or: And I sing along.)

Refrain:

Oy, hold my bowl!
 Hold my bowl!
 As for the potatoes,
 Spread them all over!
 What luck I got,
 Getting shoved in the lines,
 What soup I got,
 Oh! soup, soup!

Verse 2:

My stomach is in agony,
 My feet will carry me no more,
 But if there's a food ration waiting
 Then I'm soon myself again.
 Today we have bone soup,
 We'll have our holiday this week.
 So put all our troubles away,
 And we sing just so:

Refrain:

Hold my bowl . . .⁶

Both Yaakov Rotenberg and Itka Slodowsky recall this song being performed in the Revue Theater. Yehiel Frenkiel, when recalling a slightly different version, confirmed it might have been included in one of the topical sketches.

The song describes the destiny of the "little intellectual," referring to the fate of every Jew in the ghetto, who daily faced pushing



Ghetto inhabitants at the soup kitchen. Zonabend Collection, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

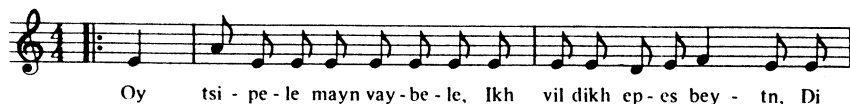
and shoving in long lines for the necessities of life. The song uses subtle irony and humor.

The term *inteligentl* (intellectual), perhaps better translated as the more colloquial "smartypants," is ripe with disparaging (or in this case self-disparaging) connotations. Better-educated, upper-class, or merely "fussy" types were commonly labeled with this designation, which thus served as a means of fixing the hierarchy within the ghetto.

The second verse conjures up a very realistic description of hunger on one hand, and lousy food on the other. Accordingly, when the soup is made of bare bones, it becomes a cause for celebration and singing.

Song 29

Tsip tsipele (Tsip Tsipele)



Verse 1:

Oy tsipele mayn vaybele,
Ikh vil dikh epes beytn,
Di zolst mir fin kileribn,
A kigele kneiytn.

Refren:

Tsip, tsipikl tsipi, tsipi, tsip . . .
Tsip, tsipikl tsip, tsip, tsip . . .

Verse 2:

Ikh hob genimen a kartofl
Un azoy lang geribn
Biz es iz fin ir nebekh
Gurnisht geblibn.

Refren:

Tsip, tsipikl . . .
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 3:

Pani vidzelske:
Ikh mayn nisht kayn gelekhter—
Abisele tifer,
Abisele gedekhter.

Refren:

Tsip, tsipikl . . .
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 4:

Pani vidzelske:
Bist grob vi a baleye,
Der prezes vet kimen
Vest di gayn tsi facalye.

Refren:

Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 5:

Pani vidzelske:
Far ayl in far flokn

Host di dikh gekoyft
A por zaydene zokn.

Refren:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 6:
Pani vidzelatske:
Host geganvet burekes,
Der prezes vet kimen
Vest du geyn tsi rozburkes!

Refren:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 1:
Oy Tsipele my wife,
I want to ask for something,
Please make for me from kohlrabi,
A tasty pic.

Refrain:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 2:
I took a nice potato
And grated it so long
Until, unfortunately,
The whole thing disappeared.

Refrain:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 3:
Madam Wydzielaczka:
I don't mean to make a joke—
Dip a little dipper,
A little thicker.

Refrain:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 4:
Madam Wydzielaczka:
You're fat like a washtub,
When the President gets here
He'll make you a gutter-sweeper.

Refrain:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 5:
Madam Wydzielaczka:
For oil and for oatmeal
You bought yourself
A pair of silk stockings.

Refrain:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

Verse 6:
Madam Wydzielaczka:
You've stolen some beets,
When the President gets here
He'll make you a building wrecker!

Refrain:
Tsip, tsipikl . . .

The song was sung by Itka Slodowsky and by Yehiel Frenkiel; parts of it are quoted in Rosenfarb's trilogy (1972, 3:23 and 76). Itka and Yehiel remembered it as part of the repertoire of the Revue Theater. "Tsip," or "Tsipi," or "Tsipikl" is the affectionate diminutive for Tsipora (literally and onomatopoeically, "bird"). It refers to an earlier song titled "Tsig tsigetsapl" by taking the first syllable of the word *tsig* [Yidd.: goat] and its nonsense variations.

This song is related to the *kuplet*, a comedic genre frequently encountered in the Yiddish musical theater (see Sandrow 1977:422 in Werb 1987:64). In this style, performers would "improvise" additional lyrics within a given theater song in order to insert humorous topical references. The *kuplet* can be traced to the Yiddish *bad-khonim*, entertainers who excelled in improvising topical verses at Jewish weddings and other occasions. The original *kuplet* titled "Tsig tsigetsapl" (Goat, little goat) is a humorous song about a goat which the Rabbi ordered to be brought to the ritual bath. The goat escaped, was caught, and then the Rabbi realized that the goat embodied an evil spirit. He ordered his followers to recite the *ha'gomel*. The song ends with admiration for the believers and a curse to the skeptical (Vinkovetzky 1985, 3:65–68).

The first and second verses depict the ghetto's food fantasies, with the singer's wife preparing a feast from the very humble ingredients available.

The third verse introduces a real individual, Pani Wydzielaczka, the soup server. The soup kitchens were established by Rumkowski to supply soup to the ghetto inhabitants. Obviously, those close to the pot got more to eat. The hungry others could only wait—and hope that someday Pani Wydzielaczka would be caught and pun-

ished for her many thefts. And as creative as the cook and the soup server must be to "get by" or "get away" with her thieving, so, too, could be Rumkowski, if he caught her.

The woman, Pani Wydzielaczka, fat, healthy, and well dressed, is entreated to dig her ladle deep so that something substantial might fall into the bowl of the lucky person. It should be noted that the Polish honorific "Pani" (Madam) is given sarcastically to the Jewish soup-server. No Polish women were employed in the ghetto.

Another source for this song cites a sarcastic version of this verse in which Pani Wydzielaczka answers the request and sings:

Ven kh'volt gehat,
Zol ekh azoy lebn,
Vi kh'vol enk ale gern gegeben!

If I had,
I swear to God,
I would willingly give you all!

Hunger, corruption, and hope for "judgment" are described in this theatrical ghetto *kuplet*. This is the only remnant of the *bad-khonim* tradition in a theater form known to me from the ghetto repertoire.

Song 30

Ver klapt dos azoy shpet bay nakht?
(Who Knocks Here So Late at Night?)

(Sie:)

Ver klapt du azoy shpet bay nakht?

(Er:)

Es klapt der geto hinger.
Efn, efn a provizatsyele,
Vet mir vern gringer.

(Sie:)

Vi ken ikh dir efenen?
Kh'hob moyre far dem altn.

(Er:)

Efn, efn a provizatsyele,
Ikh vel es git bahaltn.

(Sie:)

Ver klapt du shpet bay nakht?

(Er:)

Es klapt di geto laydn,
Dray yur in geto,
Yetst miz men zikh tsheshaydn.

(She:)

Who knocks out here so late at night?

(He:)

It is the ghetto's hunger.
Open, open the provision store,
That will make it easier.

(She:)

How can I open up that store?
For I fear "the Elder."

(He:)

Open, open the provision store,
I will hide it well.

(She:)

Who knocks out here so late at night?

(He:)

It is the ghetto's suffering,
Three years in the ghetto,
Now comes the time that we must part.

This song is a ghetto version of a Yiddish folksong of the same title included in several published collections (Cahan 1957:104–5; Beregovski 1982:327; Vinkovetzky 1983, 1:49–50).⁷ All these versions are textually similar. In Beregovski, it is a love song concerning a young man, Berele Kabantshik, and his beloved Brayndeale. Berele asks Brayndeale to open the door for him so that he might come in and visit her. However, she is afraid of being discovered by (in successive verses) her mother, father, brother, and sister, and sings: "Ikh hob moyre" (I am afraid of . . .), and all the implorings of Berele are in vain; her "entrance" remains "intact."

This song is perhaps the most "Freudian" of the ghetto repertoire. In it, the folksong's human cast is transformed into raw symbols of "lust" (hunger) and the source of frustration (the off-limits storehouse). The basic animal yearning for sex, transformed by social custom in the original, becomes the even more basic desire for food—aggravated by bureaucratic red tape and corruption. Interestingly, the maiden's over-protective family has been replaced in the ghetto by "Der Alte" Rumkowski.

My primary source for this song was a home recording made by Max Nurenberg (1892–1979) about ten years ago. Nurenberg wished the recording to be a remembrance for his family, and they passed it on to Cantor Samuel Kelemer of Los Angeles, who gave it to me. Among other items, Nurenberg sings a medley of three ghetto songs in Yiddish, the first being "Ver klapt dos azoy shpet bay nakht." Since I was not able to interview the singer, I cannot present details about when and how he learned his songs; however, their significance to his life is manifest in the fact that he chose to make them, in a sense, his testament.

Despair and helplessness are the underpinnings of "Ver klapt dos azoy shpet bay nakht." After "three years in the ghetto" the only desire is to escape, to be free again. Indeed, in the other two songs Max Nurenberg includes in his ghetto medley, he expresses the dream of escape, of beginning a new life. The second song opens with the lines:

Ikh fur avek shoyrn,
Ikh fur fin geto;
Di geyle late
Iz mayne tiketo.

I am already going away,
Going away from the ghetto;
The Yellow Badge
Is my ticket.

The final song expresses hope for the future:

A biner vayter (x3)
Vet shoyrn vern git,
A biner vayter,
Zing zhe mit mir mit!

On the next stage (x3)
It will be good,
On the next stage,
So let us sing together!

Again, my uncle, Yaakov Flam, provides a variant of the song, closer in spirit to the original folksong than Nurenberg's grim version. (See also the version quoted by Rosenfarb [1972, 2:348].) Yaakov Flam's version is as follows:

Ver klapt dos azoy shpet bay nakht?
(Who Knocks Here So Late at Night?)

The musical score is written in 3/4 time and consists of four staves. The first staff is the Verse, with lyrics: "Ver klapt dos a - zoy shpet bay-nakht? Yan-ke-le bu - lan - tchik." The second staff is the Refrain, with two endings. The first ending has lyrics: "E -fn, e - fn bron-tche - le, Ikh bin dokh dayn ko -". The second ending has lyrics: "khan - tchik, bin dokh dayn ko - khan - tchik." The third staff is Verse 2, with lyrics: "Vi - ken ikh di - r e - fe - nen? Kh'hob moy-re far dem al - tn." The fourth staff is labeled "To Refrain".

[Sie:]
Ver klapt dos azoy shpet bay nakht?

[Er:]
Yankele bulantchik,
Efn, efn, brontchele,
Ikh bin dokh dayn kokhantchik.

[Sie:]
Vi ken ikh dir efenen?
Kh'hob moyre far dem altn.

[Er:]
Efn, efn, brontchele,
M'vet zekh bayde bahaltn.

[Sie:]
Vi ken ikh dir efenen?
Kh'hob moyre far dem altn.

[Er:]
Efn, efn, brontchele,
M'vet makhn a git mismatn.

[She:]
Who knocks so late at night?

[He:]
Yankele Bulantchik,

Open, open, Brontchele,
I am your beloved.

[She:]

How can I open the door?
For I fear "the Eldest."

[He:]

Open, open, Brontchele,
We both will hide there.

[She:]

How can I open the door?
For I fear "the father."

[He:]

Open, open, Brontchele,
We will steal together.

For Flam, the song retained the resonance of a lovesong. He smiled as he elaborated on certain of its obscure points: "You see, Yankele Bulantchik wants to get to the *prowitzacea*, that's where they keep the food. And he wants his beauty Brontchele to help him get there." Flam's version is unquestionably less Freudian in its implications than Nurenberg's; however, he cautioned me that the word *mismatn* [a Polish-Yiddish slang term for "stealing"] is a naughty word.

Song 31

Makh tsi di eygelekh (Close Your Little Eyes)

Text: Isaiah Shpigl (1906–1990)

Music: David Beyglman (1887–1944)

Makh tsi di ey - ge - lek - h. Ot ki - men
 fey - ge - lek - h In kray - zn do a - rim
 Tsi - ko - pns fin dayn vig. Dos pe - kl

in der hant, Dos hoyz in ash in brand; Mir lo - zn
 zikh, mayn kind. — Zi - khn glik. —

Makh tsi di eygelekh,
Ot kimen feygelekh
In krayzn do arim
Tsikopns fin dayn vig.
Dos pekl in der hant,
Dos hoyz in ash in brand,
Mir lozn zikh, mayn kind,
Zikhn glik.

Di velt hot got farmakht,
In imetim iz nakht—
Zi vart af indz
Mit shoyder in mit shrek.
Mir shteyen beyde do,
In shverer, shverer sho
In veysn nit vihin
S'firt der veg.

Men hot indz naket, bloyz
Faryogt fin indzer hoyz.
In fintsternish,
Getribn indz in feld,
In shturem, hogl, vint
Hot indz bagleyt, mayn kind,
Bagleyt indz inem opgrint
Fin der velt.

Close your little eyes,
Soon little birds will fly
In circles everywhere,
Around your cradle.
Your bundle in your hand,
Your house in ash and sand,
We leave you, my child,
In search for luck.

God closed the world,
Everywhere is night—

She waits for us
With horror and with dread.
We both are standing here,
At this difficult time,
Not knowing where
Our road is leading.
Stripped naked,
We were thrown from our home.
In the dark of night,
Driven out into the open field,
The wind and hail and storm
Accompanied us, my child,
Accompanied us into
The depths of the earth.

This lullaby was written by Isaiah Shpigl, a writer-poet-essayist-teacher who survived the Lodz ghetto and Auschwitz.⁸ It was performed in the ghetto theater by the professional singer Ella Diamant. The song has been published in several collections,⁹ however only two survivors I interviewed, Lucille Eichengreen and Miriam Harel, were able to recall any part of it.

The lullaby is one of the most popular song genres of Yiddish folk and theater music. The performance of lullabies had been a tradition in the Yiddish theater from its inception under Goldadn in the mid-nineteenth century. In a typical Jewish lullaby, the mother soothes the child to sleep with promises of pleasant times to come. The father is usually absent, off making money for the child's education; his return, however, is said to be imminent. Shpigl's composition turns this concept upside down: Father will never come home. The child lies down to sleep in an open field at the mercy of the elements, his parents' house having been burned to the ground.

Nature does not smile on this Jewish child; rather, the world is full of horror. God has brought night into the little boy's world. The third verse strengthens the horror: "In the dark of night, / Driven out into the open fields, / The wind and hail and storm / Accompanied us, my child, / Accompanied us into depths of the earth."

According to Lucille Eichengreen, Rumkowski was in attendance during one of the performances of this song. He felt that the song manifested a pessimistic point of view of his "kingdom" and instructed the poet, "Bay mir vest mer nisht zingen" (you will never sing for me again). The song was forbidden and Shpigl was threatened with deportation. After some negotiation, he was allowed to remain in the ghetto but was transferred to a different workshop.

The music is a rare form of musical hybrid, a tango-lullaby. Evidently tango melodies were so popular during this period that even tender lyrics could be set to them without seeming in the least incongruous.

Song 32

Nit kayn rozhinkes, nit kayn mandlen
(No More Raisins, No More Almonds)

Text: Isaiah Shpigl

Music: David Beyglman

The musical score is written on four staves. The first staff shows the melody for the first line of text: "Nit kayn ro-zhin-kes in nit kayn mand-len. Der". The second staff continues the melody for the second line: "ta-te iz nit ge-fon hand-len, Lyu-lin-ke, mayn". The third staff continues for the third line: "zun. Er hot far-lozt indz in a-vek." The fourth staff continues for the fourth line: "Vi di velt hot nor an ek, Lyu-lin-ke, mayn zun." The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

Nit kayn rozhinkes in nit kayn mandlen.

Der tate iz nit geforn handlen,

Lyulinke mayn zun,

Lyulinke mayn zun.

Er hot farlozt indz in avek,

Vi di velt hot nor an ek,

Lyulinke, mayn zun,

Lyulinke, mayn zun.

S'hrayen soves, s'voyen velf,

Got, derbarem zikh un helf,

Lyulinke mayn zun,

Lyulinke mayn zun.

Ergets shreyt er in er vakht,

Mandlen, rozhinkes a sakh,

Lyulinke mayn zun,

Lyulinke mayn zun.



Fintster di nakht,
 Vi koyln shvarts,
 Nor trakht in trakht,
 In s'klapt mayn harts:
 Mir tsiyayner, leybn vi keyner,
 Mir laydn noyt,
 Genug koyrn oyf broyt.

Refren:

Dzum, dzum, dzum . . .
 Mir flien arim vi di tchaykes.
 Dzum, dzum, dzum . . .
 Mir shpilm oyf di balalaykes.

Nit vi men tugt,
 Nit vi men nakht.
 Yeder zikh plogt,
 Not trakht in trakht:
 Mir tsiyayner leybn vi keyener,
 Mir laydn noyt,
 Genug koyrn oyf broyt.

Refren:

Dzum, dzum, dzum . . .

Dark is the night,
 Like black coal.
 I think and think,
 And my heart pounds:
 We Gypsies live like nobody else,
 We suffer pain,
 From lack of bread.

Refrain:

Dzum, dzum, dzum . . .
 We fly like seagulls.
 Dzum, dzum, dzum . . .
 We play the balalaikas.

Nowhere to stay,
 Nowhere to be.
 Everyone struggles,
 But I just think:
 We Gypsies live like nobody else,

We suffer pain,
 From lack of bread.

Refrain:

Dzum, dzum, dzum . . .

As with the previous number, this song was first published in Kaczerginsky's collection (and also appears in a more recent publication by Kalisch);¹¹ again, none of my informants recalled this particular ghetto song.

The song concerns the fate of the inmates of the Gypsy camp in Lodz, who were brought to the ghetto in 1941 and were liquidated soon thereafter. It describes the gypsies' attempts to combat suffering with singing and dancing. The tragedy of these gypsies elicited the sympathy of the Jewish inmates.¹²

The song imitates the "Gypsy manner," a style made popular by Liszt and his followers in the nineteenth century. It is set in a minor key (with augmented seventh), with a slow verse followed by a brisk, dancelike refrain. It is within the genre of "exotic" or "ethnic" songs of the Yiddish theater using Rumanian, Russian, and other tunes to introduce a "foreign exotic flavor."¹³

The Youth Organization

The recollections of two survivors, Leah Hochberg and Arieh Tal-Shir, best represent the songs and attitudes of members of the ghetto's various youth organizations. Both Leah and Arieh were members of Gordonya, a youth group named in honor of the progressive Zionist Socialist Aharon David Gordon (1856–1922). Although I interviewed members of other youth organizations, most of my survivors belonged to the Gordonya movement, which was very active in Lodz during the twenties and thirties; I have thus concentrated on songs from this group.

Leah Hochberg first joined the Gordonya Organization in 1937, becoming a member of the *Hakhsharah* (youth training camp) in the Lodz ghetto in 1940. Arieh Tishler (later Tal-Shir) was Leah's Gordonya counselor in the ghetto.¹⁴

Leah's Story

Leah, née Luća Boronshtein, was born in Alexandrow, Poland, in 1925, shortly before her family moved to Lodz. She completed her elementary education in a Polish school and, prior to the onset of hostilities, she also studied Hebrew. When the ghetto was sealed,

HANDBOOK *of* AMERICAN FOLKLORE

EDITED BY

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INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS • *Bloomington*

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Studying Immigrant and Ethnic Folklore

For over twenty thousand years people have migrated to what we know today as the United States. Although migration, culture contact, and awareness of cultural difference have shaped life here from the earliest times, it is only during the last hundred and fifty years that immigration to America reached its maximum size and diversity. With the arrival between 1820 and 1960 of almost fifty million people from all parts of the globe, the United States became "the principal beneficiary of the greatest folk-migration in human history."¹

FOLKLORE OF THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

During the period of mass migration (1880-1921), large American cities teemed with new arrivals, some of whom moved to small towns and rural areas. Each one has a story to tell, as do newly arrived immigrants today. There are tales about leaving: when a Jewish immigrant was about to depart, his father told him to write his name on a piece of paper and to throw it into the ocean from the ship, since no one in the New World would know who he was. And there are accounts of the voyage: a Romanian woman obtained the food that sustained her and her young child through the arduous trip by singing folksongs to homesick passengers in exchange for precious oranges. And there are anecdotes about encounters with immigration officials at ports of entry, especially at Ellis Island, where some twelve million steerage passengers were processed: a Jewish man from Russia, hoping to avoid trouble, had decided to abandon his name, Moyshe Stutshevski, and to announce himself as John Smith; when the immigration officer asked for his name, he blurted out in Yiddish, "*Shoyn fargesn*" (Just forgot), and was known thereafter as Shaun Ferguson. The first hours, days, weeks, months, and years were filled with new experiences, many of them traumatic, confusing, or embarrassing. These "first experiences" have given rise to hilarious anecdotes and jokes, in which a greenhorn eats a banana with the skin, or, proud of his knowledge that it is to be peeled, throws away that spongy pith and then eats the skin. Others cannot find a toilet and deposit their wastes in milk bottles, behind fences, and in other unseemly places.

These accounts are but one indication that the immigrant experience, which so often involves culture shock, generates its own culture and folklore. During periods

of massive immigration, communities of newcomers are formed and within them immigrant organizations arise—home-town societies, benevolent societies, cultural clubs, social service organizations. The activities of these organizations are worthy of study in their own right. Many of them sponsor choral groups, mandolin orchestras, dance troupes. They hold banquets featuring traditional foods and capped by folk comedians reeling off dialect jokes and other oral lore. Traditional singers may be invited to perform. In addition, immigrant neighborhoods support their own bakers, butchers, dairies, musicians, craftsmen, and other tradition bearers.

In many households and occupational settings, the creative energies of immigrant raconteurs are unleashed by the situation of multilingualism and multiculturalism, in which world views, cultures, and languages clash and undergo massive and rapid change. The protagonists of their stories are often bunglers, sometimes tricksters, who are considered to be without culture because they are between cultures. What they know from the Old Country they cannot use, and what they need in order to make it in America, they do not yet know. These tales are generally preoccupied with culture shock, name changing, linguistic and cultural unintelligibility, social blunders, poverty, and the eccentricities of immigrant characters. Narrators draw from the resources of their Old and New World cultures and languages and mediate between them—they may switch languages, imitate immigrant English, provide mock definitions of terms (in several Jewish jokes, a *mikve* [Yiddish: ritual bath] was glossed as an "overheated swimming pool" and whorehouse as "a place of reclining refreshments"). They also indulge in ethnographic detail in ways that reveal a preoccupation with cultural competence, contact, and change, as well as with the gaps between generations.

One important subject for study, then, is folklore generated during and about the immigrant experience itself. Studies might explore such questions as: does the folklore of immigration take special forms, exploit language in distinctive ways, display a preoccupation with particular themes? In what ways does immigration involve "a visible and striking transformation of the consciousness of the individual . . . a change, not merely in the content of experience, but in the individual's mental and spiritual adjustment to it?"² To what extent is immigrant culture a product of such transformations of consciousness and of "fresh contacts" of future generations with the culture of their immigrant forebears and with the culture of others who are American born? What is the role of stories about the immigrant experience in the repertoire of later generations of American-born raconteurs?

Immigrant families are heir to family sagas, often of epic proportions, born of these experiences. These sagas may be elicited as life histories from the foreign born and as family history from their children and grandchildren. The interviewer can prepare a checklist or field guide ahead of time, and toward the end of an interview or at another session, the interviewer can ask the immigrant or other members of his or her family to fill in gaps in the account. Family snapshot albums, home movies, letters, souvenirs, family heirlooms, and documents complement oral accounts and stimulate memories, which surface in such forms as personal narratives, memorates, legends, anecdotes, local character tales, songs, and nicknames. The following field guide³ suggests general topics that documentation of the immigrant experience might cover, topics around which folklore tends to form. The latter part of the guide will also prove useful for documenting the folklore of ethnicity.

1. *Life in the Old Country*—home town and community, everyday life, holidays and seasonal patterns.

2. *Historical circumstance in the Old Country*—wars, political conditions.

3. *Contact with the Old Country*—objects brought from home, correspondence with those left behind, visits home, relatives visiting the New World, impact of immigrants on their hometowns and on prospective emigrants.

4. *Conditions leading to decision to leave*—economic, political, personal.

5. *Preparations for departure*—farewells, liquidating assets, clearance for immigration, deciding what to bring.

6. *Voyage*—obtaining ticket, conditions on board.

7. *Arrival*—clearance through immigration officials.

8. *First impressions, encounters, and misadventures in strange environment*—food, lodging, clothing, language, name changing and misunderstandings, school, work, religious and cultural life, immigrant organizations.

9. *The first few years*—work, social life, establishing oneself in business, establishing a family, life in the immigrant community.

10. *Later developments*—dispersal of first area of immigrant settlement, changes in economic status, change of residence, lifestyle, attitudes, language loyalties, relations with compatriots and others, later generations and their life course.

11. *Cultural life*—role of church, immigrant organizations, immigrant entertainments, press, radio, and records; place of music, dance, festivals, and other folklore forms in immigrant life; family get-togethers and community events; formation of family clubs and other organizations.

Interviewers will always find willing subjects for their study of immigrant folklore in the elderly, for whom reminiscence is a life-sustaining activity. Life review has special relevance for foreign-born immigrants, particularly those who live into very advanced years. Such individuals may have moved from a town in Russia to the Lower East Side of New York to a big city in the Midwest, and, upon retiring, to California or Florida. Such a person may be the *only* remaining witness to a life lived in more than one place, in more than one culture, in more than one era. Reminiscence, which is part of the vital process of self-integration at the end of a very long life, can span almost a century in some cases, and can compensate for the partial and restricted experiences of later generations. As Mannheim has explained, "members of any one generation can participate only in a temporally limited section of the historical process, and it is therefore necessary continually to transmit the accumulated cultural heritage."⁴ With the rupture in cultural and communal continuity brought about by immigration, reminiscence becomes essential to personal as well as cultural survival, something the elderly know well. As one of Myerhoff's elderly subjects remarked: "If my life goes now, it means nothing. But if my life goes, with my memories, and all that is lost, that is something else to bear."⁵

THE FOLKLORE HERITAGE OF IMMIGRANTS

The culture that immigrants bring with them undergoes change and forms an important subject for study. Dorson has posed these questions:

What happens to the inherited traditions of European and Asiatic folk after they settle in the United States and learn a new language and new ways? How

much of the old lore is retained and transmitted to their children? What parts are sloughed off, what intrusions appear, what accommodation is made between Old Country beliefs and the American scene? These are the large questions that confront the assessor of immigrant folk traditions.⁶

Many smaller questions confront the researcher. Which Old World genres are most vulnerable to attrition in the New World context? Will fixed-phrase proverbs or songs in foreign languages undergo and survive translation? Do legends about a revenant in a church or a strange rock formation on the west coast of Ireland lose their relevance across the ocean? Does the hustle and bustle of American life crowd out the long and leisurely wonder tale, eliminate the time and patience for the slow-paced ballad? Do Old World folk beliefs and magical practices come into conflict with American ways and recede? Do regional differences rooted in the Old World disappear in the United States, so that one regional form prevails? For example, in the United States the potato *latke* (Yiddish: pancake) has driven out the buckwheat blini fried in goose fat and, to a lesser extent, the jam-filled fritter as the festive food for Hanukkah (Feast of Lights). Does a prestige form replace local traditions? For example, Italians in Philadelphia have adopted the funeral customs of the *patrone*, rather than of their peasant forebears. What are the channels of transmission and what impact (positive or negative) do mass media, ethnic press, ethnic recordings, and films have on the imported heritage? Are Old World forms retained while their functions change? People may continue to eat kosher food, for instance, but for sentimental rather than religious reasons. Are Old World folklore forms generally shortened and simplified? What conditions are conducive to the maintenance of Old World patterns—isolation in small towns and rural areas or life in the heart of the big city, where large immigrant enclaves can form and support a full array of cultural institutions and activities?

It would be worth examining highly successful examples of persistence in order to understand the processes at work. The Hasidic communities in New York City are excellent cases. A community and its culture are defined as much by what is rejected as by what is accepted, by what is discarded as by what is retained. In this light, "persistence" and "attrition" need not be viewed as passive acts, but as active decision-making that shapes cultural continuities and discontinuities.

The foreign-born elderly are essential to the study of the folklore heritage of immigrant communities, not only because of their vivid, almost century-long memories but also because of the distinctive ways they "recycle" their folklore heritage in the senior citizens' centers and retirement colonies of their last years. Cut off from their natal community and culture, the elderly devise ingenious and highly satisfying ways of "recycling" the culture of their childhood. In a senior citizens' center in California, the elderly draw creatively from the culture of their earlier years. Holidays are rescheduled to accommodate their personal safety—New Year's Eve may be celebrated during the day. Old rituals are adapted and new rituals created to deal with recurring and unique events in their lives; one member specified in his will that his birthday was to be celebrated in the center for a specified number of years after his death, which occurred during his birthday party at the center.⁷

A study of immigrant folklore might explore the relationship of loyalty to Old World traditions to stages in the life cycle. It would appear that in the case of the senior citizens' center studied by Myerhoff, interest in Old World traditions lapsed

during the middle years and resurfaced in new ways in the later years of foreign-born immigrants. In other cases, older people of any generation might be expected to know the old ways or to be able to perform certain genres, so that the apparent absence of certain types of folklore in the repertoires of the young and middle-aged may not reflect general attrition or change but rather a life-cycle pattern.

The folklore heritage of immigrant groups can be studied by observation as well as by interviewing. Excellent field guides, designed specifically for particular cultures, are listed by Reishstein.⁸ These guides are generally very detailed and specific to the culture in question and can be used to interview immigrants about what they remember of life in the Old Country as well as for observing the practices today. When supplemented by Herskovits's outline for the study of acculturation,⁹ these guides provide a useful framework for examining culture change. Good examples of observational studies include *The Two Rosetos* and *Number Our Days*.

THE FOLKLORE OF ETHNICITY

Memories of Old World experiences and the trauma of immigration may fade with the distance from the Old World, the passage of time, migrations within the United States, marriage with members of other communities, and entry into other spheres of American life. With possibly eight great-grandparents born in possibly eight different countries, a fourth-generation child will form and display cultural loyalties in ways that are complex, open to considerable choice, and worthy of study in their own right. Even those whose families show more consistency in terms of national origin have the experience of participating in and identifying with more than one community and more than one cultural sphere.

Just as people can and do acquire more than one language, so too do they acquire various degrees of competence in more than one cultural mode. This multilingual, multicultural competence increases the repertoires and alternatives available to individuals and their various communities. As a result, much *folklore of ethnicity* may also be characterized as syncretic or creolized, and would be productively studied in these terms. Ukrainian country music in Canada is a good example—country-western tunes are performed on the usual complement of instruments, but with the addition of the cymbalom (hammered dulcimer), and are set to Ukrainian lyrics.¹⁰

We might also view the folklore of ethnicity in terms of *multiple cultural repertoires* and *cultural code-switching*. Italian families who eat an American style *platter* (meat and vegetables) one night and Italian style *gravy* (sauce with pasta) the next on a regular basis may be said to engage in cultural code-switching.¹¹ Just as bilingual speakers may vary in their attitude toward keeping their languages discrete or allowing interpenetrations and code-switching, so too do the attitudes toward the use of the cultural repertoires vary. An interesting research problem would be to explore how people with multiple codes invoke these codes and alternate among them: when, to what end, and with what meanings and effects?

Indeed, a special feature of the folklore of ethnicity is a heightened awareness of cultural diversity and ambiguity, a well-developed capacity for reflexivity or self-reflection. The presence of cultural alternatives, which is, after all, at the heart of the immigrant/ethnic experience, "brings to consciousness . . . premises or assumptions hitherto in the main covert or implicit."¹² The experience of culture contact

throws aspects of each into high relief, creating what may be called the *cultural foregrounding* effect, as one inevitably compares one's own ways with those of others, noting similarities and differences. The issue is not the degree of cultural difference involved, objectively speaking, but the social significance attributed to any similarity or difference, however small.

The notion of cultural foregrounding is helpful as a framework for examining the many forms of ethnic display and ethnic pride, for rethinking "cultural persistence," which has overtones of passivity, in terms of a more active cultivation of tradition, and for thinking about many innovations, especially in the area of popular culture. The interesting research questions become, to what extent, how, and to what effect is folklore used to make cultural comparisons and to mark cultural distinctiveness? How is folklore used to define cultural differences, incongruities, and convergences? What are the nature and content of these "comparisons," of this "marking" or foregrounding?

The following anecdote is an example par excellence of the folklore of ethnicity, defined as cultural foregrounding:

The president of the United States was going for re-election. And they told him that he was going to lose the Jewish vote and Lyndon Johnson says, "Whadda you mean I'm gonna lose da Jewish vote? Wha?"

They says, "Because you're discriminating."

They says, "Have you ever had a Jewish astronaut?"

LBJ thought about it. He says, "No, we nevah have." Have I told you this? He says, "Well get me a Jewish astronaut," he says, "but don't get me one of these ringers. You go to the *yeshive* [an institution of higher talmudic learning; (in U.S.) Orthodox Jewish all-day school] in New York and you pick up a real genuayne Jewish astronaut."

So they get a guy in New York with the sombrero, and the ten gallon hat with the *peyes* [sidelocks] and the *gartl* [belt; esp. (Jew.) belt worn during prayer] and the *mantl* [coat] and they take him to Cape Kennedy and they give him a crash course on astronauting and he is ready to go up in the cone of the rocket and the commmander comes up and he says, "Astronaut Hymie Berkowits, Astronaut Hymie Berkowits. This is control tower. In honor of your faith we are going to take the count-down in Jewish. Remember?" So he goes, "Tsen, nayn, akht, sibn, and holding, zeks, fins, fir, dray, and holding, tsvey, eyns un avek [ten, nine, eight, seven, and holding, six, five, four, three, and holding, two, one and away]."

And away goes astronaut Hymie Berkowits into the clouds. And he's going for about five minutes and the control tower calls him and says, "Control tower to Astronaut Hymie Berkowits. Control tower to Astronaut Hymie Berkowits. Are you ready to push phase five to start operation twelve?"

"Oy I'll tell you da truth. I got no time."

So this goes on three, four times. Finally the general comes in to the control tower and he calls up and he says, "Astronaut Hymie Berkowits, this is control tower. General speaking. What is this business, we keep calling you and you keep saying you got no time? What's going on there?"

He says, "Vell you see General, it's like dis. I'm going around de vorld very very fast, around and around, from light to dark and from dark to light. In

between putting on de *tfiln* [phylacteries], taking off de *tfiln*, *minkhe*, *marev* [the Jewish afternoon prayer, the Jewish evening prayer] I got no time."¹³

Cultural foregrounding is accomplished here through code-switching (standard English, Texas English, astronaut English, immigrant English, Yiddish), the specification of traditional clothing, and the performance of daily rituals. The entire anecdote is designed to exploit the hilarious incongruities of secular American culture, as epitomized by space travel, and immigrant culture, as epitomized by an Orthodox Jewish man. The anecdote also has political implications and suggests ambivalence regarding affirmative action.

In addition to collecting such materials, which present cultural foregrounding so clearly, we can also observe how people display their culture to themselves, as they do in their homes and in their religious and communal organizations, for example. How is cultural foregrounding organized in public and multicultural settings—on the street, at work, in bars, at town festivals, in the mass media? To what is attention drawn and to what effect? What does it mean when peasant costumes are worn only when organized dance troupes perform on a stage or at a festival? Why are old-fashioned foods most likely to turn up at calendar-year, life-cycle, and other family and community celebrations? How do people choose which language to speak about what to whom, and what does their choice signify? (Since so much folklore is verbal, strategies of language choice are central to the study of immigrant and ethnic traditions.) To what extent can the opposite process be discerned—that is, the effort to deemphasize the awareness of cultural distinctiveness?

Seen in terms of these questions, the study of ethnic folklore, which may also be defined as folklore on and about cultural boundaries, requires a shift in perspective. Rather than looking for a bounded and named "group"—the Poles in Chicago or the Czechs in Texas—and studying the traditions of this group, we must look for settings, social occasions, and events in which boundary negotiation is an important activity. Consider, for example, how the Tricentenary was celebrated in Yankee City, the subject of a study by Lloyd Warner:

The symbols which dominated the historical rituals and pageant were those of the colonial period and the era of the American Revolution. . . . Despite the fact that they already comprised a significant element of the city's population, the ethnic groups were expected to choose themes from the colonial and revolutionary era for the historical pageant. . . . Even in 1976, during the Bicentennial celebration in one of the historic mill buildings in Lowell, Massachusetts, the majority of the participants from the community (who were of different ethnic origins) were wearing revolutionary era costume, though Lowell was founded in 1820 and symbolized the beginning of the new industrial order. Similarly, a recent follow-up study on Yankee City in the 1970s finds that the new owners of the Federalist houses in Newburyport are reconstructing the genealogies of these houses, rather than their own family histories.¹⁴

These examples suggest that ethnic identification is elective in given situations. We can exercise considerable choice in how we identify ourselves and in how we

connect ourselves to the past. How this choice is exercised is a key question for research into the folklore of ethnicity.

CONCLUSION

The three categories of folklore discussed here are really three perspectives that can be applied to *any* generation. Though the "folklore of the immigrant experience" refers specifically to the folklore generated during and about immigration, later generations may continue to narrate their family's immigrant saga. Though "the folklore heritage of immigrants" refers to the traditions of the Old Country, these traditions may continue to be practiced, or at least remembered, by later generations. And since all generations experience cultural boundaries, all of them create "folklore of ethnicity," which we have defined as folklore on and about cultural boundaries. But each generation stands in a different relation to the past and present, and therefore will yield different results when viewed in terms of these three perspectives.

Because of the intense presence of many cultural alternatives and the heightened awareness of cultural difference engendered by them, immigrant and ethnic folklore provide rich opportunities for exploring cultural creativity and innovation, processes that are at work everywhere.¹⁵

NOTES

1. Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 1.
2. Karl Mannheim, "The Problem of Generations," in *Essays In the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952), p. 293.
3. The guide is based upon Linda Dégh's unpublished "Fieldwork Guide for Collecting Ethnic Culture and Folklore."
4. Mannheim, p. 292.
5. Barbara Myerhoff, *Number Our Days* (New York: Dutton, 1978), p. 74.
6. Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 135-36.
7. Myerhoff, pp. 195-231.
8. Eleanor Fein Reishstein, "Bibliography on Questionnaires as a Folklife Fieldwork Technique," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 13 (1968): 45-69, 121-66, 219-32.
9. Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938; reprinted by Peter Smith, 1958).
10. Robert Klymasz, "Sounds You Never Before Heard," *Ethnomusicology* 16 (1972): 372-80.
11. Janet Theophano, work in progress.
12. F. M. Keesing, "Recreative Behavior and Culture Change," in *Men and Cultures*, ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), pp. 130-33.

13. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Culture Shock and Creativity: Code-Switching in Immigrant Humor," *Ashkenaz: Essays in Jewish Folklore and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).
14. Tamara Hareven, "The Search for Generational Memory: Tribal Rites in Industrial Society," *Daedalus* 107 (1978): 147.
15. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Culture Shock and Narrative Creativity," in *Folklore in the Modern World*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), pp. 109-22.

Folklore in the Modern World

Editor

RICHARD M. DORSON

MOUTON PUBLISHERS · THE HAGUE · PARIS
1978

Culture Shock and Narrative Creativity

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Folklorists have tended to view change negatively, whether it occurs on a small scale in the transmission of particular texts or on a large scale, such as when a community migrates or becomes urbanized.¹ As a result, they have often sought out conservative, tradition-oriented groups and have tended to view isolation from mass media and the modern world generally as a positive force for maintaining the stability and integrity of a community's folklore.² Even the conceptualizations of how folklore functions have assumed stable social situations as the norm, and folklorists have discussed the role of folklore in maintaining this stability.³ The more psychologically oriented folklorists, while recognizing that folklore tends to proliferate around points of stress in the life of the individual and the community, have not often taken up social change per se as a source of stress, which it almost invariably is, and, therefore, as a stimulus for the production of folklore. Given this preoccupation with the stability of society and the traditionality of folklore, it is not surprising that so few folklorists have studied change as a positive force, either with regard to the role folklore plays in implementing change or to the stimulus that sociocultural change provides not only for the persistence and revitalization, but also for the creation of folklore.⁴ Consistent with these trends, the immigrant groups in North America are generally studied in terms of

¹ Alan Dundes (1969) provides a discussion of such attitudes to change in terms of the more general devolutionary premise in folklore theory.

² For discussions of the controversies regarding the definition and characterization of "folk groups" and the conditions conducive to folklore's vigor, see Bauman (1971:31-41), Ben-Amos (1971:3-15), and Dorson (1970:185-228).

³ A suggestive exception is Wendy Reich (1971:233-244). Reich adopts a cross-cultural approach in her study of the role of folklore in revitalization movements, an interesting example of culture change in contemporary societies.

⁴ Important exceptions are Reich (1971:233-244), Dorson (1948:113-150; 1952; 1960:111-174), Oring (1973:358-366), and Klymasz (1970).

the folklore they lose in the process of settling down in the "golden land" and not in terms of what they gain.⁵ Nor is it surprising that the few studies of folkloristic creativity that have been made deal with relatively stable communities, whether it be epic singing in Serbia or narrative in the Bahamas (Lord 1960; Crowley 1966), rather than with communities in the midst of dramatic change.

CHANGE AND CREATIVITY IN THE STUDY OF JEWISH FOLKLORE

The study of Jewish folklore, both in Europe and North America, is no exception. Scholars have focused on the most conservative and tradition-oriented segments of the community — eastern European Jews rather than western European, and the Orthodox and Hasidic Jews rather than the Conservative, Reform or nonobservant (Weinreich and Weinreich 1959; Mintz 1968). Furthermore, even the folkloristic study of Old World Jewish communities, whether from near (Rappoport 1914) or far (Zborowski and Herzog 1962), has overestimated their insularity and stability and has perpetuated the romantic image of an "eternal and pan-East European *shtetl*." With the rare exception,⁶ diversity and change in these communities were not properly appreciated or investigated. Multiculturalism, multilingualism, and change were *not* new to the eastern European Jews who emigrated to North America. These were a constant in their homes in Europe, but with a difference. Jewish immigration from eastern Europe to North America entailed radical sociocultural change and considerable trauma when individuals, separated from their families and communities, suddenly found themselves in totally foreign surroundings. In Europe, they grew up and were gradually socialized into their multicultural and multilingual milieu. In North America, they were thrust as full-grown adults into a totally strange situation. Such situations, where change is rapid and traumatic, can and do generate a special culture and, as part of it, a special folklore, even though this culture may be relatively short-lived. An extreme example, and one certainly worthy of investigation, is the rich flowering of Jewish folklore in and about the concentration and displaced-persons camps during World War II (Blumenthal 1963:221–236; *Metodologiske* 1945).

Nonetheless, folkloristically and ethnographically oriented studies of Jewish communities, even in the New World where change is so obvious,

⁵ Important contributions to the study of immigrant folklore that view change as essentially negative and focus upon the fate of the Old World traditions in the immigrant context are Kaija-Köngäs (1960:117–123; 1963), Georges (1964), and Paulsen (1967). Their studies are among the first full-scale treatments of immigrant folklore.

⁶ See the work of Beregovski, Skuditski, and other Soviet-Yiddish folklorists in Weinreich and Weinreich (1959).

have continued to focus on the most conservative segment of the Jewish community, the Hasidim. But even the Hasidim have not survived simply because they have refused to change. On the contrary, their persistence has been facilitated by their creativity in harnessing modern technology to serve their own ends. They use chemical and microscopic tests in a scientific laboratory to help people observe *shatnes* [Jewish law that prohibits the wearing of any garment that has been made of a mixture of wool and linen]. The "Frig-O-Matic Sabbath Zeiger" is an automatic timer attached to the refrigerator which enables the Hasidic Jew to use refrigerators on the Sabbath without violating the law that they must not work or cause others to work. Because the timer regulates the motor and lights, opening the door and letting in warm air does *not* cause the motor to start running as would otherwise be the case (Poll 1962:107).

In contrast with this interest in and respect for the Hasidic communities in North America, American Jewish culture tends to be negatively evaluated and, perhaps for this reason, neither recognized nor studied. In comparison with the "authentic Jewish culture" of Europe and of groups in America who preserve the Old World ways, American Jewish folklore, especially the jokes and songs, is considered to be "in poor taste." Sëndrey, in his definitive and comprehensive *Bibliography of Jewish music* (which contains over 10,000 entries) stated that the only category of Jewish music he omitted is Yiddish popular music, much of it a New World creation known as "theater music," because it is "a corruptive element, a deterrent in the development of Jewish musical life" (Sëndrey 1951:xxii). Jewish dialect humor has suffered a similar fate:

The so-called dialect Jew-comedian is passé and we need not mourn his demise. With the gradual passing of the immigrant generation, he no longer corresponds to any real living type in American Jewry — if he ever did — and in his day he made no great contribution to an understanding of the American Jewish picture. I also agree that the *Bagels and Lox* type of entertainment has no place on the American public stage or radio, whether seen by Jew or Gentile, not only for reasons of its basic vulgarity but also for its essential spuriousness — it represents no genuine kind of Jewish life existing here other than in the imagination of its script-writers (Kayfetz 1952:285).

Jewish popular culture in North America, which includes the Yiddish theater and its music and professional comedians and their dialect humor, has influenced and has been influenced by Jewish folklore, as we can see clearly in the folksong and folktale repertoires of Jewish immigrants. Dialect humor, which has been so maligned, has been a major expressive form in traditional immigrant narration. The impact of popular culture on Jewish folklore in North America and the higher value accorded the past and faraway have led scholars to undervalue the immigrant folklore contribution.

TRADITIONAL STORYTELLING IN THE TORONTO JEWISH COMMUNITY

In an effort to counteract these emphases in the study of folklore generally and Jewish folklore in particular, change will be examined here as a stimulus for folkloristic creativity in an immigrant community of Conservative, not Orthodox, Jews. Born for the most part between 1915 and 1930 in eastern Europe (mainly Poland), the informants for the present study arrived in Canada between the two world wars, primarily between 1925 and 1936. They form a social network of about forty individuals, male and female, who are friends and relatives of each other. In the period of 1968-1970, I recorded about 700 of their tales, in addition to a variety of other folklore materials. The collection as a whole is dominated by Jewish themes and protagonists and by a secular and humorous cast. About one-third of the tales were heard in, or associated with, the Old World. Two-thirds of the corpus, or about 450 tales, were associated with the New World. Traditional storytelling continues to thrive in this Jewish community today because of, rather than despite, sociocultural change.

My focus here will be on one category of New World narrative, what the narrators call *classics* and what I identify as stories associated with the "period of initial contact." The following classification of the New World component of the narrative repertoire of my informants indicates the place of these tales in the larger scheme:

- A. New World Jewish Narratives
 - 1. Emigration narratives
 - a. Motivations for emigration
 - b. Preconceptions about America
 - c. Departure rituals
 - d. The voyage
 - 2. Period of initial contact
 - a. Getting off the boat
 - b. First week in Toronto
 - c. At home
 - d. At school
 - e. At work
 - f. Buying and selling
 - g. Local characters and family sagas
 - 3. Transitional phase
 - a. Intragroup focus
 - b. Intergroup focus
 - 4. Ethnic phase
 - a. Not being Jewish enough
 - b. What is a Jew?
- B. New World Non-Jewish Narratives
 - 1. Secular legendary narratives
 - 2. Humorous anecdotes

The data clearly indicate that situations of multilingualism and multiculturalism, where world views, cultures, and languages clash and undergo massive and rapid change, unleash the creative energies of immigrant raconteurs. These storytellers produce a rich body of special narrative lore that is characterized by distinctive kinds of stylistic elaborations and the preoccupation with being between cultures.

For this special body of narrative lore to emerge, however, it is not enough for one individual to be an immigrant. A whole community needs to share the experience, and in the case of the Toronto Jewish community this experience coincided with the Great Depression, a factor that intensified the already formidable difficulties facing the newcomers. Of the four periods — emigration, period of initial contact, transitional phase, and ethnic phase — it is the period of initial contact in the 1920's and 1930's that appears to have generated the longest and most elaborate anecdotes. This was the time when the shock of culture contact was felt most strongly. In these stories, the immigrant protagonists are bunglers who are without culture because they are between cultures, and they suffer the indignities of not being able to find a toilet, of misunderstanding what is said to them, and of being in the double bind of not understanding the new language and culture they confront while not being able to use the old culture they left behind. Personal narratives may take the form of jokes, and jokes may be told as personal narratives. Both tend to be elaborate, long, carefully localized, and prefaced by a detailed, explanatory preamble for the benefit of members of the younger generation in the audience who did not live through this period. These stories are called *classics* by the narrators because they are worth retelling and because they do not lose their effectiveness after they have been heard once.

The stories about the transitional phase are concerned with the protagonists' desire to rise socially and to be accepted by both more acculturated immigrants and by non-Jews. The period of transition is fraught with anxieties. Even when all the symbols of a higher status have been acquired, immigrants fear they will be rejected. They are anxious that they will not be able to maintain their new roles, that they will overplay them, or will reveal that, although the externals have changed, they are immigrants in mentality, after all.

The anecdotes about the ethnic phase are preoccupied with a sense of loss. The price of acceptance was somehow too high. Having "made it," immigrants find themselves in marginal positions, to use Shapiro and Rosenberg's terminology (1958:70-80), and they suffer an identity crisis. They fear total assimilation through conversion, intermarriage, and the secularization of the Jewish religion, and they puzzle over the problem of how they are to define Jewish identity. Are they Jews by religion, by culture, or by nation? Most of the narrators for this study were either in or

just coming out of the transitional phase, and this may explain why very few ethnic jokes were recorded.

THE CLASSICS OF THE PERIOD OF INITIAL CONTACT

Whereas in connection with the emigration period only two traditional jokes were found — and both of these were about people who had been in America and had returned to Poland either on a visit or for good — over seventy traditional jokes and more than sixty personal narratives about the immigrant experience of the New World were recorded. As one informant explained, nothing the emigrants imagined about Canada when they were still in Poland could ever really approximate what they found when they got there. And in terms of the selective memory of the immigrant narrator, the stories about the trauma of culture contact are not only more recent and more protracted, but also represent the difference between fantasies about what life in Canada would be like and the innumerable actual experiences in the daily life of an immigrant in Canada. It appears from the narratives in the Toronto corpus that experience, especially traumatic experience, generates more elaborate tales and a greater number of them than does fantasy alone. Also, in the case of the Toronto informants, their arrival was considerably more eventful than their departure. Judging from the stories they tell, the narrators seem to find what they came to, of considerably more interest than what they left. This was not the case for the narrators who arrived after World War II.

In the period between the two world wars, Toronto was the home of a large immigrant community with a thriving Jewish social and cultural life. This is the period in which all the narratives about the immigrant experience are set, even though immigrants continued to arrive after World War II. It appears, therefore, that the necessary prerequisite for this special body of New World folklore about the immigrant experience is an *ongoing immigrant community and culture* and that this represents but *one phase* of development in the history of the Toronto Jewish community. Immigrants who arrived in Toronto after World War II, when the Jewish community was making a transition to its ethnic phase, are *not* good sources of folklore about the immigrant experience, despite the fact that they are immigrants and recent ones at that. In other words, simply being an immigrant is not enough. A person needs to have been an immigrant *at the time when his community was in its immigrant phase* in order to be a potential bearer of folklore about the immigrant experience.

Furthermore, in the case of Jewish culture in Canada, the larger the community, the more Yiddish was spoken and the more active was the Jewish social and cultural life. Therefore, the haven for the development of immigrant experience was *not* the small, isolated,

rural communities but rather the heart of the big cities, where the Jewish population is found in greatest concentration. Immigrants arriving after World War II found the Toronto Jewish community relocated physically and moving into its ethnic phase culturally. This close association between the immigrant era and immigrant folklore suggests that the special body of folklore being considered here emerges only when the immigrant experience is collectivized, when the immigrant experience is shared by a whole community, for only then can an immigrant culture emerge.

Tales about Jewish life in North America fall into three categories that parallel the development of the Jewish community itself through three phases — immigrant, transitional, and ethnic. The first category — stories associated with the period of initial contact — is especially interesting because these stories are among the longest and most elaborate in the Toronto corpus. There is generally a telltale sign that marks a narrative as belonging to this category; namely, a statement in the exposition to the effect that the events in the story occurred the first day or week the immigrant arrived: "He just got off the boat," or "He hadn't been here more than a week." A few years of immigrant life may get telescoped into a week in the world of the narratives. Tales about the immigrant phase are preoccupied with culture shock, name changing, linguistic and cultural unintelligibility both on the part of the immigrant and on the part of the surrounding society, social blunders of all kinds — the ultimate and most popular being the inability to locate a toilet — extreme poverty, and the eccentricities of immigrant characters.

Immigrant stories are often very carefully localized with the names of people and places specified and detailed descriptions provided. In fact, because of the stylistic habit of localizing the tales, there is a tendency for the distinctions between the personal narrative and a traditional joke to become confused. In several instances, the narrator tells the joke in the first person as if it were a true-life experience:

HARRY KATZ: During the depression years, Starkie and I couldn't get jobs in Toronto so we went to Detroit. So we couldn't get any work. So we both looked for work at the same time. So we decided to separate. So we separated. I went one way. He went the other. My money ran out so I, I got hungry. I go up to a big restaurant on Woodward Avenue, big window and there's a beautiful looking girl sitting in there eating. And I pressed my face against the window and she calls me. She says, "Would you like to eat?"

I says, "I certainly would."

She says, "Well, restaurant food's not the best thing for a young fellow like you." She says, "No."

I says, "No."

She says, "Well, how about you come up to my apartment. I'll make you something nice."

So we go up to her apartment. She makes me a beautiful spread. I eat myself silly. Finally she turns around. She says, "Do you mind if I get comfortable?" So she goes in the other room, comes out with a beautiful negligée. Being a young

fellow, I go after her and I chase her here, I chase her there. I grab her here, I grab her there. Finally, I connect. We have a ball and she says, "One?" Once, and one shot deal, and she was really happy and she says, "I appreciate what you did here and I really enjoyed it. Any time you feel like having another session of the same thing, you get hungry again, here's the key to the back door, but just in case I should have the night catch on, you come in through the front door but usually, use the back door."

So I got back and tell Starkie the story. He says he doesn't believe me. I says, "Come on I'll show you." So we go up to the apartment. We go up to the back door. The night catch is on so we can't get in. We go to the front door. Sure enough the door is open. We walk in. It's a big huge vestibule and a big wall in the front with little holes cut out and a bunch of old men are sitting watching looking through these peep holes. So we push a couple of fellows aside, we give a look. I see the same girl with another fellow. They're going at it the same routine as I had. Finally after the half an hour or so, the fellow is through, she's through and she gives him the same treatment as she gave me.

So all the old men turn around and applaud like this [*claps*] you know except one. One says to the other, he says, "How'd you like the show?"

He says, "Terrific, terrific. But you should have seen the little Jew that was here this afternoon."

On the other hand, personal narratives have been retold many times and have become so similar to traditional tales that it is difficult to tell whether they are jokes or personal narratives:

MARTIN SOKOLOV: A lot of people when they came to this country had very long names. And some of them wanted to shorten their names and they did. And Wasserman became Wasser and Bergmaster became Berg and so forth and so forth. . . . And the names that were shortened from very very long names and cleaned up or brought to where they could be spelled because some of these people couldn't even write let alone spell and they couldn't even sign their names.

But I had a salesman who worked for me. His name was Hyman Lipshitz and he was on the road and came to work for me and I had a watch and the face of my watch was all scratched up so I was getting the face refinished.

So the guy says to me, "What do you want on there, Bulova or Gruen?"

I says, "It's not a Bulova or Gruen. It's a Columbia watch."

He says, "Yeah but it's more prestige. Who knows Columbia here in Canada? Get Bulova or Gruen."

I said, "I'll tell you what, I'll be different. I want to be unique. On my watch put Martin Sokolov." So he put on the front of the watch the name Martin Sokolov and I still have the watch. Candy wants to wear it. It's got my name on the front like when they re-did the face of the watch.

So my salesman Hyman Lipschitz looks at it. He says, "That's nice," he says, "you know, the face on my watch is also scratched up." He says, "I'm going to get it done." So I picked up my watch. . . .

He . . . gives the guy and the guy says, "What is your name?" He says, "Write it out."

He writes out Hyman Lipschitz and it was too long. He couldn't fit it into the space that it had to go into.

So he says, "I'm sorry it's too long."

So he says, "Oh well," he says, "then use the short form of my name because

He says, "Oh good, what are you changing it to?"

He says, "Instead of Hyman Lipschitz, call it Hy Lipshitz."

When this personal narrative is compared with Sokolov's immigrant jokes, the "folklorizing process" is evident. Sokolov typically prefaces his immigrant jokes with an explanatory preamble of precisely this kind. Like a joke, this narrative has an exposition followed by dialogue and a punch line. The narration is swift and to the point. Thematically, this personal narrative falls into the genre of name-changing stories, a common immigrant tradition. Furthermore, versions of it appear in published collections of jokes. Despite the fact that Sokolov tells it as a true personal narrative, it is a traditional tale. This does not mean that the event did not actually occur. Rather, this anecdote provides further corroboration for the notion that personal narratives take traditional forms, partly because folktales provide models for reconstructing experience.

Another point worth noting is the extent to which traditional narrative can condition experience. Narrators can incorporate the punch line of a joke into a real-life dialogue and later report on the experience. Technically the report is a personal narrative, but structurally and in terms of motifs and even in terms of style, the story is a traditional folktale. Or traditional narratives will provide the models for reconstructing personal experiences so that the storyteller will cast his report of what happened into a traditional form.

Some narrators such as Jerry Sacks specialize in, and are famous for their personal immigrant narratives, whereas others, such as Martin Sokolov, are famous for their traditional immigrant tales, which they may cast as personal narratives and set in the immigrant period between the two world wars. These two different types of narrators utilize two different processes. One may be called the *immigrantizing* of traditional tales and the other the *folklorizing* of immigrant experiences. Regardless of which process is used, the results bear many features in common. Both the personal narratives and the jokes are often long. They may be full of elaborate detailed descriptions, enriched with code switching and a plentiful use of Yiddish, and set in downtown Toronto during the Depression. It is, therefore, not surprising to find personal narratives that conform to traditional tale types and traditional tale types that bear the stylistic earmarks of personal narratives, such as protestations of truth, first-person narration, and detailed localized descriptions of a specific time and place. Furthermore, the narrators themselves recognize these stories about the early immigrant days as a special category. Sokolov calls them *classics* in contrast to his other stories that he calls *oncens*. *Classics*, he says, are funny even after you have heard them many times, whereas *oncens* are funny only once. The reason for this, he explains, is that there is more to a *classic* than the punch line; the humor is just as much in the style

of narration. When asked to identify his *classics*, Martin pointed to the immigrant stories. Jerry Sacks said of an immigrant joke: "It depends how you tell it and how you build it up. You can make up a whole thing out of it but it's mostly one of these stories that you can just build up. The punch line isn't that much really." The joke he gave as an example was about an immigrant in a drugstore in search of a rectum. From these comments, it appears that characterizations of immigrants and descriptions of their experience are of interest in and of themselves, that a whole category of stories is perceived by the narrators as being the kind that is highly elaborated, and that the resources for this elaboration are drawn from the immigrant culture in Toronto between the two world wars.

IMMIGRANT NARRATIVE CREATIVITY

The creativity of Toronto Jewish narrators is inherent in their ability to cope with culture shock by telling elaborate tales in which they draw from the resources of two conflicting cultures and mediate between them. These narrators and their tales are instrumental in helping them and their audiences to adapt to the changing circumstances (Reich 1971). The narrators accomplish this by serving as a bridge between worlds. They often find themselves performing to audiences in which there are considerable discrepancies in experience, since individuals may have immigrated during different periods. The younger generation may not speak Yiddish, or be familiar with Old World life and the early immigrant days that form the basis for the tales. The narrators, in telling these particular tales and especially in the way they tell the tales, create bridges across these gaps in experience, provide the community with a sense of continuity, and define for it the nature of its past.

The mediating role of the immigrant narrator is perhaps most clearly seen in such stylistic features of their storytelling as the (1) extended prologue, (2) glosses (what Dell Hymes has called *metalinguistic interventions* in his discussion of North American Indian myths), (3) code switching, and (4) the ethnographic impulse in the elaboration of the tale's reality. These stylistic features are actually ways of dealing with discrepancies in cultural frames of reference that are extreme in situations of rapid change and intensified by age and generation differences. By such devices, the narrators render cultural experiences intelligible to those who did not live through them.

The prologues to the immigrant tales are sometimes as long as, if not longer than, the body of the tales. The careful description of life in Europe and the period of initial contact in Canada both enlighten the younger generation and appeal to the older listeners who enjoy hearing

who can speak Yiddish as well as English and who can talk knowledgeably about Jewish culture are highly respected. The *classics* provide an opportunity for immigrant narrators to display these talents, whether in the prologues, the glosses, special Yiddish terminology, or in the detailed localization of the tale action.

The artistry with which the narrators alternate among a wide range of linguistic varieties (distinct languages, dialects, styles, imitations of how immigrants speak) has been analyzed elsewhere (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1972). This code switching is an essential feature of immigrant narrative style and is used to create brilliant comic effects. I will consider only one aspect of it here: the gloss and the gloss parody, or mock definition.

Because the immigrant narrators' audiences are usually so mixed, they develop ways to please everyone at the same time. While explaining the basics to the young Canadian-born listeners, they must also captivate the knowledgeable older European listeners. One way they manage this is to gloss special concepts and Yiddish words to help young listeners to follow the story, to "educate" them, and to parody these glosses for the special pleasure this affords their older audience members. The mock definition is perhaps the ultimate in-group joke. In one performance, the narrator glossed *mikve* [ritual bath] as an overheated swimming pool. Another joke is built on the mock gloss for *bal-metsitse* [man who sucks the wound of circumcision] as "cocksucker." In the following excerpt from an extended narrative, the narrator describes an Orthodox Jew who, in his efforts to collect money for charity, finds himself in a whorehouse or "place of reclining refreshments," as one narrator put it. The prostitute proceeds to undress the man, a process that is elaborately and beautifully described by the narrator. When she comes to his "belt," the storyteller says:

Then she took off his *gartl*. The *gartl* was the strap they wore around the waist to separate the *milkhiks* from the *fleyshiks*.

The *gartl* is the belt that Jewish males wear during prayer. According to Jewish dietary law, *milkhiks* [dairy food] must be kept separate from *fleyshiks* [meat foods]. The narrator's mock gloss on the term *gartl* is an in-group joke because to understand it, his audience needs not only to know what a *gartl* is, but also must understand the literal and figurative meanings of *milkhiks* and *fleyshiks* in this context. Figuratively, *milkhiks* refer to breasts and *fleyshiks* to genitals. The humor of this mock gloss thus hinges on the confusion of sacred and profane as well.

CONCLUSIONS

251 These immigrant narratives provide an opportunity to examine processes

that also operate in other sociocultural situations where change is less radical. The processes may be more visible in Toronto because change is more extreme. Only if the study of folklore in situations of radical change and culture shock — in this case, immigrant folklore — is extended beyond the concern with Old World retentions to all the folklore the immigrants know, can one see fully the positive and negative repercussions of culture contact and culture shock on repertoire and performance, both from the point of view of what they lose and of what they gain. Furthermore, the gains need to be seen both in terms of the acquisitions from the surrounding culture and the creativity in generating a special body of New World lore about what it means to live in such an environment. It appears from this author's data that the early immigrant years provide the narrators who had contact with them with the richest resources for developing their narratives. This is the period of vigorous multilingualism and biculturalism, and it appears that such conditions — where world views, cultures, and languages clash — are extremely productive in giving rise to a rich body of special narrative lore. Indeed, change itself becomes a focus of interest and a creative force as gifted narrators draw from the resources of both cultures and mediate between them.

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SECTION TWO

Folklore and Ideology

MARK SLOBIN



TENEMENT SONGS



THE POPULAR MUSIC OF
THE JEWISH IMMIGRANTS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

Urbana Chicago London

1982

CHAPTER 6



WHAT THE SONG TEXTS TELL



The tattered folios from the 1897–1920 period constitute an important body of primary source material for understanding the immigrants' adaptation to American life and their maintenance of internal values. Nevertheless, this fascinating material has been badly neglected, and even reviled, in the general denigration of early Jewish-American entertainment. To be sure, the song sheets themselves are not skillfully produced, and the contents may be crude at times. Particularly striking is the haphazard spelling of proper names, song titles, and the song texts themselves. Often the title or composer's name differs on the cover and the inside pages. Since Yiddish is read from right to left, against the flow of music notation, it is necessary to romanize the song text so it can be sung syllable by syllable to the tune. The resulting "English" (as it is often called on the folios) follows no consistent system of transliteration. Small wonder, then, that few have taken this motley set of songs seriously.

Yet these few hundred songs remain our most important musical legacy from the immigrant period. For two or three generations of American Jews, the sheet music served as a valuable song pool—especially in later years, when sound recordings of the same songs were available. Documentary interviews done in the 1970s repeatedly turn up sheet music songs as older singers review their repertoires. In terms of social history, sheet music texts are as valuable as other contemporary materials (newspapers, literature, political and social documentation) in depicting shared values and aspirations. Indeed, since music directly reflects audience interest both in terms of marketability (the folios were expensive, as compared to broadsides) and affective value, in some ways it may be even more significant than other forms of evidence. Linguistically, the sheet music is extremely helpful in shedding

light on problems that lie beyond our scope but that are well worth mentioning. In sociolinguistic terms, popular song displays language at its liveliest, ranging from the solemnity of the didactic song through the slangy street talk of the youth-oriented hit tunes. Due to the great popularity of the pop songs, we must assume that the usage presented in the sheet music not only reflected but also influenced the evolution of American Yiddish. Since the music circulated to Europe in print and on records, even Old World Yiddish was affected by the language of the New York popular song.

The Jewish-American commercial repertoire has been badly overlooked and is of central importance to the evolution of immigrant music. Our survey will be extensive, consisting of three sections. This chapter takes up the song texts and topics, while the following one deals exclusively with the language of the cover illustrations—the iconography. A third chapter will consider the strictly musical implications of the transition from Europe to America as represented in the printed sources. But before we can examine this internal world of publications, we must once again try to place the Jewish case in the American context. It might seem that to summarize American sheet music in the 1880–1920 period would be an easy task, yet no history of the industry exists. There are fine anthologies of sheet-music covers (in full color, for the coffee table), and there are detailed descriptions of how to recognize a first-edition copy of “Swanee River.” Yet we lack a decent account of how the medium of printed popular music evolved. No one has published statistical data on production and distribution systems, or chronicled the rise and fall of publishing houses. Once again we lack a vantage point from which to survey the Jewish field.

We do know that printed sheet music is as old as America. Its popularity rose steadily throughout the nineteenth century—particularly after the Civil War, when printing techniques made possible the production of large numbers of cheap editions. This trend coincided with the meteoric rise of the parlor piano, discussed earlier. Immigrants thus contributed both to the purchase and to the performance of the new sheet music. They also ended up as a major force in the production and distribution business. As in the case of the parlor piano, then, the spread of sheet music was a cultural/musical process that the immigrants both reacted to and helped shape. In the 1890s the term “Tin Pan Alley” was coined to describe the cluster of publishers’ shops which moved progressively uptown from the ’teen streets to the forties along Broadway. The rise of the phonograph, noticeable after 1910, linked music folios to records, creating a mutually reinforcing music industry. When the immigrants had first arrived, sheet music had been *the*

dominant medium of American popular entertainment. Virtually the only way to sell a song was to push it (“plug” was the technical term) so hard into public consciousness through live performances that it became a hit. Eventually everyone who wanted to be up with the times had to buy a copy and try it on his (usually her) piano. An industry with such rapid turnover and low production costs had to rely on formula, the basics of which have been succinctly summarized by Sigmund Spaeth. In terms of musical format, he lists the following seven rules:

1. The ideal structure for a popular song is that of a verse and chorus, of which only the chorus really matters;
2. A tune which suggests or definitely imitates one which has already been popular has just that much more chance of success;
3. Waltz time is the perfect expression of sentiment;
4. Putting the verse part in some different rhythmic form will accentuate the delightfulness of the waltz time;
5. A cadence with barber-shop harmony inserted here and there will bring tears to the most hardened eyes;
6. An occasional chance to hang on to a long note, even on an unimportant word like “of,” is not to be overlooked;
7. The human mind is incapable of retaining any but the simplest melodic intervals, and the human voice of singing beyond the limits of one octave.¹

Of these points, only the fifth does not apply to Yiddish sheet music, though some matters of detail and stress may differ. The Rumshinskys, Brodys, and Perlmutter seem to have had little quarrel with the ground rules of the American popular song. (In a later chapter we shall see how distinctive they managed to be within that framework.)

Spaeth also supplies seven commandments for the text component of the popular song:

1. Correctness of English is by no means an asset, and may at times be a positive handicap;
2. Assonance is often to be preferred to rhyme. So long as the vowel sounds are the same, what’s the difference?
3. The mispronunciation of words and other evidences of deficient mentality should always be accepted as the height of wit;
4. Correct accenting is a trifling matter as compared with highfalutin artificiality of language;
5. The world is full of wronged women and malevolent villains, and something should be done about it;

6. Death should always be the occasion for a maudlin orgy, increasing in volume according to the extreme youth or extreme age of the victim;
7. Sin is wrong; virtue is most praiseworthy; gold is a highly over-rated commodity; marriage may be achieved under almost any circumstances, even on the spur of the moment; and no matter how desperate the situation, evil cannot possibly triumph.

Spaeth could just as well have added the following two items to his list:

8. Mother is sacred, as is the flag;
9. City folk long for the simple life of the country, especially when it is defined as "back home."

Here the Yiddish case overlaps with the general American one, but not quite so strongly. Most of #5 and #7 do not apply; the in-group Yiddish songs have an entirely different set of concerns, as we shall see. Spaeth is merely rehashing the basics of melodrama, and though immigrants loved that genre, they rarely carried its preoccupations into song. The first three points, which outline language use, are only weakly echoed in the Yiddish material. Old World patterns of song-text construction tended to persist. In sum, it appears that while the standard mold of the American pop tune was fairly suitable to the songmakers of the East Side, the cultural content involved a whole other level of decision-making, which is the subject of the present chapter.

Many ethnic groups have produced their own sheet music. Finnish presses in the Midwest turned out religious and workers' music; French-American printers in New England put out lively commentary on life in the United States; Ukrainian firms in New York published regional dances of Eastern Europe . . . the list is too long to even summarize. Yet there has been no survey of the origin, flowering, and impact of printed music, one of the most interesting manifestations of a literate, multi-ethnic society. The formative period of internal Jewish music publishing is as obscure as that of any ethnic group. In 1897 a self-assured home industry springs fully formed from immigrant society; available evidence gives no indication of a European precedent. Given the severe limitations on Jewish publishing in Eastern Europe, this is hardly surprising. The German Jews brought the concept of a Jewish press to the United States, founding publishing houses as early as 1845.² The Jewish Publication Society, which began in that year, and Bloch Publishing Company, which entered the field in 1854, are both still in business despite various interruptions. The earliest music pub-

lication seems to have been by a certain Katzenelenbogen, first in Brooklyn and later in Manhattan. In *Di yidishe bine* (1897), Minikes's pioneering collection of Yiddish song texts and stage routines, Katzenelenbogen advertised a number of folios for celebrated theater pieces of the day, relying heavily on the Goldfadn repertoire.

An important step forward was taken with the entry of Joseph Werbelowsky, who instigated the formation of the Hebrew American Publishing Company (later simply Hebrew Publishing Company), still a significant producer of religious and reference works. Werbelowsky took over the music catalogue of Katzenelenbogen, and by 1901 his listing of "Jewish music for piano and song" took up 81 pages of the catalogue. Hebrew Publishing Company placed great stress on educating the immigrants, and felt strongly that music was an essential component of ethnicity. As the 1902 catalogue states:

We, the publishers of "Jewish music," feel fully rewarded in having catered to Jewish taste, Jewish spirit and feeling, and we are getting ready to publish many more popular Jewish operas, which will appear soon; also new operas as they are staged in the Jewish theater.

We hope that Jewish music will occupy a much larger place in the Jewish world than Christian music, since the Jew loves everything that is beautiful and Jewish.

This ingenuous battle cry corresponds with the general worry about losing Jewish youth to mainstream entertainment and language. It is not surprising that Werbelowsky also commissioned Alexander Harkavy, a noted philologist, to compile a Yiddish-English dictionary to help bridge the generational gap. We have already quoted from the firm's "Jewish-American Orator," another didactic venture. This educational urge led Hebrew Publishing to concentrate ever more strongly on cultural/secular, as opposed to religious, publication: "In its 1914 catalogue . . . only 22 pages are taken up by religious items, while literary works, textbooks, dictionaries, and grammars occupy 72 pages, and 19 pages are devoted to music." A trilogy of religion, secular learning, and music seems to have provided a suitable basis for Jewish-American culture in the peak years of immigration. Music's vital role in the catalogue only confirms our thesis that expressive culture was a potent force in immigrant life. The fact that Hebrew Publishing also issued plays in cheap format only underscores the point.

We are now ready to turn to the raw material: the songs themselves. The aim of this chapter, to reconnoiter the bewildering array of topics and means of expression, can best be accomplished by a threefold

division of the material. First we will survey songs representing genres shared with mainstream Euro-American popular music. This is in keeping with our general strategy of noticing commonality before turning to ethnic distinctiveness. Next we will closely examine songs stressing the internal identity of the group. Finally we will approach the cultural battleground, where songs confront the external challenge of immigrant life and the attendant internal change. These divisions are merely handy analytic categories; the songs themselves often meander from topic to topic, with a given song perhaps spanning all three headings.

GENRES SHARED WITH THE MAINSTREAM

The Family Tie

America had a passion for songs of home and mother, an obsession that cuts across ethnic lines. A yearning for mother, father, and the innocence of childhood is hardly surprising among immigrants, many of whom were far from home. The most famous Yiddish mother song is in fact about trans-Atlantic separation; it speaks from the viewpoint of a mother in Europe imploring her emigrant child to write home. Entitled "A brivele der mamen" ("A Letter to Mom"), this Small/Smulewitz masterpiece is part of a series of "letter" songs that faithfully follow one of Spaeth's commandments of songwriting: if a topic works, use it repeatedly. Thus we have "A Letter to the Bride" (about a boy away at the front), "A Letter to the Groom," and "A Letter to Dad," among others. It is important to note the context of the sole survivor of this series, "A brivele der mamen," since there has been such overemphasis on the archetypal Jewish Mother in every possible literary and entertainment medium. As maudlin as "A brivele" may be, it is only one of a number of ballads based on family relationships in a community under stress. As the immigration period recedes, sentiment tends to focus on the mother (as opposed to the family) and the Oedipal relationship emerges. In the early decades we find songs such as "Goodbye," which deal with a girl's farewell to both parents upon her marriage, or the companion song "Makhateyneste," which takes up the mother's mixed feelings of pride and loss at her daughter's wedding. Songs recalling childhood as a period of security were also in vogue, e.g., "Es vilt zikh zayn a kind tsurik" ("I'd Like to Be a Child Again"). This genre goes back to European Yiddish folksong sources; it also increases as im-

migration fades into the past, and the general ethnic topic of nostalgia for the Old World finally begins to emerge among the American Jews. (Unlike the Irish, though, it is quite a while before the Jews can view Europe, scene of pogroms and persecution, through rosy glasses.)

Let us examine one of the songs that make the transition from a general family tie toward sentimentality based solely on the mother. "A brivele der mamen" is interested in the lonely mother across the sea, while the 1925 "My yidishe momme," one of the best known of all Jewish-American songs, centers on the Americanized child's neglect of filial piety: now the abandoned mom is in the "old neighborhood," on the Lower East Side. An intermediate song, written in 1921, stresses the difficulties of motherhood and the child's natural attachment to mom without being overtly didactic. "My Best Friend Is My Mama" ("Mayn libster fraynd iz mayn mamenyu") merely states that sentiment, without saying, as did the Irish song, "Mother Machree," that no "other girl" can ever take her place. The attachment is seen as organic, not erotic:

SONG 1:

"Mayn libster fraynd iz mayn mamenyu"
("My Best Friend Is My Mama")

Di mame farnemt fil yesurim un shmerts
fun dem tog vos dos kind vert geboyrn.
Mit blut vert fargosn ir, nebekh, dos harts
bis zi vert fun der velt farloyrn.
Vos shteyt zikh fun kind nit di mamenyu oys,
ven es pokt, ven es mozlt, ven es hust;
fun tseyndlekh makhn, vi biter, vi groys iz ir tsar.
S'iz ir fintster un vist.
Di mame vet alt un groy far der tsayt
bis dos kind vet a shtikele layt.

Chorus

A mame, a mame, iz der tayerster khaver, mir shaynt.
Bay fraydn, bay leydn iz di mame der trayster fraynd.
In yesurim kholile, ven dem mentsh tut epes vey,
iz zayn ershter geshrey: oy mama, mamenyu, oy mamenyu!

The mama takes on many woes and pains/ from the day the
child is born./ Her heart is drenched in blood, poor thing,/ until
she is lost to the world./ What doesn't the mother suffer on
account of the child/ when there's pox and measles and

coughs;/ How bitter, how great is her sorrow at teething./ She's gloomy and desolate./ The mama ages and becomes gray before her time/ until the child's a bit of a person.

Chorus

A mama, a mama is the dearest friend, it seems/ The mama is the truest friend in joy and sorrow/ And when someone is in pain and suffering/ His first outcry is: "Mama, Mama, Mommy!"

The topic of parental love is closely allied to the next genre of songs to be discussed; it is a small step from love of mother to loss of mother.

The Orphan Song

Relatively few Yiddish folksongs on the subject have been collected and published. Yet there are a number of songs of bereaved children in the sheet music repertoire, some of which were also put out on records in the early years. A critical period in Jewish history—the early twentieth century, marked by revolution, riot, and war—here intersects with two kinds of song themes: the European folk plaint of the motherless child, and the strong American stress on songs of disaster and bereavement. Differences between the Old and New World Jewish orphan songs are visible in both structure and content. Structurally, the European songs are in the standard strophic format of the Yiddish folksong. The "American" songs, on the other hand, are subject to the same influence of the popular song's verse-and-chorus format that permeated all Yiddish-language genres. Thus we find refrains of tragic songs set in lilting waltz time, conforming to Spaeth's norms.

In terms of content, the shift from Europe to America is more subtle. European songs stress true folk perspectives on orphanhood. One is the young mother's lament from the grave, worrying about her child. (This theme does not appear in America.) Another is the realistic image of the wandering, helpless child, too young to cope with the adult world:

Zind ikh bin ayn yesoyemele gebliben
azoy hob ikh gekrogn farshtand, oy farshtand.
M'hot shoy far mir dem takhles gefunen
tsu gebn di mlokhe in der hand, in der hand.

Di mlokhe iz far mir tsu shver
Un ikh bin tsu kleyn, oy tsu kleyn,

Un haynt bin ikh ayn bitere yesoyemele,
Dertsu nokh elend vi a shteyn, vi ayn shteyn.

Since I became an orphan/ I gained understanding, oy, understanding./ They found something useful for me to do/ And put me to work at a trade, at a trade. The trade is too hard for me/ And I'm too small, oy, too small/ And today I'm a bitter orphan/ And lonely as a stone, as a stone.

The realistic imagery of this Old World song would seem logical for immigrant America, with its rich documentation of orphans' miseries and the plight of homeless children, so richly described in the works of Jacob Riis. Yet the Jewish-American songs are more genteel. Victorianisms knew no ethnic boundaries:

SONG 2:

"Leybedig yesoyemele" ("The Living Orphan")

Oy lebedig yesoyemele,
du operisn boymele.
Du host keyn heyim hit un keyn ru
ven dayn mame iz nito.
S'iz nito ver zol fleygn dikh,
mit tsertlikhkayt shlofn leygn dikh
Un beten got far dayn gezind:
mame, mame, vi bistu atsind.

O living orphan/ You uprooted tree./ You have no home, no rest/ Since your mother's not there. There's no one to take care of you/ And tenderly put you to sleep/ And pray to God for your help:/ Mama, mama, where are you now?

The foregoing Rumshinsky song (1914) is quite similar to other American songs of the period:

Lone and weary thro' the streets we wander
For we have no place to lay our heads.
Not a friend on earth is left to shelter us
For both our parents now are dead.³

Yet there are differences between the Jewish and American styles, even given a basically similar approach. The Yiddish songs never really cloy like such American standbys as "Why Did They Dig Ma's Grave So Deep" or "Two Little Children":

"Mama got sick. Angels took her away,"
she said, "to a home warm and bright.
She said she would come for her darlings some day;
Perhaps she is coming tonight." 4

While the Yiddish songs maintain some distance from their American models, they also retain a bit of Old World flavor through epithets and tag lines. The phrase *elend vi a shteyn* ("lonely as a stone"), the closing line of the folksong quoted above, is echoed in a number of the commercial Jewish-American folios.

This short look at a single genre, the orphan song, encapsulates our survey of the sheet music songs. Symbolic crossovers from Europe mix with Americanisms, often in a single song, to create an alliance which may now seem uneasy but which must have been natural for the composers and parlor pianists of the day.

The Sexes: Love, Conflict, and the Wedding

Though many songs on the battle of the sexes are distinctly American, one feature of the Yiddish repertoire stands out: it displays a very weak interest in romantic love. The favored topic of Tin Pan Alley and still the all-consuming interest of the popular song, the boy-girl relationship was not prominent in sheet music. One could argue that, for those modern Jewish children immersed in romance, the American songs would have been much more appealing than any possible Yiddish texts on the subject. Nevertheless, the tireless Rumshinsky pioneered in bringing the matter to the Yiddish stage. His 1911 operetta *Shir hashirim* ("Song of Songs," a typically in-group allusion to passion) has been described as the first stage musical about love. The hit song "Dos lid der libe" ("The Song of Love") shows an extraordinary adaptation of non-Jewish sensibilities:

SONG 3:

"Dos lid der libe" ("The Song of Love")

A libeslid zing ikh far dir.
Akh, vi es glit in hartsn bay mir.
O, mayn amor!
Dir din ikh nor.
Mayn apolon!
Her tsu mayn ton.
Her mayn gezang

un harfenklang
der libes trunk.

Chorus

Lib mikh nor fil,
lib in der shtil.
Der libes trunk,
er shmekt zo zis.
Kum nor tsu mir,
Ikh vart oyf dir
In libes-paradiz.
Lib un ver nit mid,
zing ayn libeslid.
Lib mir nor fil,
lib in der shtil,
lib, lib, lib.

I sing you a love song./ O, how my heart glows./ O my Amour!
I serve only you./ My Apollo!/ Listen to my tune./ Hear my
song/ A harp-sound/ Of love's potion.

Chorus

Love me greatly/ Love me quietly./ Love's potion/ Smells so
sweet./ Come just to me/ I wait for you/ In Love's Paradise./
Love and don't tire/ Sing a love song./ Love me greatly/ Love
me quietly/ Love, love, love.

The classical citations (Amour-Cupid, Apollo) are unparalleled in the sheet music repertoire, and are comically strung together. (Recall the apostrophe to music's power from "The Jewish-American Orator," cited in Chapter 4.) The music is in the Victor Herbert mode to which Rumshinsky aspired.

A totally different type of American influence can be felt in another group of songs commenting on men and women. The Yiddish stage went through a phase of interest in the suffragette movement. There are operettas on the topic, such as *Dzheni louft far meyer* ("Jenny Runs for Mayor"). The musical *Di sheyne amerikanerin* ("The Beautiful American Girl"), a Thomashefsky production, contains two diametrically opposed statements on the subject of women's liberation. The male chauvinist view is put forth in "Der hersher iz alts der man" ("The Man Is Still the Ruler"), while the female stance is powerfully stated in "Vayber, makht mikh far prezident" ("Women, Make Me President"):

SONG 4:

“Der hersher iz alts der man”
 (“The Man Is Still the Ruler”)

Es meg di froy zayn klug un sheyn,
 himlish raytsnd vi der velt,
 es meg di froy zayn a malakh reyn,
 farmegn raykhtum un fil gelt.
 Meg di froy a getin zayn,
 klug, gebildet vi nor zayn ken,
 ir familye zayn vi fayn—
 der hersher iz alts der man.

The woman can be smart and pretty/ Divinely attractive/ The
 woman can be a pure angel/ Own wealth and lots of money./
 The woman can be a goddess/ Smart, as well-educated as
 possible/ Her family can be ever so fine—/ But the man is still
 the ruler.

SONG 5:

“Vayber, makht mikh far prezident”
 (“Women, Make Me President”)

Chorus

Nemt aykh tsuzamen vayber, makht mikh far a prezident.
 Vert ir zen, vayber, vi mir haltn mener in di hent!
 Nemt hent, hent!

Verse 3

Oy vayber, vayber, vayber,
 kokht nit keyn diner, vayber.
 Oy vayber, vayber, vayber,
 Fort nit in kontri, vayber.
 Ven es kumt der liber zumer,
 Di zun git nor a bri,
 farshlist ir shoyt ayer tsimer
 un loyft in der kontri.
 Oy, di mener, di mamzeyrim,
 hulyen tog un nakht
 un fraytik punkt vi di khazeyrim
 hot zi di treyn gebrakht.

Verse 4

Oy vayber, vayber, vayber,
 hot nit keyn kinder vayber.
 Oy vayber, vayber, vayber,
 gevald, zayt nit keyn vayber!
 Zoln di mener daypers vashn,
 hert ir a geshrey.
 Lozt zey fun di teplekh nashn
 un kinder hobn zoln zey.
 Lomir zey lozn bargns ketshn
 in vanemeykers stor,
 un zol zey nor der korset kvetshn
 khotsh tsvey mol a yor.

Chorus

Get together women, and make me a president./ You'll see,
 women, how we'll have the men in our hands!/ Take hands,
 hands!

Verse 3

O women, women, women/ Don't cook dinner, women./ O
 women, women, women/ Don't go to the country, women./
 When the lovely summer comes/ The sun starts to burn/ You
 close up your rooms/ And run to the country./ O the men,
 those bastards/ Frolic day and night/ And Friday, just like pigs/
 The train brings them.

Verse 4

O women, women, women/ By God, don't be women!/ Let the
 men wash the diapers/ If you hear an outcry./ Let them nibble
 from the pots/ And let them have the children./ Let's have
 them catch bargains/ At Wanamaker's store/ And let the corset
 squeeze them/ At least twice a year.

The clearly American lifestyle references seem startlingly modern for 1910 but are actually typical of this genre, as is the ironic tone. Perhaps the injection of such lively, current topics was intended to attract an audience that had tired of belabored melodramas about the past glories and present woes of the Old World Jews. The two songs just quoted present a contrast in linguistic styles that directly reflects their subject matter: the conservatism of the men's side is given in un-Anglicized Yiddish, while the women's progressive position features abundant Americanisms (“diapers,” “bargains,” and “corset”). The English intru-

sions are perfectly natural here, in that they stem directly from the lifestyle depicted. No matter how even-handed the presentation of male and female positions may seem, the balance is always tipped in favor of the men. The women appear ridiculous—imagine Jenny running for mayor!—or, as in the song just cited, are presented as downright crude. “Women, Make Me President” is one of the few songs in the sheet music world to use *mamzer* (“bastard”) and *khazer* (“swine”), terms we relegated to the low road. To put such words in the mouths of rebellious women is surely to undercut the credibility of their position.

More subtle Americanization creeps into the songs of marital conflict. This topic, often treated in vaudeville and the emergent comic strip (e.g., “Jiggs and Maggie”), puts a Jewish interest squarely in the mainstream. The songs, which are fairly coarse, perhaps bespeak the alienation that was widespread among couples struggling to find their footing in the New World. One such song is implicitly American in that it parodies a Yiddish song. Among Goldfadn’s most widely reproduced songs during the period in question was “A yid bistu, gey vayter, gey” (“You’re a Jew, So Move On”); it is a Zionist item, exhorting the Jew to stop being a driven wanderer and to find his ancient homeland. In 1914 a takeoff on the Goldfadn song, written by Isaac Reingold, was published under the title “A tremp bistu, gey vayter, gey” (“You’re a Tramp, So Move On”):

SONG 6:

“A tremp bistu, gey vayter, gey”
 (“You’re a Tramp, So Move On”)

Verse 3

“Oy los mikh arayn!
 Ikh shver ikh vel zayn
 a guter, a voyler fun haynt.
 Ikh shver dir, ikh blayb
 in shtub khotsh mikh trayb;
 du kenst dokh mayn gut harts, mir shaynt.
 Ikh shpil shoyn—ikh shver—keyn poker nit mer,
 keyn ‘oke,’ keyn ‘pidre,’ keyn ‘stos.’
 Un nar ikh dikh nokh, den zol mir der brokh
 avekleygn do oyf der gas!”
 “Ikh ken dayne shvues, ikh ken dikh gants fayn,”
 derhert zikh ir shtime mit vey,
 “Megst klapn biz morgn, ikh loz nit arayn,
 a tremp bistu, gey vayter, gey!”

Verse 3

“O let me in!/ I swear I’ll be/ Good and nice starting today./ I swear I’ll stay home/ Even if you drive me/ I think you know my good heart./ I swear I won’t play any poker again/ No ‘oke,’ no ‘pidre,’ no ‘stos.’/ And if I trick you any more, may a curse/ Fell me here on the street!”/ “I know your promises, I know you quite well”/ You can hear her woe-filled voice/ “You can knock until morning, I won’t let you in/ You’re a tramp, so move on!”

This parody of an in-group song indicates the complexity of the material in other ways. First, the continuity of the immigrant song tradition is established by the fact of parody, which relies on the audience knowing the original. Second, the parody itself is some twenty years old, indicating that self-mockery of even so sacred a topic as persecution/Zionism is a time-tested device. Third, the song comments on the breakdown of family life occasioned by immigration, and so has American overtones, but at the same time mentions only one American card game (poker), compared with three European varieties (*oke*, *pidre*, and *stos*) which were apparently still very popular in Jewish homes in 1914. “A tremp bistu” nicely illustrates the liveliness of the Jewish-American song and at the same time proves the existence of a strong, identifiable immigrant tradition within ethnic boundaries.

Occasional Songs

Of the musical genres which Jews shared with mainstream America, none illustrates the ambivalence of the internal-external pull more strongly than the occasional song, consisting of items written for specific events. Some of these are purely for the in-group, such as the funeral march played at the massive 1905 demonstration mentioned earlier. Others comment on matters of Jewish interest that had international overtones, such as the Dreyfus case. Still a third category takes universal events and adds a Jewish commentary (World War I, the Russian Revolution, the sinking of the *Titanic*). Since Elizabethan times the latest news has been put into printed song, as we noted in connection with the broadside. During the immigrant era this old Euro-American tradition had not yet died out; eventually, the massive coverage of news by print and broadcast media silenced the street singers. We will examine the *Titanic* song later, in connection with its

visual imagery. For now, we can profitably compare an internal response to a local event (the Triangle Fire of 1911) to the same group's reaction to major outside events (World War I and the Russian Revolution).

"Mamenyu! Including an Elegy to the Triangle Fire Victims" (to use its printed English title) manages to fuse the orphan topic with the theme of disaster to create an occasional song. There are two refrains, and a considerable disjunction between the song's two vantage points. The orphan section is strongly reminiscent of another Rumshinsky song, cited above (Song 2).

SONG 7:

"Mamenyu! Including an Elegy to the Triangle Fire Victims"

Vey dir, yesoyemele
Bist an opgehaktes beyemele. . .
Bist elent umetum. . .
Oy mama, mama, vu bistu, vu?

Woe unto you, orphan,
You're a chopped-down tree . . .
You're lonely everywhere . . .
O mama, mama, where are you?

On the other hand, the second refrain is from the perspective of the bereaved mother, seeing her daughter lying dead after the fire:

"Oy vey, kindenyu!"
Rayst zikh bay di hor di mamenyu.
"Tsulib dem shtikl broyt
hot a shreklekher toyt
geroybt mir mayn eyntsik kind. . .
Toyt ligt mayn meydele,
takhrikhim anshtot a khupe-kleydele,
vey iz mayne yor,
a kind fun 16 yor,
oy mame, mame, vey iz mir, vey!"

"Oy vey, my child!"/ The mama tears her hair./ "For a piece of bread/ A terrible death/ Robbed me of my only child . . . / My little girl lies dead/ Shrouds instead of a wedding gown/ Woe is me/ A child of sixteen/ Oy mama, mama, woe is me, vey!"

The striking double perspective of "Mamenyu" yields an almost cinematic view of the event. It would appear that the authors thought of giving two views of the tragedy, doubling the quotient of feminine sorrow expressed in similar songs. A cynic might note evidence of an interest in exploiting the catastrophe. The text, nearly identical to that of other orphan songs, carries no reference to the Triangle Fire; the songwriters may have merely appended the mother's lament to the standard orphan song, temporarily welding two genres so as to turn out a marketable item as quickly as possible. Such behavior would certainly qualify Rumshinsky & Co. as full-fledged members of the broadside ballad fraternity.

In 1917 Yiddish music publishers responded quickly to two major cataclysms. Many World War I songs express the Jewish community's complex reaction to an event that stirred all American ethnic groups. At the same time, the publishers drew on yet another major event: the Russian Revolution. Few American groups felt its impact as strongly as did the Jews. We have already noted that fierce emotions were aroused during the 1905 Revolution, and the final defeat of the czarist regime released an even stronger wave of communal feeling. American Jews envisioned the end of oppression for their relatives and *landsmen* in the Russian Empire, the hope for improvement of the Jews' lot, and, for the politically minded (who were numerous), the beginning of a new chapter in world social organization. It is hardly surprising, then, that sheet music appeared on the theme of revolution. The key song is one with words by Morris Rosenfeld, the "sweatshop poet" whose observations on street musicians were cited above. Now past his prime as a popular verse-writer, he nevertheless succeeded in finding a publisher for his ode to revolution, and for his rhapsodic call to arms to defend America. "Ruslands frayhayt lid" ("Russia's Song of Freedom") is full of allusions to Siberia, an Old World still familiar to the Jewish-Americans today.

SONG 8:

"Ruslands frayhayt lid" ("Russia's Song of Freedom")

Trogt zikh, trogt zikh frayhayts-klangn
nokh Sibir, in kalten nord.
Den tsubrokhn Ruslands tsvangen
hobn di vos shmakhten dort.
Dort, in aynzam-visten tsifn,
opgeshnitn fun der velt,
vu zey krekhtsen un zey hofen
in di loyt kayt fun di kelt,

dort, ahin in yene shneyen
 durkh midbores, frost un ays,
 yogt zikh, trogt zikh freyd-gheshreyen:
 trogt di helden zeyer prayz!
 Zol tsuklingen ayer gevalt
 heys un kraftig, shtark un bald!
 Bis di vent fun sakhalin
 zol dos frahayts-lid ahin:
 trogt di helden zeyer prayz!

Carry, carry, sounds of freedom,
 To Siberia, in the cold North,
 Since Russia's force is broken
 By those who languish there.
 There, in the lonely wild north,
 Cut off from the world,
 Where they groan and they hope
 In the deadness of the world,
 There, thence in those snows,
 Through deserts, frost and ice,
 Drive and carry the cries of joy:
 Carry their prize to the heroes!
 Your power should resound
 Hot and powerful, strong, and soon,
 To the walls of Sakhalin
 Should reach the song of freedom:
 Carry their prize to the heroes!

One of the most interesting and most purely in-group stanzas in the occasional songs occurs in Rosenfeld's apostrophe to the rivers of Russia. Here a purely Russian sensibility is at work: in Russian literature and folksong the turbulence and flooding of rivers has a strong emotional connotation, in part tied to the annual spring thaw.

Shlayder, Volga, dayne velen
 az der breg zol zayn tsuzetst!
 Du vest fun di tratf-gezelen
 heren naye lider yetst.
 Un oykh ir, gebentshte inden
 fun der shtoltser taykh Neva:
 konkonirt itst mit di vinden,
 hoybt zikh oyf mit a hurra!

Oyf, du blut-getrenkter Dniester,
 velkher flist durkh Volokhay:
 shlog dayn flut in ayn orkestr,
 dayne khvalyes zaynen fray!
 Zolen Dnieper un der Bik
 RoysHEN grusen tsum muzhik;
 shturmen zol yetveyde taykh
 grusen tsu mayn folk tsuglaykh:
 ale khvalyes zaynen fray!

Wash your waves, Volga/ So the pier is smashed!/ You'll hear
 new songs/ From the boatmen./ And you blessed billows/ Of
 the proud Neva River/ Compete with the winds/ And rise up
 with a "hurrah!"/ Up, you blood-soaked Dniester/ Which flows
 through Wallachia/ Whip your stream into an orchestra/ Your
 waves are free!/ Let the Dnieper and the Bik/ Streaming, greet
 the peasants;/ Every river should storm/ And greet my people
 too:/ All the waves are free!

This stanza papers over the split between the "pure" revolutionary Jews, who evaded their ethnic identity, and those interested in the Jewish cause: it calls for both the peasants and "my" people to be simultaneously greeted with the news of liberation. Popular entertainment typically tries to reach the widest possible audience, if only within a subculture.

The response to World War I also embraces a number of views. Meyrowitz's "Tfilas milkhomo" ("War Prayer") is perhaps the Yiddish song which best reflects the most common mainstream interest in the war: the anxiety of the family back home. "So Long, Mother," a song described on the cover as "Al Jolson's mother song," shows a doughboy clutching a frail gray-haired lady. Thus, to express its feelings of worry, the Jewish family in 1917 could choose between a Yiddish-language song or the American song of a Jewish immigrant singer. The Meyrowitz song is almost folklike in its heartfelt prayer:

SONG 9:
 "Tfilas milkhomo" ("War Prayer")

Chorus
 Gotenyu, tatele, shenk undz dos glik,
 breng yedn soldatele gezunterheyt tsurik.
 Ver veys nokh, ver vi du mer,
 vi kinder hobn kumt on shver.

Darum ze, got, undzer gebet derher:
 rakhmones hob oyf di eltern,
 oyb du vilst nit oyf zey.
 Es iz yunge lebns, yunges blut.
 Got, tu zey nit vey,
 zol dayn sholem shoyn v^ealtikn
 in dem shlakht, in dem,
 un besholem breng
 di kinder^lakh aheym.

Chorus

God our Father, grant us this happiness/ Bring back every soldier safe and sound./ Who knows better than You/ How hard it is to bear children./ Therefore God, hear our prayer/ Have pity on the parents/ If not on them [the soldiers]./ It's young lives, young blood./ God, do them no harm/ Let your peace reign already/ In the battle/ And in peace bring/ The children home.

A second major theme of mainstream American World War I songs is the spirit of the troops, most classically embodied in George M. Cohan's "Over There," the unofficial anthem of the war. This stance is echoed in Lillian's "A grus fun di trentshes" ("A Greeting from the Trenches"):

SONG 10:

"A grus fun di trentshes" ("A Greeting from the Trenches")

Chorus

Ikh breng aykh a grus fun di trentshes,
 ikh breng aykh a grus fun di boyes.
 Zey kemfn mit mut, mit kurazh un mit blut
 un fun di daytshtn lakhn zey zikh oys.
 Ikh breng aykh a grus fun di semis;
 dos iz der grus, dos zogn zey:
 oyb mir zaynen shoyn derinen
 muzn mir di shlakht gevinen,
 iz der grus fun onkl sems armye.

Chorus

I bring you a greeting from the trenches/ I bring you a greeting from the boys./ They fight with spirit, courage and blood/ And laugh at the Germans./ I bring you a greeting from the Sammies/ Here is the greeting: they say/ "If we're already in it/

We must win the battle"/ That's the greeting from Uncle Sam's army.

The line "If we're already in it, we must win the battle," sounds somewhat equivocal. But this should not be construed as a particularly ethnic response; we saw a similar mood in "Let's All Be Americans Now," a mainstream appeal for ethnic support.

Yet "A grus fun di trentshes" does hide deeper messages of ethnicity. The second verse reveals a decidedly in-group stand on the issue of war, which leads us to our second main category: songs of internal identity.

Verse 2

S'iz do a shtikl hofening,
 es shaynt a shtral fun glik:
 es halt derbay mir zoln krign
 undzer land tsurik.
 Es grind^t zikh in yedn land a yidisher legyon.
 Zey geyen ~~un~~ kemfn far der heym

far ~~fun~~ undzer natsyon.

Verse 2

There's a bit of hope/ There's a ray of happiness/ It seems we might get/ Our land back./ In every land a Yiddish legion is being founded./ They will go and fight for the home/ Of our nation.

Here the zeal of patriotism has yielded to the glow of nationalism—an important topic, to which we now turn.

SONGS OF INTERNAL IDENTITY

Zionism

Zionism is, of course, one of the main preoccupations of American Jewry. In the early years of the century, however, Zionism had a vastly different significance. Today, younger American Jews partly shape a sense of ethnic identity around the State of Israel; for the immigrants, particularly before the Balfour Declaration (1914), "Israel" was either an ardent dream or a stance around which to crystallize internal political activity. The sheet music songs tend to stress Zionism as an alterna-

tive for the European, but not for the American Jew. The stock figure in the song texts is the persecuted "Wandering Jew" who needs to find a snug harbor in his ancient land, rather than in the New World. This type is exemplified in the previously cited Goldfadn song, "You're a Jew, So Move On." Songs often take the argument a step further by blaming the Jew for his own troubles, as in Thomashefsky's "Shuldik" ("Guilty"):

SONG 11:
"Shuldik" ("Guilty")

Du veyst dos mistam
vi a shif oyf dem yam
varft zikh dos yidele, bruderl mayn.
Oyf der erd du krikhst,
oyf dem yam du zikhst, ^{h o t}
dayn shif ^{h a t} keyn ruder, ^a keyn kapitan.
Kumstu keyn dorem
trefstu a shturem.
Kumstu keyn tsfon
gefinstu keyn heym.
Dayne kinder tsetribn,
vos is dir geblibn?
Zog ver iz shuldik in dem?
Ver, ver, ver, ver, ver, ver, ver?

Chorus

Shuldik bistu yidele aleyn,
na-venad bistu, elend vi a shteyn.
Koyfst dir shteyner, diamantn,
gold un zilber, brilyantn.
Vu iz dayn seykhel, dayn farshtand?
Farkoyf dos ales, bruder, shnel,
Ven nit, vet vern fun dir a tel.
Du koyf dir beser op dayn eygn land.

You probably know/ like a ship on the sea/ You're tossed, my
brother Jew./ You crawl on the earth/ And seek on the sea/ But
your ship has no rudder, no captain./ If you come to the south/
You find a storm./ If you come to the north/ You find no
home./ Your children dispersed/ What's left to you?/ Tell me
who's guilty in this?/ Who, who, who, who, who, who?

Chorus

You yourself are guilty, Jew/ You're homeless, lonely as a
stone./ You buy stones, diamonds/ Gold and silver, jewels./
Where's your sense, your understanding?/ Sell them all quick-
ly, brother/ If not, you'll be ruined./ It's better to buy up your
own land.

Of particular interest here is the line "elend vi a shteyn" ("lonely as a stone"), a stock phrase of the orphan song. In a given repertoire, it is partly through a system of clichés that style is cemented. The carryover of the folksong line, already confirmed as an indicator of internal identity by its use in the sheet music repertoire, is extended to refer to the orphan state of the Zionless Jew. Thus a self-sufficient symbolic system is established for the sheet music's language. We shall see below how visual symbols parallel lyrics in striving for conceptual standardization, a process also reflected in the actual musical materials.

In social terms, "Shuldik" is similar to "A grus fun di trentshes" in its advocacy of activism: the military or economic takeover of Palestine is suggested. We begin to sense a strong, self-aware Jewish-American community flexing its muscles. Though that strength is barely hinted at in the song texts, it will grow in later decades as more assertive forms of popular entertainment emerge.

Comic Songs

Strangely, there are few comic songs in the sheet music repertoire. Items that might be considered humorous tend to represent the low road, like the "tramp" parody quoted above, or "Mayn meshpukhe" ("My Family"), a crude rundown of a lowlife family's activities. Rarely does comedy rise above this level. One comic song reflecting a purely in-group set of characters is worth quoting; it is a number from a 1914 parody, *Dos meydl fun der vest* ("The Girl from the West"), a takeoff on the popular Belasco-Puccini *Girl of the Golden West*. The operetta plays on one of the stock themes of Yiddish humor: the conflict between warring dialects. The Litvak, or Lithuanian (who cannot pronounce *sh*, so he constantly hisses) and the Galitsianer (whose southern Polish accent gives vowels a special twist) represent two cultural subtypes. Every ethnic group seems to use such internal regional/dialect differences as a base for comedy. Even in today's Yiddish vaudeville revues the Litvak-Galitsianer dichotomy is good for a laugh.

SONG 12:

"Litvak un galitsyaner" ("Litvak and Galitsianer")

Galitsyaner: hert a losn fun lutvakes,
khazer, hunt, un vakhlaklakes,
vos iz dos tsu alde klogn
vet ir hern a lutvak zogn.

Litvak: in galitse, vi yakh farshtay,
zogt nor tomid "gey shoy, gey,
ekh un mekh un fleysh un beyner"
—iz dos a losn? du mamzer eyner!

Galitsyaner: ven fraytik iz gedekt der tish
un s'iz vi tsuker zis;
anshtot der lutvak zol monen di fish,
mont er gor di fis . . .

Litvak: ikh veys far vos es aykh nit smekt—
it hot lutvakes gut in zinen,
ven kolombus hot nor amerika entdekt
hot er a lutvak shoy, gefunen.

Galitsyaner: gay shoy, gay.

Litvak: s'iz azey.

Galitsyaner: Lomir fun haynt beser vern gute fraynd, yo.

Beyde: Got git yidn guts a sakh
un di goyim, makes;
vayl bay got zaynen ale glaykh—
galitsyaner un litvakes.

Ze got, vi dayne yidn
zikh raysn un baysn,
un makhn bald fridn.

Sholem brider, zol shoy zayn.

Fe! A rikh in dayn tatn arayn . . .

Galitsianer: Listen to the Litvak language/ "Khazer, hunt, and vakhlaklakes."/ "Vos iz dos tsu alde klogn,"/ You'll hear a Litvak say./ Litvak: In Galitsia, as I understand/ They always say "gey shoy, gey/ ekh, mekh, fleysh un beyner"/ —Is that a language, you bastard?/ G: When the table is set on Friday/ And everything's sugar-sweet/ Instead of calling for the "fish"/ The Litvak calls for "feet" [fis] . . . / L: I know why you don't like it—/ You think a lot about Litvaks/ Well, when Columbus first discovered America/ He already found a Litvak here./ G: Go on!/ L: It's true./ G: Well, let's be good friends from now on, yes./ Both: God give the Jews a lot/ And the Gentiles plagues/

Because before God, everyone's the same—/ Galitsyaners and Litvaks./ Look, God, how Your Jews/ Fight and bite each other./ And then soon make peace./ Let's have peace, brothers/ Phooey! A curse on your father! . . .

Of course, the Yiddish-speaking reader may enjoy this item more than the outsider does; such is the nature of in-group jokes. The song raises some interesting points for our general line of analysis. First, the dialects are not really accurately represented; they are artificial versions of language. This is important, in that it confirms the treatment of language we saw in *Among the Indians* and speaks to a general trend in popular entertainment: to provide a stage world which resembles, but does not really reflect, reality. After 1900 we are no longer in the days of melodrama, when accurate depiction served as an anchor for flights into fantasy. Rather, the pop media begin to seek a world they can create themselves.

A second feature of "Litvak and Galitsianer" is its combination of downhome, European references with an allusion to America ("when Columbus first discovered America, he already found a Litvak here"). It may not be accidental that the transition to the American framework directly precedes the temporary truce between the warring dialects: "God—give the Jews a lot and the Gentiles plagues." In America, one can perhaps infer, older intragroup splits must cease. In a rhetorical flourish, the two rekindle their fight in a "blackout" line to end the song; another social message has already slipped in. Only a very close reading of these apparently simple, even nonsensical song texts will help us to understand the immigrants through their expressive culture. In the language and the unconscious gestures of the texts we discover clues to social history.

Folksong and Folkdance Arrangements

There is a small but diverse body of folk material in sheet music. Dance tunes by far outnumber editions of folksongs, probably due to the still-lively tradition of the *klezmer* band, which performed at weddings and other festivities. Many of the tunes could also be performed at the parlor piano, perhaps as a replacement for the professional group. Traditional happy melodies—*sher*, *freylakhs*, *dobridzen*—are well represented. Of particular interest in pointing to the emergence of piano primacy is Rumshinsky's *At a Hebrew Wedding Ceremony* (1909), a

complete suite of dances in the usual marriage sequence. For the section "Under the Canopy," a point at which music was not traditionally performed, the composer chose an interesting strategy: he interpolated the only non-ethnic-sounding number, a rather Protestant-like short chord sequence. This may augur change in the old-style wedding. At the end of the immigrant period, the Reverend Bernard Drachman, rabbi of the synagogue at which the great cantor Yosele Rosenblatt sang, wrote a song entitled "Hail Joyous Day" (1921) with an all-English text, meant to be sung at weddings.

Traditional Values

The folk tradition may not have maintained a firm musical ethnic boundary, but it did emphasize old values. So extensive are the offerings in this category that we must break it down into two parts: songs of religion, and songs of morality and didacticism.

Religion. The topic of faith itself has a twofold aspect. There are settings of liturgical texts, and songs stressing the importance of religion as a foundation for the proper life, or as consolation in times of trouble. Religious song arrangements range from florid versions of High Holiday material (e.g., "Unsane toykef" [1899], a Yom Kippur prayer) to a folk-like variant of "Got fun avrohom" ("God of Abraham" [1921], the standard women's chant at the close of the Sabbath). The wide chronological spread of these two items indicates the durability of the religious theme.

Both basic types of religious song are combined in "Likht bentshn" ("Blessing the Sabbath Candles" [1909]). A prayer in Hebrew appears within a Yiddish commentary on the importance of lighting the Sabbath candles:

SONG 13:

"Likht bentshn" ("Blessing the Sabbath Candles")

Verse 1

Mir bentshn di likht, mir bentshn di likht
lekoved dem heylikn shabes
in zkhush fun avrohom un fun itskhok un fun yankev,
zey zoln undz bayshteyn in undzer noyt, in undzer noyt.

Verse 2

Derher mayn gebet atsind, bet ikh bay dir,
helf mir almekhtiker got!

Yehi rotson milfonekho adonoy eloheynu velebey avoseynu,
oy vey, avoseynu.

Verse 1

We bless the candles, we bless the candles/ In honor of the
holy Sabbath/ Through the merit of Abraham, Isaac, and
Jacob/ May they stand by us in our need.

Verse 2

Hear my prayer now, I beg of you/ Help me, Almighty God/
Yehi rotson . . .

Songs stressing the consolation of religion are also of two types. One simply hammers home the point that one ought to have faith. "Der bitokhn tsu got" ("Faith in God") is from a Yiddish theater production of 1914 (Libin's *Di makht fun laydnshaft*, "The Power of Passion"):

SONG 14:

"Der bitokhn tsu got" ("Faith in God")

Verse 1

Oy, zay nit fartsveyflt, oy tatenyu,
vest zen vest nokh vern gezunt,
un hof nor tsum himlishn gotenyu
vos hert undzer betn atsind.

Chorus

Nor bitokhn ver es hot
dem nor helft dokh tomid got,
vayl bitokhn, nor bitokhn, dos iz gots gebet.
Dayn gants lebn bis in sof
shtendik mentshele nor hof,
vayl bitokhn ver es hot
dem nor helft dokh tomid got, tomid got.

Verse 1

O don't despair, dad/ You will be healthy yet/ Just hope in the
heavenly Lord/ Who hears our prayers now.

Chorus

Only the one who has faith/ Is always helped by God/ Because
faith, only faith, this is God's commandment./ Throughout you
life until the end/ Always, little man, just hope/ Because only
the one who has faith/ Is always helped by God.

The opening of the song clearly indicates its place in the drama: a sickbed scene, where a child (probably a daughter) is comforting an infirm father. This sort of "stage-setting" reference is rare in sheet music. Like its American counterpart, the Yiddish pop song is designed to stand on its own.

The second type of consolation song stresses particular rituals or objects. We have already seen how blessing the Sabbath candles can function as a focus for belief. Other songs that became particularly popular were Perlmutter and Wohl's hits "Dos talesl" ("The Prayer Shawl") and "Di tfiln" ("The Phylacteries"); these are among the very few works by composers of the immigrant period to be included in Appleton's 1968 *Bibliography of Jewish Vocal Music*,⁵ indicating the durability of this particular approach to ethnicity. The strong showing of such songs in the sheet music repertoire must have two explanations. On one hand, the genre may express immigrant nostalgia for European folkways and traditions; here the songs serve to reinforce existing values. On the other hand, the songs perhaps represent an attempt to conserve older ritual in the face of rapid Americanization.

Morality and Didacticism. Closely allied to the songs of faith are those preaching the moral values of traditional Eastern European Jewish society. Among the most frequent topics emphasized is the remembrance of death. It is hard to tell just why this topic exerted such a fascination; one can only speculate that the presence of disease and bad news from the Old World led to thoughts of mortality. Meyrowitz's "Mentshele, meynst du vest eybik lebn" ("Little Man, Do You Think You'll Live Forever?" [1909]) illustrates the Yiddish *memento mori* song. The lyricist minces no words in describing the finality of death.

SONG 15:

"Mentshele, meynst du vest eybik lebn"
("Little Man, Do You Think You'll Live Forever?")

Mentshele, meynst du vest eybik lebn?
Du denkst an dayn ende gor nit.
Tayneg un gelt—dos iz dayn shtrebn,
host keyn rakhmones, fargist mentshnblut.
Du boyest paleste mit blumen a sakh
un du denkst du blaybst eybik dort;
du roybst dayne brider, vilst nor zayn raykh,
du fargest gor dos heylike ort
vu kvorim-bletelekh
vu grine grezelekh

fardekn dayn eybike ru,
un dayne gederemlekh
esn veremlekh:
es helft nit keyn raykhtum dortn.

Little man, do you think you'll live forever?/ You don't think about your end at all./ You strive for pleasure and money/ You have no pity, spill human blood./ You build palaces with a lot of flowers/ And think you'll stay there forever/ You rob your brothers and only want to be rich/ You forget the cemetery altogether/ Where grave-leaves/ And green grasses/ Cover your eternal resting-place/ And worms eat your little insides/ Your wealth is no help there.

Meyrowitz was a master of the didactic song, scoring again and again with such hits as "Krikh nit tsu hoykh" ("Don't Climb Too High") and "Mit gelt tor men nit shtoltsirn" ("Don't Show Off with Money"). Many of these songs speak directly to those Jews who had taken advantage of the "land of opportunity" to become arrogant parvenus, flaunting their social distance from their Ghetto brethren. We hear of certain thieves and fools of Europe who have become big shots in America. Didacticism is a prominent trait in Eastern European Jewish folklore, and it persisted as a major theme down to the days of the last famous *badkhanim*, the wedding jesters who were also social critics. The songs of the great bard Eliokum Zunser, who died in America, remained in circulation throughout the immigrant period (printings in 1898, 1910, and a fancy hardcover edition in 1928).

However, the attack on hypocrisy could also be comic. We have already seen Willie and Harry's comments in *Among the Indians* (1895), and songs like "Blolf! Blolf! Blolf!" ("Bluff, Bluff, Bluff" [1905]) show the topic to be viable in the early twentieth century:

SONG 16:

"Blolf! Blolf! Blolf!" ("Bluff, Bluff, Bluff")

Chorus

Blolf! blolf! blolf! iz ales umetum,
blolf! blolf! blolf! arum un arum.
Es helfn nit kayn taynes, khotsh tsum himl aroyf,
di gantse velt iz nor geshtelt oyf blolf! blolf! blolf!

Chorus

Everywhere everything is bluff, bluff, bluff/ Bluff, bluff, bluff,

around and around./ No complaints help, even if you cry to
heaven/ The whole world is based only on bluff, bluff, bluff!

An interesting topical reference occurs in the final couplet:

Und oyb ir hot in zinen
Az rusland vet di krig gevinen
Zolt ir visn, az dos iz a bluf.

And if you imagine/ That Russia will win the war/ You should
know that it's a bluff.

The war in question is apparently the Russo-Japanese conflict. As in the case of the patriotic American song that turned out to have a hidden Zionist agenda, one must look beneath the surface of each sheet music song text to find multiple meanings.

The song "Mentshen-fresser" ("Man-Eaters") falls into no specific category. It can be conveniently used as a transition from our present heading to the next, if we pick out two major strands of its content. As a *memento mori* song, "Mentshen-fresser" take an unusual tack: it is a commentary on tuberculosis, a dread disease of the tenements. Following Spaeth's songwriting commandments to the letter, the song has a verse in two-four and a refrain in waltz time. The juxtaposition of American structure with Jewish content is particularly striking in this song, since the oom-pah-pah of the waltz falls at the point when the text addresses microbes and bacilli, rather than appealing to a girlfriend:

SONG 17:

"Mentshen-fresser" ("Man-Eaters")

Verse 1:

In di lungen tif bagrobn
voynt di blaze pest:
di mikrobn, di batsiln
boyen zeyer nest,
fresn undzer layb un lebn,
frukhpern zikh pek
un mir muzn zelvst farshvebn
far der tsayt avek.
Un mir filn vi mir geyen
shtil un langzam oys,
un di shmertsn un di veyen
zaynen shreklikh groys.
Un di finstere makhshoves

gresern dem shmerts.
Yorn ligt der malakhamoves
tif bay undz in herts.

Chorus:

Mikrobn, batsiln, vos vilt ir?
Zogt, vemens shlikhes erfilt ir?
Ir frest di korbones
gor on rakhmones,
in bliendn lebn nor tsilt ir.
Ir bodt zikh in trem fun veyner,
ir tsit oys di markh fun di beyner.
Ir zamt di gederem, ir krikhende verem.
Mikrobn, batsiln, vos vilt ir?

Verse 1

Deeply buried in the lungs/ Lives the pale plague/ The bacilli
and microbes/ Build their nest/ They eat our bodies and lives/
And multiply greatly/ And we must fade away from the world/
Before our time./ And we feel how we expire/ Quietly and
slowly/ And the pains and the suffering/ Are terribly great./
And the dark thoughts/ Increase the pain./ For years the Angel
of Death/ Lives deep in our hearts.

Chorus

Microbes, bacilli, what do you want?/ Speak, whose errands
are you fulfilling?/ You eat the victims/ Mercilessly/ And aim
only at blossoming life./ You bathe in the tears of the weepers/
You extract the marrow from the bones./ You poison the
bowels, you creeping worms./ Microbes and bacilli, what do
you want?

The imagery is strong and relentless, down to "the marrow of the bones." (One is reminded of the action of the cemetery worms in the *memento mori* song quoted earlier.) Nevertheless, the "man-eater" metaphor is not dropped after a single verse and chorus; as usual, the central idea is developed in at least one other guise. Verse 4 describes other types of "cannibals":

Verse 4

Kep gekroynte, diplomatn,
um tsu hobn zig
tsvingen undz tsu zayn soldatn,

traybn undz in krig.
 Yunge mentshn in milyonen
 tsoln zeyer prayz,
 un es vet far di kanonen
 zeyer flaysh a shpayz . . .
 un tsekripte un toyte
 faln do un dort;
 naye lebns ongegreyte
 filn oys dem ort . . .
 Un in groyse tife kvorim
 pakt men laykhes fil
 un di hersher, di keysorim,
 shpiln shakhmat shpil!

Verse 4

Crowned heads and diplomats/ To gain victory/ Force us to be
 soldiers/ Drive us to war./ Young people by the millions/ Pay
 their price/ And their flesh/ Becomes cannon fodder . . . / And
 the crippled and the dead/ Fall here and there/ New lives are
 prepared/ To take their places . . . / And many corpses/ Are
 packed into big, deep graves/ And the rulers, the kings/ Play
 chess!

The topic of internal destruction through disease has led naturally to the issue of external annihilation via war: the "crowned heads and diplomats" are the microbes and bacilli of the human world. No punches are pulled in describing social and natural processes; Victorian euphemisms and high-flown language find little place in the naturalistic world of the Yiddish immigrant song. Unlike other ethnic groups, the Jews do not attempt to allay today's troubles with visions of a happier past. The summoning up of war victims goes beyond finger-pointing directed at the old regimes of Europe; it also speaks to the question of the Jews' lot.

SONGS OF EXTERNAL CHALLENGE AND INTERNAL CHANGE

The Jews' Lot; War; Oppression

Of course, it is difficult to draw the line between issues of internal identity and the question of "the Jews' lot." Yet one would want to

differentiate between the attempt at maintaining an in-group sense of identity, as illustrated by the songs on faith and ritual practice, and the effort to rationalize or face up to an external challenge.

General statements on the fate of the Jews tend to rely on the image of the Wandering Jew. This non-Jewish creation is accepted as part of a Jewish self-image because of consecutive expulsions and emigrations. Since we have touched on this theme before, we will only briefly consider a song of this type here, a post-World War I item (1919):

SONG 18:

"Der eybiker vanderer" ("The Eternal Wanderer")

Ikh vander, der alter reb yisroel.
 Ikh vander shoyn toyznter yorn,
 in goles getribn iberal.
 Vi lang nokh vel ikh arumvandern
 tsu zukhn mayn heym, mayn muters shoys.
 Zog mir, got, vi vayt iz nokh tsum veg vos firt
 fun dem goles aroys?

I wander, old Reb Israel.
 I've been wandering for thousands of years,
 Driven into exile everywhere.
 How long will I keep wandering
 Seeking my home, my mother's lap.
 Tell me, God, how much longer is the road that leads
 Out of exile?

Though the following stanza flirts with Zionism by mentioning the Holy Land as a possible final destination, the complaint is addressed to God, and is not couched in the rhetoric of a social movement.

A 1908 Mogulesco song, "Dos goldene rende" ("The Gold Coin"), lists various stages along the Jewish path of suffering, culminating in the Russian excesses of the day and hoping—as in previously cited songs—that Russia will be defeated in war:

SONG 19:

"Dos goldene rende" ("The Gold Coin")

Fun shpanyen fargest nor nit,
 vifl yidish blut hot dort in gantsn land geflosn.
 Shreklekh mordet men nokh haynt in vistn rusland,
 es lign toyte in di gasn.

A sof hot shpanyen shoyt gehat, yetst darf nokh der despot dershlogn vern dort bay yapan.

Un fun undzer payn un shrek zol makhn got an ende, un brengn undz keyn tsiyon glaykh arayn.

Don't forget about Spain/ How much Jewish blood flowed there across the whole land./ They still murder terribly today in desolate Russia/ The dead lie in the streets./ Spain has already met its end, and now the despot/ Must still be beaten over there, by Japan./ And let God put an end to our pain and terror,/ And bring us straight to Zion.

One of the best-known songs about the czarist realm is Small/Smulewitz's "A brivele fun rusland" ("A Letter from Russia" [1912]). The strong plea to American Jewry to rescue the Russian brethren is again reminiscent of the 1970s:

SONG 20:

"A brivele fun rusland" ("A Letter from Russia")

Brider fun di fraye shtetn, ir zayt gliklekh, ir zayt fray.
Undzer lebn iz a shotn, undzer hofenung iz farbay.
Rusland zukht oyf undz bilbulim, s'vert banayt elilas-dam;
has, ferakhtung un zilzulim, groyzamykayt fun yedn kham.
Zayt befrayer oyb aykh tayer iz dem yidns lebn aykh;
s'vet alts enger, vart nit lenger, ayer hilf iz neytik glaykh.

Chorus

A brivele der mamen fun di unterdrikte tsum amerikaner frayen yid:
retet, yidn brider, mir zaynen vi dershtikte, fun di gzeyres,
fun di tsores mid.

Az eyn yid far a tsveytn shtendik iz an orev, far yemens shuld, der tsveyter git a fant,
helft zhe ayer fraynd, bashitst zhe ayer korev, retet undz fun beyzn tsarnland.

Verse 1

Brothers of the free states, you're lucky, you're free./ Our life is a shadow, our hope is past./ Russia seeks false accusations against us, the charge of ritual murder [of Christians for their blood] is renewed/ Hate, contempt, and abuse, horror from every boor./ Be our liberators if Jewish life is dear to you/ It keeps getting tighter, don't wait any longer, your help is needed now.

Chorus:

A letter to mama, from the oppressed to the free American Jews/ Save us, brother Jews, we are suffocating, weary from the evil decrees and troubles./ Just as one Jew is always a guarantor for another, one pays for another's guilt/ So help your friend, protect your relative, save us from the evil czarist land.

The "letter to mama" line, hardly motivated in this song, seems to act as a reflex-stimulator for Small/Smulewitz's aesthetic. (He wrote the famous hit using that line as its title.) Here again, a self-sufficient system of clichés is being constructed.

It is worth stepping back to view the Jewish musical approach to World War I, as opposed to mainstream American songs on the subject. Conveniently, a 1917 sheet music folio ("Hy-Sine March and One-Step") lays out the general American classification of war songs, to which Jewish practice can be compared. It lists "six different types of war songs now being sung and played everywhere":

1. "Cheer up" type: "Set Aside Your Tears Till the Boys Come Marching Home";
2. "Ballad" type: "When the Moon Is Shining Somewhere in France";
3. "Stirring march" type: "The Old Flag Never Touched the Ground";
4. "Appealing" type: "Send Back Dear Daddy to Me";
5. "Comic" type: "I'm in the Army Now";
6. "Victory" type: "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight."

Of these six recognized commercial varieties, only two appear in the Yiddish tradition. "A grus fun di trentshes" ("A Greeting from the Trenches") is in the "stirring march" category, whereas "Tfilos milkhomo" ("War Prayer") seems "appealing," though not in the cute vein represented by "Send Back Dear Daddy to Me." We find no exhortations to "cheer up," no comic songs about hapless recruits, and no romantic ballads about "The Rose of No Man's Land." Anxious worry or statements of support for America are all the Jewish-American songwriters seemed willing to compose. Perhaps this indicates, once again, that the songwriters were in touch with the community. They rarely strove to write about feelings which contradicted general opinion and sentiment.

Yet at times one senses a gentle molding of public opinion. In 1917, besides writing "Russia's Song of Freedom," Morris Rosenfeld com-

posed words for "My America: Our New Hymn." This highfalutin tribute to the American cause exhorts Jewish youths to lay down their lives, if need be, for their new homeland. The text is hyperbolic, in both Yiddish and English, while the music is in pure Protestant hymn style. "My America" is the closest to rabble-rousing of any song in the sheet music repertoire:

SONG 21:

"My America: Our New Hymn"

A bentshung dir, du naye velt:
Dayn shvel oyf frayhayt iz geshtelt.
Amerika, ikh hob dikh lib,
un zogstu mir: dayn lebn gib,
ikh darf dayn mut, ikh darf dayn blut,
zolstu dos hobn di minut.
Ikh freg dikh nit tsu vos tsu ven;
vos du farlangst dos zol geshen.

Be thou new world by Heaven blest,
Thy threshold doth on freedom rest.
America, thou hast my love,
And if my valor thou wouldst prove
And ask my life as sacrifice,
It shall be yielded in a trice.
No wherefore and no why I ask,
I shall obey, whate'er the task.

The particularly fervid patriotism of "My America" leads us to our next major grouping, songs about the New World.

America

All the turmoil of immigration and adaptation is reflected in the sheet music repertoire. "America" is such a large topic that we need to consider its three main facets separately: pro-American and anti-American feeling, the process of immigration, and the woes of the greenhorn's life.

There are few other examples of the "My America" type. Despite the immigrants' growing success in and enthusiasm for the New World,

songwriters exploited the negative aspects of their situation. An exception to this trend is a very early (1887) song, Mogulesco's "Shalakh-mones" ("Purim Gifts"), not published until 1914. The traditional gifts carried from house to house during the spring holiday of Purim relate to the central metaphor of the song, which details God's presents to Jewry. By Verse 3, Mogulesco has taken the story from Exodus to America:

SONG 22:

"Shalakh-mones" ("Purim Gifts")

Verse 3

Der driter shalakh-mones
iz oykh fun got geven
az di rusn on rakhmones
hobn zikh an undz noykem geven.
Amerika a land iz do
vos dort lebt yeder fray,
un der yidele in a guter sho
git shoy n oykh rusland a shpay.
Amerika hot shtetelakh,
hayzelakh mit kleytelakh,
ale tsuker zis.
Bal-melokhelekh yidelekh
in ale stritelekh,
oy, vi tsuker zis.

Verse 3

The third gift/ Is also God-given/ As the Russians, mercilessly/
Took revenge on us./ There is a land, America/
Where everyone lives free/ And the Jew, in a happy hour./
Also spits on Russia./ America has towns/ Houses and stores/
All are sugar-sweet./ Jewish artisans/ In all the streets/
Oh, how sugar-sweet.

Anti-Americanism, the more prevalent mode of commentary, encompasses the topics of immigration and adjustment. Like every other ethnic group, the Jews produced a number of songs on the actual process of arriving in the New World; there are early 78 rpm records in various languages on the subject of Ellis Island itself. A particular point of emphasis in the Jewish songs is the generally unsung problem of rejectees from America. Thousands upon thousands of prospective immigrants were turned away for a variety of reasons: failure to possess

the requisite sum of money; eye disease; criminal record, including anti-czarist activity; and a host of other causes. This policy was seen as particularly cruel and capricious, as illustrated by a 1909 letter to the *Forverts* signed by one hundred immigrants, aged eight to fifty-eight, awaiting their fate at Ellis Island:

We the unfortunates who are imprisoned on Ellis Island beg you to have pity on us and print our letter in your worthy newspapers so that our brothers in America may know how we suffer here. . . .

You know full well how much the Jewish immigrant suffers till he gets to America . . . and when, with God's help, he has endured all this, and he is at last in America, he is given for "dessert" an order that he must show that he possesses twenty-five dollars. But where can we get it . . . we must have the money on arrival, yet a few hours later [when relatives come] it's too late. For this kind of nonsense they ruin so many people and send them back to the place they escaped from. . . .

We are packed into a room where there is space for two hundred people, but they have crammed in about a thousand . . . men are separated from their wives and children and only when they take us out to eat can they see them. . . .

God knows how many Jewish lives this will cost, because more than one mind dwells on the thought of jumping into the water when they take him [back] to the boat.⁶

As Harry Golden notes, "during the previous week, 600 detained immigrants had been sent back. And on the day the letter from the 100 was printed, they were sending back 270 people."

Given these statistics and their impact on family life, it is hardly surprising to find songs with titles such as "Der tsurikgeshikter imigrant" ("The Sent-Back Immigrant"). Small/Smulewitz's "Elis ayland" ("Ellis Island") of 1914 voices a common emotion:

SONG 23:

"Elis ayland" ("Ellis Island")

O elis ayland, du grenets fun frayland,
vi groys un vi shreklékh du bist.
Azelkhe retsikhes dos kenen nor rikhes,
du plagst di geplagte umzist.
Mit tsores gekumen, dem yam koyim dershvumen,
di getin der frayhayt derzen,

do komt elis ayland, der grenets fun frayland,
zogt: halt, du kenst vayter nit geyn.

O Ellis Island, you border of Freeland/
How big and how terrible you are./
Only demons can commit such outrages/
You harass the harassed for nothing./
Having come with troubles, having barely crossed the sea/
Having seen the Statue of Liberty/
There's Ellis Island, the border of Freeland/
Saying: "Stop, you can go no further."

Once admitted to "Freeland," the immigrant voiced his disappointment and resentment at the failure of his dreams to materialize. The phrase *goldn land* or *goldene medine* ("land of gold," or "golden land") is rarely used as a positive epithet; rather, it is the standard vehicle for feelings of anti-Americanism. (A similar attitude is voiced in "A brivele dem tatn," about a father sent back to Russia, forever parted from his immigrant son.) This negative attitude toward the new homeland is in itself a complex emotion whose various facets are revealed in diverse song texts. One stance found in the earlier repertoire, which we have already suggested as a major source for didactic songs, is indignation at the way European good-for-nothings have become American successes. Friedsell's "Di goldene medine" (1902) displays this attitude:

SONG 24:

"Di goldene medine" ("The Golden Country")

Verse

Amerika iz a goldn land, lang un breyt no vi a rikh.
Git nor eynem in der hant, vert er an oysher gikh.
Er meg zayn a ganev fun der heyim, a kolboynik mit lepke hent,
makht di khevre anshey-sdom im far a prezident.
Mit der tsayt vert er a gantser filosof,
farrayst zayn noz un kukt aroyf.
A morde frest er on vi a groyser kham,
er meynt er iz a gantser yatebedam.
Ikh zog ober, er iz der zelber ganev take vos er iz geven.

Chorus

Oy a goldn land, a goldene medine,
vilstu zayn a mentsh un leben git
in dem goldenem land, goldene medine,
vos du zest un herst, keyn kashes freg gor nit.

Verse

America is a golden country, as long and broad as a demon/
 As soon as he gives a bribe, he becomes rich quickly./ He may
 be a thief from back home, a scoundrel with sticky fingers/
 The Society of Sodomites will make him president./
 With time he becomes a regular philosopher/ He turns up his
 nose and looks up./ He gorges himself and fattens his chin like
 a big boor/ He thinks he's a big shot./ But I say he's the same
 thief as before.

Chorus

O, a golden land, a golden country/ If you want to be a person
 and live well/ In the golden land, golden country/ Don't ask
 any questions about what you see and what you hear.

"Di goldene medine" is essentially a song of self-criticism, a genre which tends to fade away as the American Dream becomes more attainable or to take on more specific and stereotyped metaphors, such as the eventual rise of the *schlemihl*, the Jewish Mother, and the Jewish-American Princess. In 1902 self-criticism centered on social inequality, rather than on the incompetence, emotional demands, or self-satisfaction of the 1960s satire. In this respect the earlier songs demonstrate a strong tie to the great nineteenth-century Yiddish literary and popular tradition of self-satire directed against the powerful and the hypocrites within the European Jewish community. The connection with the earlier genre of didactic songs also shows a continuity of European values.

A newer type of anti-American song takes on the day-to-day struggle of immigrant life. This issue had been broached in the first American Yiddish plays, such as Lateiner's *Di emigratsion nokh amerika* ("The Emigration to America"), for which, unfortunately, no music survives. One of the most striking songs of immigrant hardship is "Di nyu-yorker tremn" ("New York Tears") by Altman, published in 1910 but possibly much older. The full text is worth reproducing because it gives a very comprehensive account of the daily tragedies of city life:

SONG 25

"Di nyu-yorker tremn" ("New York Tears")

Verse 1

In nyu-york kokht nor vi a keslgrib,
 es rasht un es rudert gor on oyfher.
 Fil memtshn zet ir geyn im trib,

oft mol gefint ir bay mentshn a trer.
 Umglikn trefn do oyf yedn shrit,
 un dokh vert der gehenem nokh frayland genent.
 A familye shtelt men aroys do in strit
 vayl zey kenen nit pinktlekh batsoln dem rent.
 Es regnt, es gist, di tremn es flist
 un zey zitsn nebekh farfinstert, farvist.

Chorus

Ot dos zaynen di nyu-yorker tremn
 vos kenen keyn mol nit oyfhern.
 A krekhts, a geshrey, a zifts und a vey,
 dos kent ir nor imer do hern.
 Dos iz shoyt nit nay, vu ir geyt nor farbay
 zet ir di nyu yorker tremn.

Verse 2

A man geyt avek fun der heym gezint,
 er loyft zukhn arbet tsu trefn zayn glik.
 A kar kumt on bald, tseshnayt im geshvind,
 men brengt im aheym a toyt tsurik.
 Di froy ven zi zet dos blaybt zi vi farshtumt,
 ir ponim vert blas un di oygn royt.
 Men shikt nokh a dokter, un bifer er kumt
 treft er di froy az zi ligt shoyt oykh toyt,
 un dos eyntsike kind shrayt nebekh atsind:
 tatenyu, mamenyu, nemt mikh mit zikh geshvind.

Verse 3

Ver es hot nit gehert fun der merderay
 vos hot pasirt do nit lang in mantgomeri strit:
 gefunen tseshnitn hot men mentshn dray:
 a man, a froy, a shviger in a taykh blut.
 Un dort hert men a boy hot zayn khaver geshosn.
 Kinder tsvey hobn zikh mit a pistol geshpilt.
 A boy fun 14 yor, vos hot er den genosn.
 Der tseyter boy nokh yinger hot in im getsilt.
 Vi er hot derfild dem knal
 shrayt er "mame" oyf a kol,
 und loyfendik fun dritn flor
 blaybt er lign toyt im hol.

Verse 1

New York bubbles like a pot/ There's constant tumult and hubbub./ You see a lot of people rushing around and/ Often you see people's tears./ Misfortunes happen here at every step/ And yet this hell is called Freeland./ They put a family out on the street/ Because they can't pay the rent on time./ It rains, it pours, the tears flow/ And the poor things sit depressed and forlorn.

Chorus

That's the New York tears/ Which never can stop./ A sob, a scream, a sigh and a woe/ That's what you hear all the time./ That's nothing new; wherever you go/ You see the New York tears.

Verse 2

A man leaves home healthy/ He runs to look for work to seek his fortune./ A car comes and cuts him up quickly/ They bring him home dead./ The wife, when she sees this, stands dumb/ Her face pales and her eyes redden./ They send for a doctor, but before he can come/ He finds the wife also lying dead/ And the only child, alas, now screams/ O mommy, o daddy, take me with you quickly.

Verse 3

Who hasn't heard of the murder/ That took place not long ago on Montgomery Street?/ They found three people stabbed/ A man, a wife, and a mother-in-law in a pool of blood./ And there you hear a boy shot his friend./ Two children were playing with a pistol./ A boy of 14, what has he seen of life./ The second boy, still younger, aimed at him./ When he felt the shot/ He screams "mama" loudly/ And, running from the third floor/ He lies dead in the hall.

"Di nyu-yorker trem" overlaps at least two other genres on our list: the occasional song (inspired by a specific event), and the orphan song. Verse 2 is a strong statement of the orphan's plight, while Verse 3 mentions actual events that must have been fresh in listeners' minds. Despite the localization, one wonders if the song is very different from similar ballads that must have been hawked on the streets of Warsaw, Kiev, or Odessa. Contemporaneous folksongs from those cities address the dislocation and random cruelty of urban life; e.g., there are songs on the deaths of factory workers due to industrial accidents. Yet however

close the parallels to European material may be, one cannot help being struck by the song's title (specifying America), by the local events (children playing with firearms; the high rate of eviction), and, most of all, by the telltale line: "And yet this hell is called Freeland." The Yiddish word, so cleverly made to rhyme with "Ellis Island" in a song examined earlier, confirms the stylized language of sheet music.

One final note on the European and American approaches to the tragedies of modern life. In the sheet music repertoire, one finds very little reference to anti-Semitism in America. There is the occasional stray item, like the broadside on the Leo Frank case; even that song, written when Frank was pardoned, took a highly optimistic view. The European songs, on the other hand, are frequently about pogroms, the ravages of war, and the sufferings brought about by the czarist regime, and topics that we have characterized as typical for American material about the Old World. One of the few anti-Gentile swipes in the New York material appears in "Der poylisher yid" ("The Polish Jew"), a commentary on Old World, rather than American, anti-Semitism.

Of all the songs on the topic of America, one is notable for its distinctive format: the bilingual "Swing Days/Men hoydet zikh in Amerika" ("You Swing in America"), with lyrics by Anshel Shorr (1908). Completely American in musical style, the song has an English text in the mainstream tradition of "School Days" and other nostalgic evocations of non-ethnic American childhood. The Yiddish text simultaneously undercuts the rosy vision by supplying an abrasive, naturalistic image of sweatshop life:

SONG 26:

"Swing Days/Men hoydet zikh in amerika"

Chorus:

Swing days, swing days,	Hoyda, hoyda,
Then were the dear happy times.	men hoydet zikh aher un ahin.
Swing days, swing days,	Hoyda, hoyda,
Days of old nursery rhymes.	meg men zayn gel tsi grin,
Oh for those dear old swing days,	mus men zikh hoyden, hoyden,
Spending our nickels and dimes	dort in a shap baym mashin.
As we used to meet near the pool	Men hoydet dos lebn aroys
And go swinging right after school.	bis es geyen di koykhes oys.

Swing, swing./ You swing back and forth./ Swing, swing./ Whether you're yellow or green/ You have to swing, swing/ There in a shop by a machine./ You swing out your life/ Until you're all used up.

The staggering contrast between the two texts bespeaks a level of self-consciousness which might not otherwise have been credited to the supposedly unsophisticated songmakers of 1908. We have seen

straightforward Yiddish parodies of American songs as far back as the mid-1890s, but the coexistence of model *and* parody as alternate texts in the same song exists only in "Swing Days." Thus, before 1910, one finds fairly elaborate means of expression for attitudes toward America, including the very irony about American life that will form the keystone of Jewish-American comedy and literature in later decades.

Social Movements

"Swing Days" is a song of social protest as much as a purely entertainment item, and it leads us to our final category. In the sheet music world, social commentary rarely made direct reference to the radical ferment of Jewish-American politics. True enough, there are editions of "The Jewish Marseillaise" and the "Internationale," the worldwide hymn of revolution. But one finds few mentions of unions, strikes, or socialism. These topics seem to have been relegated to the appropriate political body, such as the Workmen's Circle Chorus of the early 'teens, described earlier. Only with the establishment of Lefkovich's Metro Music shop and publishing house do we find a commercial enterprise taking up the workers' cause.

Nevertheless, allusions to social movements do crop up, most often in comedy numbers fresh from the Yiddish stage. We have already seen entertainment's view of feminism and the suffrage movement. In terms of socialism, "Fifti-fifti" ("50-50") can serve as a musical example. While its first verse considers broad questions of social equality, subsequent stanzas take the topic of "fifty-fifty" into the more general realm of comedy: the narrator's brother, a streetcar conductor, goes halves with the city as he collects fares.

SONG 27:

"Fifti-fifti" ("50-50")

Verse

Ikh hof, mir veln nokh derlebn kumen zol di tsayt
ven es veln mer nit zayn keyn boses un keyn arbetslayt.
Di sotsyalistn veln makhn a sof tsu orem un raykh;
di boses mit di arbeter veln zikh teyln glaykh oyf glaykh.

Chorus

Fifti fifti, oy, oy, oy, fifti!
Vanderbilt vet vi an oks
zitsn shvitsn un neyen kloks;

lomir trayen umetum
keyn tsayt farlirn un shnel aynfirm
dem fifti-fifti-skim, oy, oy, oy!

Verse

I hope we will live to see the day/ When there will be no more
bosses and workers./ The Socialists will put an end to "poor"
and "rich"/ The bosses and the workers will divide things up
evenly.

Chorus

Fifty-fifty, oy, oy, oy, fifty!/ Vanderbilt, like an ox,/ Will sit and
sweat and sew cloaks/ Let's try everywhere/ Lose no time and
quickly introduce/ The fifty-fifty scheme, oy, oy, oy!

As usual, the language closely matches the tenor of the text. We are treated to an amusing array of Americanisms, ranging from the title itself—"fifty-fifty," not "fuftsik-fuftsik"—through the very un-Yiddish verb *tray* ("try") and noun *skim* ("scheme").

With this comic flourish we take our leave of the texts and topics of the sheet music repertoire. Even so cursory a survey reveals the richness of the material, the scope of the subjects, and the complexity of the world mirrored in the lyrics of ephemeral popular songs. Let us now turn to the graphic imagery presented by the sheet music as artifact.

NOTES

1. This and the following quotation are from Sigmund Spaeth, *Read 'Em and Weep: The Songs You Forgot to Remember* (New York: Halcyon House, 1926), pp. 1-2.
2. For a basic survey, see Charles A. Madison, *Jewish Publishing in America* (New York: Sanhedrin Press, 1976). The two quotations below re: Hebrew Publishing Co. catalogues are from pp. 79-81.
3. Lines from "Homeless Tonight, or Boston in Ashes," quoted in Lester Levy, *Grace Notes in American History: Popular Sheet Music from 1820-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 324.
4. Quoted in E. and C. Moore, *Ballads and Folk Songs of the Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 366.
5. Lewis Appleton, *Bibliography of Jewish Vocal Music*, rev. ed. (New York: National Jewish Music Council, 1968).
6. This and the following Harry Golden quotation are from I. Metzker, ed., *A Bintel Brief* (New York: Ballantine, 1971), pp. 94-97.