DE GRUYTER

Stefan C. Reif, Andreas Lehnardt, Avriel Bar-Levav (Eds.)

DEATH IN JEWISH LIFE

BURIAL AND MOURNING CUSTOMS AMONG JEWS OF EUROPE AND NEARBY COMMUNITIES

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Volume 1

Death in Jewish Life

Burial and Mourning Customs Among Jews of Europe and Nearby Communities

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Minna Rozen

Romans in Istanbul Part 2: Texts and Photographs

These tombstone inscriptions have been copied as precisely as possible, including the few punctuation marks present (colons). All other punctuation marks added to increase the texts' comprehensibility in Hebrew have been added by the author of this article. Abbreviations have been expanded and explained inside square brackets in the Hebrew and translated in full in English. When the beginning of a new row on the tombstone does not match the beginning in the Hebrew text cited below, this has been indicated by a backward slash. The English text follows the Hebrew text as closely as possible in terms of line designations and punctuation, but also makes certain allowances to increase comprehensibility.

Tombstone of Kalomira, wife of David Romano, d. 5 July, 1583, *Documentation Project of Turkish and Balkan Jewry*, Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Computerized Database of Jewish Cemeteries in Turkey, Tel Aviv University (hereafter DP), Hasköy Cemetery, lot #4-2, stone #34, film #32 (18 August, 1988). Stone brought from the Köfeke quarries, some 25 km. from Istanbul airport. The use of the quarries was officially restricted to sultanic palaces and mosques. Nevertheless, the frequency of the stone's appearance in the Hasköy Cemetery at this period attests to the Jewish community's considerable investment in the culture of death.



צִיּוּן קְבוּרַת הָאִשָּׁה מָרַת קָאלוֹמִירָה אֲשֶׁת דָּוִד רוֹמָאנוֹ נִפְטָרָה כ' הַמִּוּז השמ"ג ומ"ך [וּמְנוּחָתָה כָּבוֹד].

Tombstone [marking] the grave of the lady Mistress Kalomira, wife of David Romano, passed away 20 Tammuz 5343. May she rest in dignity.

Tombstone of Alta Dona, wife of Nissim Romano, d. 20 November, 1704, DP Kuzguncuk Cemetery, lot #F-8, stone #129, film #186 (26 May, 1989). Marmara marble, hexagonal prismatic stone, decorated with lengthwise protruding inscription lines divided into twelve parts, each one encircled by a separated decorative frame. A symbolic decorative engagement belt divides the frames in the middle of the stone. Although the deceased is a married woman, it is the 'voice' of her father that 'speaks' in the epitaph, a fact attesting to her youth and possibly to her family's social status.



לְבִּי מְאֹד יֵצֵר, עַל כִּי בְּמָקוֹם צַר, כָּלָא בְעַד יָפְיָה. רוּחִי בְּקַרְבִּי סָר, חֶמְדַת לְבָבִי מַר בְּכָה, בּעַרְ'[ה] הַמַּצֵּבָה הַזֹּאת, וְהוֹמִיֶּ'[ה] הִיא, וְשָׁמַע אָבִיהָ לָה, הַעִּיר קוֹלָה כַּנָחָשׁ יֵלַה,' כִּי הָחֵרשׁ לָה אָבִיהָ, בְּמַעֲבֵה הָאָדָמָה אָבֶן סְעָפִּיו יֵשׁ בְּיָדוֹ:² מָה אָהֵמֶה לֶּהְ הַבַּת הַיְּקְרָה! לְזֹאת יִקְּרֵא סַפֶּר הַקִּינוֹת, ה'ה [הָלֹא הִיא] הַיְּקְרָה מְ'[רַת] אַלְטָאדוֹנָה נ'ב'ת [נַפְשָׁה בְּטוֹב תָּלִין], אֵשֶׁת ה'ר [הָרַב] נִּסִּים רוֹמָאנוֹ יֹץ [יִשְׁמְרוֹ צוּרוֹ], ב'ש [בָּא שְׁמְשָׁה] כ'ב

חֶשְׁנָוֹ. נִקְטָפָה בַּמַגֵּפָה שְׁנַת ה'תס'ה ומ"ך [וּמְנוּחָתָה כָּבוֹד].

My heart is greatly troubled, that in such a narrow place, her beauty is eternally imprisoned. My spirit is despondent within me, I weep bitterly for my heart's delight, this tombstone burns and yearns, and her father heard her, her voice going forth like a serpent,³ Now her father is silent for her, in the thick of the earth⁴ he has offsprings of stone⁵: What can I coo to you, beloved daughter?

ירמיהו מו:כב. 1

כלומר, במקום צאצאים יש בידו אבן. 2

³ Jer 46:22.

^{4 1} Kgs 7:46.

⁵ That is to say, instead of descendants, he has stone.

For this will be called the book of lamentations, for she is the beloved Mistress Alta Donna, may her soul rest well, the wife of R. Nissim Romano, may his Rock preserve him, her sun set on the twenty-second of the month of Ḥeshvan. Plucked from among us by a plague in 5465. May she rest in dignity.

Tombstone of Mevorakh Roman, d. 26 July, 1643, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #5-5, stone #34L, film #34 (11 September, 1987). Marmara marble, vertical part of monument, which had a horizontal element. The only decoration of this part of the monument is the chiseled simple frame and protruding characters. The horizontal part is decorated by a mihrab recess. A plan of the double monument of Mevorakh Roman and his wife Mazal Tov, can be seen in Minna Rozen, *Hasköy Cemetery*, Part 2, p. 79.



לְעֵד כָּל שׁוֹאֵל לְמִי הַמְּעָרָה הַזֹּאת? לְסוֹף אָדָם תַּחֲשׁוֹב, וְתוֹּךְ אֶבֶ'[ן] יַחָצוֹב, וְמַכְּרִיףְ בַּד תַּעֲטוֹף, וְתְעֵמוֹד עַל פִּתְחָה, וְסוֹף דָּבָר תִּשְׁמֵּע, בְּקֵץ חֶלְדְּדִּי תִּסְמֹדְ, וְזֶה כָּל הָאָדָם.* בְּעוֹדוֹ חִי צוֹפָה, ראָה אוֹתוֹת עֲלֵי אוֹתוֹת, בְּאֶב[ן] גִּיר מְנוּפָצוֹת,º מוֹרִים וְגָם אוֹמְרִים: עֲבוֹד הָאֵל בְּמוֹעָצוֹת. כָּל אִישׁ יִכְאַב: שֶׁנְגָנֵז אָב: לְכָל מִשְׁפַחְתוֹ הוּא אָב: הָלֶךְ לַעֲבוֹד לָאֵל בְּאָביי: ה'ה' [הַלֹא הוּא] הַיָּשִׁישׁ נָבוֹן כֹה'ר [כְּבוֹד הָרָב] מְבוֹרָךְ רוֹמָאן תנצ'בה [תְּהִי נִשְׁמַתוֹ צְרוֹרָה בִּצְרוֹר הַחַיִּים], נִתְבַּקְשׁ בִּישִׁיכָהִיי בַּעֲשָׂרָה בְּאָב: בְּיוֹם א' שְׁנַת ה'ת'ג' ו'מ'ך' [וּמְנוֹחָתוֹ כְּבוֹד].

על פי ילקוט שמעוני על שופטים, רמז לח "לוז היה עומד על פתחה של מערה". 6

זמנך. 7

על דרך קהלת פרק יב: יג: "סוֹף דָּבֶר הַכּּל נִשְׁמָע אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים יְרָא וְאֶת מִצְוֹתִיו שְׁמוֹר כִּי זֶה 8 על דרך קהלת פרק יב: יג: "סוֹף דָּבֶר הַכּּל נִשְׁמָע הַ

על דרך ישעיהו כז:ט: "לָכֵן בְּזֹאת יְכַפַּר עֲוֹן יַעֲקֹב וְזָה כָּל פְּרִי הָסִר חַטְּאתוֹ בְּשׁוּמוֹ כָּל אַבְנֵי פּ על דרך ישעיהו כז:ט: "לָכֵן בְּזֹאת יְכַפַּר עֲוֹן יַעֲקֹב וְזָה כָּאַבְנֵי גָּר מְנַפָּצוֹת לֹא יָקַמוּ אֲשֵׁרִים וְחַמְּנִים".

כלומר בחודש אב. 10

של מעלה. 11

As a witness to all [passersby] who will ask: 'Whose burial cave is this?' Think of the end of each and every man to be chiseled in stone and be wrapped in a cloth shroud, as you stand at the entrance [of the cave]. 12 And when all is said and done you will learn; at the end of your days, you may rely [on this fact],

for this is the lot of man. 13 In his lifetime he foresees and beholds a multitude of signs punctured in chalk blocks, 14

instructing and also reciting: 'Worship the Lord in the councils.'

Every person is in pain: That a father has been entombed: He is a

father to his entire family: He went to worship the Lord in [the month] of Av^{15} : For he is the old wise one, the honoured rabbi Mevorakh Roman, may his soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life, who was invited to the [heavenly] academy on the tenth of Av, on the first day [of the week], 5403.

And may he rest in dignity.

¹² Based on Yalqui Shim'oni on Judges, Remez 38 'Luz was stationed at the mouth of the cave.'

¹³ Echoing Eccl 12:13: 'The sum of the matter, when all is said and done: Revere God and observe his commandments! For this is the lot of man.'

¹⁴ Echoing Isa 27:9 this line contains the hepax legomenon *menupaṣot*, translated above as 'punctured' in order to maintain some of the onomatopoeia found in the Hebrew.

¹⁵ There is a play words between av which is both the name of a Hebrew month and the Hebrew word for father.

Tombstone of Mazal Tov, daughter of Teshuva Roman, d. 2 November, 1644, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-5, stone #28L, film #11 (6 September, 1987). Marmara marble, horizontal slab decorated with lengthwise protruding inscription lines.



לְזֹאת יִּקְרֵא אֶבֶן הָרֹאשָׁה: ּוֹ לְבָכִי וּלְמִסְפֵּד לְנֵעְרָה בְּכֹוֹרָה, יְחִידָה וּמְאוֹרָשָׁה: כִּי לְנְחִי וְאוֹי נֶהְפַּדְּ מְשֹׁשָׁה: וּלְאָב וָאֵם כִּי מֶרִים הֵם. אֶל ה לֵקֶחָה מֵאְתָּם בַּת ט'ו שָׁנָה, יָפָה כְּתְרְצָה: יִי אָב לְזֹאת יֶחֱרַד, וְאֵם הָחִיל מִצְעַק, וְחַיֵּיהֶם לְהֶם לְמַשָּׁא: ה'ה' [הַלֹא הִיא] בְּתוּלְתָא כַּלְּתָא כְּלִילַת יֹפִי, מַזְּל טוֹב בַּת הַנָּבוֹן וְנַצֵּלֶה ה'ר' [הוּא הָרָב] הְשׁוּבָה רוֹמֶאן יץ [יִשְׁמְרוֹ צוּרוֹ], נִקְטְפָּה יוֹם ד כ'ב לְמַר חֵשָׁן[פּוּ שָׁנַת ה'ת'ד' וֹמ'רְ"[וֹמְנוּחַתָּה כַּבוֹד].

על פי זכריה ד:ז; מדרש תנחומא (בובר) פרשת תולדות, סימן כ דיבור המתחיל "כתיב שיר", 16 האבן אותה שם יעקב. מראשותיו כאשר נטה ללון בדרכו לחרן, שם הובטחה לו בחלום נחלתו ארץ ישראל. האבן היא יסוד נחלתו (בראשית כח). בארכיטקטורה אבן הראשה היא החולייה העליונה בקשת הבנויה באופן מסורתי. כאשר בונים קשת מלבנים על פיגומים, אבן הראשה היא הלבנה המונחת אחרונה ונועלת את הקשת. בלעדיה הקשת לא תישאר יציבה. כעיקרון, לא רק אבן הראשה חיונית ליציבות הקשת אלא כל חלקיה אלא שלאבן הראשה משמעות סמלית. משמעות השימוש במילים אבן הראשה הינה כי אבן המצבה הזאת היא האבן שנלקחה מבניין קיום. חייהם של הורי הנערה, שמבלעדיה אין לבניין קיום.

שיר השירים ו:ד. 17

מרחשון הוא שמו העתיק של החודש העברי חשון, ומקורו במילה האכדית "וַרְחַ-שַּמְנֵּ", 18 שפירושה: וַרְחֻ = יָרָח, חודש; שַּמְנֵּ = שמיני .בעקבות קריאה מוטעית, כנראה, נקרא החודש ברוב שפירושה: וַרְחֻ = יָרָח, חודש; שַּמְנֵּ = שמיני .בעקבות קריאה מוטעית, ובסוף הביא להשמטתה. תפוצות ישראל מַר־חַשְּןָן, מה שהביא להתיחסות ל"מר" כאל קידומת, ובסוף הביא להשמטתה בכל בתי העלמין שתועדו בתורכיה מופיעים 3801 איזכורים של חשון ,לעומת 119 של מרחשון. בתוך 1803 האיזכורים של השם המקוצר 2700 הם משנת 1800 ואילך. כל האיזכורים של הצורה העתיקה הם מן השנים שלפני 1800, והם מהווים כב2 אחוז מכלל איזכורי החודש לפני שנת 1800. המילה מר בשפה העברית פירושה בעל טעם רע, וייתכן שהשימוש בצורה העתיקה במצבות אלה מרמז לביטוי נוסף של צער.

This will be called a headstone:¹⁹ for weeping and eulogizing a firstborn child, an only child, a young betrothed maiden: for her joy has been transformed into [cries of] lamentation and wailing: and her father and mother are bitter, for the Lord God took her from them [when she was] fifteen years old, as beautiful as Tirṣa.²⁰ A father fears this and a shocked mother screams, and their life becomes a burden to them: for she is the virgin bride, the epitome of beauty,²¹ Mazal Tov the daughter of the insightful and exalted R. Teshuva Roman, may his Rock preserve him, plucked [from amongst us] the fourth day [of the week], the twenty-second of the bitter²² month of Heshvan 5404. May she rest in dignity.

¹⁹ Based on Zech 4:7; Midrash Tanḥuma (Buber) Toledot 20, s.v. ketiv shir, the stone that Jacob placed under his head when he lay down to sleep on his way to Ḥaran; there he was promised in a dream that he would receive the Land of Israel as an inheritance. The stone is the foundation of his inheritance (Gen 28). In the field of architecture, a keystone is the wedge-shaped stone piece at the apex of a masonry vault or arch that is the final piece placed during construction, which locks all the stones into position, allowing the arch to bear weight. Figuratively, it refers to the central supporting element of a larger structure, without which the whole structure would collapse. In this context, the headstone is a keystone taken from the parents without which their lives will collapse.

²⁰ Cant 6:4.

²¹ Lam 2:15.

²² The articulation Marḥeshvan is a distortion of an original Verah shamnu which derives from the Akkadian. In many cases the word was divided and articulated Mar Ḥeshvan, which brought about the omission of the first part altogether. In all the cemeteries documented by me in Turkey I have found 3801 Ḥeshvans, 119 Mar Ḥeshvans, and 227 Marḥeshvans. Out of the 3801 Ḥeshvans, 2700 are post 1800, all the older forms are pre 1800, and comprise 22% of all the references to this month in all the forms dating before 1800. The use of the ancient form may be an additional expression of grief.

Tombstone of Simḥa, widow of Teshuva Roman, d. 10 May, 1644, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-5, stone #11L, film #9 (6 September, 1987). Marmara marble, horizontal stone, with mihrab-shaped decorative frame, and lengthwise protruding inscription. The mihrab shape on a horizontal stone creates the image of a Muslim prayer rug, a form assimilated into the Jewish world of images as a gate of heaven. See M. Rozen, *Hasköy Cemetery Typology of Stones* (Tel Aviv University and the University of Pennsylvania, 1996), pp. 55–61.



בְּבוּדָּה בַּת מְלֶכִים, בּוֹר וְשׁוּחָה זְמֵן כֶּרָה מְקוֹם זֶכַח וּמִנְחָה, וּבְמְקוֹם מִשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב אֲנָחָה, וְתַחַת מַעֲשֶׁה מִקְשָׁה צְנָחָה,²² לְנוּדָה צְלְלוּ שַׁצְרֵי מְנוּחָה,²⁴ בְּיוֹם פָּסוּ יְמֵי מִשְׁתָּה וְ'שִׁמְחָה,²⁵ הִיא הָאשָׁה אֲשֶׁר הוֹכִיחַ ה'²⁶ בְּאַף וּבְחֵמֶה בְּאַחַד הַבּוֹרוֹת, וְנוֹתְרָה בַּת צִיּוֹן מִחַּחַת לָאָרֶץ מַטְמֻנֵּי/ מִסְתָּרִים²² בְּצֵד מְעָרוֹת, וְאֶל מַכְאוֹב כְּבוּדָּה בַת מֵלֵךּ, צֵינֵי בִּאֵרוֹת בָּאֵרוֹת צּּלְזֹאת

²³ מליצה אירונית על דרך תהילים מה:יד: "כֶּל כְּבוּדָּה בַת מֶלֶךְ כְּנִימָה מִמִּשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב לְבוּשָׁהּ" נ עם ישעיהו ג:כד: "וְהָיָה תַחַת בֹּשֶׁם מֵק יִהְיֶה וְתַחַת חֲגוֹרָה נִקְפָּה וְתַחַת מֵעֲשֶׁה מִקְשֶׁה קָרְחָה וְתַחַת פְּתִיגִיל מַחֲלֶרֶת שָׁק כִּי תַחַת 'פִּי".

מליצה על פי ירמיהו נא :נט "הַדָּבֶר אֲשֶׁר צְּוָּה יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא אֶׁת שְׂרְיָה בֶּן בֵּרְּיָה בֶּן מַחְסֵיָה 24 בְּלֶכְתּוֹ אֶת צִּדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה בָּבֶל בִּשְׁנַת הָרְבִעִּית לְמָלְכוֹ וּשְׂרְיָה שֵׂר מְנוּחָהוּ. ורד"ק מפרש שר בְּלֶכְתּוֹ אֶת צִּדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה עם המלך בעת מנוחתו לשוח ולהתענג עמו וי"ת כמו מנחה שר תוקרבתא".

מליצה על שם המנוחה. על פי אסתר ט:כב. 25

על פי בראשית כד:מד. 26

על פי ישעיהו מה:ג. 27

על פי פירוש אברבנאל (ורשה, 1862) לספר דברים לא, ד"ה "והנה הדבור": "כי שתים רעות 28 עשה עמי אותי עזבו מקור מים חיים לחצוב להם בארות בארות נשברים אשר לא יכילו המים". אברבנאל חיבר את הבארות בדברים עם הבּארת בירמיהו ב:יג.

יָפֶרָא אָשָׁה/ חַכְמַת לֵב.2º בָּא שִׁמְשָׁה בְּעוֹד יוֹמֶם לְיוֹם עֶבְרוֹתºּּ/ ה'ה'וָהָלֹא הִיא] עֲטֶרֶת תִּפְאֶרֶת חַכְמוֹת נָשִׁים יּנִּ מָ'וֹרַת] שִׁמְחָה נב'ת /ונַפְשָׁה בְּטוֹב תָּלִין] אַלְמְנַת הַנָּבוֹן וְנַצֵּלֶה ה'ר' תְּשׁוּבָה רוֹמָאן, נִפְטִרָה יוֹם ג' ד' לְחֹדֶשׁ אִיָּר שְׁנַת ה'ת'ד' ו'מ'ך'/

[ומנוחתה כבוד].

The dignity of the daughter of kings: Time has dug a pit and a trench in place of burnt and meal offerings, and instead of clothing embroidered with gold mountings, there is a groan, and instead of beaten-work, there is a scream.³² Seeing her plight the gates of pleasure³³ have sunk, on the day that the days of feasting and joy³⁴ have ended.

She is the woman whom God rebuked with wrath and anger in one of the pits, and the daughter of Zion was left beneath the earth in hidden sepulchres,

hidden forever in caves, and at the injury to a king's daughter's dignity my eyes turn into wells upon wells of tears.³⁵ For she is a lady/ wise of heart.³⁶ Her sun has set while there is yet day on the day of wrath.³⁷ For she is the crown of beauty, the wisdom of women,³⁸ Mistress Simha, may her soul sojourn well, the widow of the insightful and exalted R. Teshuva Roman, passed away on the fourth day [of the week] on the fourth day of the month of Iyar, 5404. May she rest in dignity.

על פי בראשית ב:כג עם שמות לה:כה. 29

^{30 .}איוב כא:ל.

על פי משלי יד:א. 31

³² Ironic poetical allusion based on a conflation of Ps 45:14 – 'The royal princess her dress embroidered with golden mountings' – and Isa 3:24 – 'And then – instead of perfume, there shall be rot; and instead of an apron, a robe; instead of a diadem of beaten-work, a shorn head; instead of a rich robe, a girding of sackcloth; a burn instead of beauty.'

³³ Poetic language based on Jer 51:59: 'The instructions that the prophet Jeremiah gave to Seraiah son of Neriah son of Maḥseiah, when the latter went with King Zedekiah of Judah to Babylonia, in the fourth year of [Zedekiah's] reign. Seraiah was quartermaster.' Radaq (= David Qimḥi) comments that the sentence "Seraiah sar menuḥa," translated above 'Seraiah was quartermaster', means that Seraiah was the king's friend, who accompanied the king when he went to take his pleasure (sar menuḥa). In the epitaph the words sha'arei menuḥa ('the gates of rest') tragically echo Radaq's interpretation of sarei menuḥa.

³⁴ A poetical allusion to the name of the deceased.

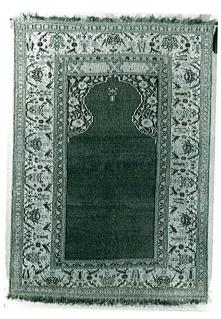
³⁵ Based on Abarbanel's commentary (Warsaw, 1862) on Deut 31, s.v. *we-hine ha-dibbur*: For My people have done a twofold wrong: They have forsaken me, the fount of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, which cannot even hold water" (Jer 2:13).

³⁶ Based on a conflation of Gen 2:23 and Ex 35:25.

³⁷ Job 21:30.

³⁸ Based on Prov 14:1.

Ottoman prayer rug made of wool dated to the 18th century. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation, Inc., 86.227.120.



Photograph No. 7

The Gate of the Ince Minaret Medresesi (1258–1279) in Konya, Turkey.



Tombstone of Sultana, wife of Shelomo Hamon, and daughter of Moshe, son of Teshuva Mevorakh, d. 13 January, 1648, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-5, stone #10L, film #9 (6 September, 1987). A Marmara marble horizontal stone, decorated with a sunken mihrab shaped frame, divided into six stylized inner frames. The whole structure combines the idea of a prayer rug and an Ottoman decorated manuscript. The characters of the epitaph protrude from the surface of the stone. This is an expensive monument that had much care invested in it, as testified to by the quality of the stone, the quality of the stone masonry, and the intricacy of the epitaph.



אָסֶבֶּינָה פְּסוֹב אֹפָן עֲגָלוֹת, יְמוֹת עָמֶל וְיַרְחֵי שְׁוְא וְלֵילוֹת,
וּמֵשְׁאוֹת שָׁוְא וּמַדּוּחִים ּכּ בְּרוּחָם, וּמַכְשֵׁלוֹת וּמַחֲלוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת.
זְמֵן בּוֹגֵד ּיּי, מְצוּדָתוֹ פְּרוּשָׁה, וְכֶל חָפָצוֹ לְהָתְעוֹצֵל עֲלִילוֹת, יּ
בְּבֹא עֲפָרָה בְּמַעֲמֵקֵי מְעָרָה, וּבִמְקוֹם אַרְמְנוֹת כַּלּוֹת מַחֲלוֹת,
לְנוּד אִשָּׁה בְּלֵב אִשָּׁה, פְּלֶדוֹת יָקוּד אִשָּׁה, יִּי וּבִמְקוֹם שִׁיר יְלָלוֹת,
נְהִי נִהְיָה לְשׁד רַעְיָה, וּבְכָיָה בְּפִי בַּעְלָה, וּבְכָנָּה קוֹל כְּחוֹלוֹת, יּ
בִּי קוֹל נְהִי קְנִים וָהָגָה וָהִי, יִּי ּ וְקוֹל כְּחוֹלְה יּשׁ עַל כָל רֹאשׁ קְרְחָה, יּשׁ וּכִי קוֹל יְלָלָה עַל תִּפְּאֶרֶת/:

איכה ב:יד. 39

בגידת הזמן באדם היא מוטיב מקובל בשירת ספרד וספרותה וראה למשל את שירו של שמואל 10 הנגיד (1053–1058) "זמן בוגד"; דון וידאל (בערך 1053–1058) "זמן בוגד"; דון וידאל בנבנישתי (המאה החמש עשרה) ,"זמן בוגד"; ורבינו בחיי בן אשר (1255 עד בסביבות 1340), הקדמה לפירושו על התורה "הזמן כנחל בוגד". ראה

http://www.benyehuda.org/hanagid/index.html; http://www.benyehuda.org/rashbag; http://www.benyehuda.org/benveniste/index.html

תהלים קמא:ד. 41

על פי נחום ב:ד עם ישעיהו י:טז. 42

על פי ירמיהו ד:לא. 43

על פי ירמיהו ט:יח עם יחזקאל ב:י. 44

על פי ירמיהו ד:לא. 45

עמוס ח:י. 46

רוּם כְּבֹדָה, בַּת מֶלֶהְ־⁴ הָעִיר הַהַּלֶּלָה, לּה ה'ה'[הָלֹא הִיא] הַמַּעֲטִירָה מָרַת שׁוּלְטַנָה אַשֶּׁת הַנְּבוֹן רוּם כְּבֹדָה, בַּת מֶלֶהְ־⁴² הָעִיר הַהַלְּלָה ה'ר נְצַעֲלֶה ה'ר

ַמְּשֶׁה הָמוֹן/ י'ץ (יִשְׁמְרוֹ צוּרוֹ), בַּת הַנָּבוֹן וְנַעֲלֶה ה'ר אְשׁוּבָה בכ'ר (בֶּן כְּבוֹד רַב) מֹשֶׁה רוֹמָאן נ'ע' [נוּחוֹ

עֵדֶן], נִפְּטֶרֶת יוֹם ב' י'ח לְטֵבֵת/ שְׁנַת הת'ח, לֹדֶשׁ מַצַּרְתָּהִ⁰⁹ ומ'ך [וּמְנוּחָתָה כָּבוֹד]. Spinning around, like the wheel of a wagon, days of agony and months of futility and nights,

and oracles of delusion and deception 50 deep in their souls, and stumbling blocks and great illnesses.

Time betrays [us],⁵¹ its net is spread, and all it desires is to wreak evil,⁵²

When her dust arrives in the depths of a burial cave, and in place of bridal palaces – ailments,

Because of the disaster that befell his wife, in her husband's heart even iron will be wholly consumed in fire⁵³

and instead of song [there will be] wailing,

sounds of lament [will arise] at the disastrous end of his wife, and weeping will fill her husband's mouth, and the crying for her [is like] the sound of women in labour,⁵⁴ for a cry of lamentations rises up and that of dirges and woes,⁵⁵ and the sound of women in labour,⁵⁶ and every head will become bald,⁵⁷ and the sound of keening over her exalted honour. Daughter of the king⁵⁸ of the renowned city,⁵⁹ for she is the crowned one, Mistress Sultana, wife of the insightful and exalted R. Shelomo Hamon, may his Rock preserve him, and daughter of the exalted wise man R. Teshuva son of the exalted Rabbi Moshe Roman, may he rest in Eden. Passed away on the second day [of the week], the eighteenth of Tevet/ the year of 5408 *qodesh maṣavata*,⁶⁰ and may she rest in dignity.

על פי תהלים מה:יד. 47

על פי יחזקאל כו:יז, ומרמז על כבוד אביה:"בת מלך העיר". 48

ישעיהו ו:יג: "קֹדֵשׁ מַצַּכְתָּה". 49

⁵⁰ Lam 2:14.

⁵¹ The notion of time betraying humanity is a popular motif in Sefardi poetry and literature. See, for instance, the following three poems all entitled *Zeman Boged* ['Time Betrays'] written by Shemuel Hanagid (993–1056), (http://www.benyehuda.org/hanagid/index.html); Shelomo ibn Gabirol (c. 1021–1058), (http://www.benyehuda.org/rashbag); and Don Vidal Benveniste (15th century), (http://www.benyehuda.org/benveniste/index.html). See also R. Baḥya b. Asher (1255–c. 1340) in the introduction to his Torah commentary, *Ha-zeman ke-naḥal boged* ['Time betrays like a stream'].

⁵² Ps 141:4.

⁵³ Based on Nah 2:4 and Isa 10:16. A play on the words esh, 'fire', and ishsha, 'woman'.

⁵⁴ Based on Jer 4:31.

⁵⁵ Based on Ezek 2:10.

⁵⁶ Based on Jer 4:31.

⁵⁷ Based on Amos 8:10. In the Bible, baldness is a sign of grief and catastrophe.

⁵⁸ Based on Ps 45:14.

⁵⁹ Based on Ezek. 26:17 and alluding to her father's honourable position with the phrase, 'the daughter of the king of the city'.

⁶⁰ Based on Isa 6:13. The numerical value of 5408 is expressed in letters by he-taw-het.

An Ottoman manuscript signed Darwish 'Ali, Turkey. Dated 945AH/1539AD, Ottoman manuscript on paper, 150 ff. with 151l. of fine black nasta'liq arranged in two columns, within gold border, opening folio with illuminated header, brown morocco binding with gilt tooled medallions – 7×4 1/4 in (17.7 × 10.6 cm). Observed at the auction catalogue of Christies sale 5499, lot 16. 8 October, 2010, London, South Kensington. Reproduced courtesy of Christie's, Inc.

(http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?pos=5&intObjectID=5360223&sid=)



Tombstone of Mevorakh, son of Moshe Roman, d. 23 August, 1648, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #5-5, stone #35L, film #34 (11 September, 1987). Marmara marble, heptagonal stone decorated with twelve stylized frames, each pair divided by a different rosette. The characters of the epitaph protrude from the surface of the stone.



לְאֵבֶל נֶהְפַּךְ קוֹל רְנָנִים, וְגַם מִקּוֹל שְׁאוֹנֵי חַיִל שַׁאֲנַנִּים, בְּעוֹד אֶהְגֶּה הָגֶא וְקְנִים, יֹּ וְעֵינֵי בִּבְכִי, עֵינַ'וֹיִם| עְנָנִים, אֲהָא נְתָנוֹ בְּאַשְׁמַנִּים, יֹּ יְמִינִם כּּוֹנַנּוֹ לְהְבִּית אֲבָנִים. הְבִינוֹתִי לְּהְ חִוּפַּת חֲתָנִים, וְיָמִים כּוֹנַנּוֹ לְהְ בֵּית אֲבָנִים. לוּ מָצֵאת פְּדוּתְּהְ בְּנִי, תְּהִי לְכָפְרוֹ אֵב יְחִידָתִי → אֲבָנִים. הָה יוֹם אֲשֶׁר חָלַף מְשׁוֹשׁ לְבִּי בְּנִי, אוֹמֵר לְנַפְשִׁי עַל פְּרֵידָתְהּ אֲנִי. יֹּי צִיּוּן קְבוּרַת הַתַּלְמִיד וְנָשִים מְבֹרָף נִע'[נוּחוֹ עֵדָן], בֵּן הַמֵּר וְנָאֲנַח הַר' מֹשֵה רוֹמָאן יצ'וֹוִישְׁמָרוֹ צוּרוֹ וְיִגְאֲלוֹן, נִקְטַף יוֹם ו' ו' לְחֹדֶשׁ חָשְׁנָן שְׁנַת הּת'ט.

Sounds of joy have been transformed into mourning, and the tumultuous sounds of terror have frightened serene ones,

While I make woeful sounds and [utter] dirges, 66 and my eyes that have become fountains (due to weeping) become clouded –

Oh! You they have placed among the graves, 67 entombing your noble 68 face that died too young in years.

I prepared a wedding canopy for you, but time prepared for you a house of stone.

על פי יחזקאל ב:י: "קְנִים וַהֶּגָה וַהִּי". 61

קברים על פי רד"ק ישעיהו נט:י. 62

יכול להתפרש בשתי דרכים , חורך במובן חיוורונך, או במובן אצילותך. 63

על פּי תהילים כב:כא "הַצִּילָה מֶחֶרֶב נַפְּשִׁי מְיַד כֶּלֶב יְחִידְתִי", והמשמעות הינה: לו תמצא 64 על פּי תהילים כב:כא "הַצִּילָה מֶחֶרֶב נַפְּשִׁי מְיַד כּּלֶב יְחִידְתִי", והמשמעות הינה: לו תמצא פּיד נפשר פדות, היא תהיה גם כפרת נפשי

מלשון אַנָיָה, קול אבל (ראה איכה ב:ה;ישעיהו יט:ח). 65

⁶⁶ Based on Ezek 2:1: 'lamentations and dirges and woes.'

^{67 &#}x27;Graves', based on Radaq on Isa 59:10.

⁶⁸ Because the text lacks the diacritical marks the Hebrew word following the word *penei* can be read *hivrekha* or *horkha*. Thus both 'pale' and 'noble' are possible translations. The more likely translation is 'noble'.

If you find eternal rest, my son, may it also be an atonement for your father, my only son⁶⁹.

Oh! This is the day on which my heart's joy departed, my son. I say to my self on your departure: Woe is $\rm me!^{70}$

The tombstone [marking the grave of] the scholar and congenial person Mevorakh, may he rest in Eden, son of the bitter and groaning R. Moshe Roman, may his Rock and his Redeemer preserve him. Plucked [from among us] on the sixth day [of the week], on the sixth of the month of Heshvan, 5409.

⁶⁹ Based on Ps 22. Ps 22:21 reads 'Save my life from the sword, my only life from the clutches of a dog'. Here the epitaph means that if the son finds atonement for his soul, he should also function as atonement for his father.

⁷⁰ In Hebrew a shortened form of aniyah - ani - is employed to denote lamentation (see Lam 2:5; Isa 19:8).

Tombstone of Teshuva, son of Mevorakh Roman, d. 25 March, 1666, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-5, stone #56L, film #9 (6 September, 1987), stone brought from Lala Paşa near Edirne, vertical part of monument, which probably also had a horizontal element. The only decoration is the simple protruding frame and the chiseled characters of the epitaph.



בָּעוּ נְבִיעַי, יי אֵלֶה בְּלֹא בָּנִים, אֵין עֵצָה. יִּי נַפְּשִׁי נָּאֶסְפָּה, גָּוְעָה גַּם דְּאֲבָה. הַכָּה לְבִּי אַמִּיץ כֹּח לְמַלְקוֹשׁ אֵין סוֹף, בְּגַן עֵדֶן הָלָם עַל בָּנִים גַּם נַפְשָׁם. נָשִׁים לֵילוֹת כַּיָמִים עַל מַשִּׁים לֵילוֹת כָּיָמִים: וְרוּחַ פָּרִי מְגָדִי מָבֶּל בְּשָׁמִים: יְרוּחַ פָּרִי מְגָדִי הָרִים הָרִמִים: מִכְּאֵב כָּזָה כָּל אִישׁ קוֹלוֹ יָרִים: בִּבְכִי, כִּי גַּם בֵּן אֵין לִי בַּשְּׁעְכִּים. יַּי חַי עַל אֵל אֱלִדִים לְגַן עֶדְנוֹ, בַּשְּׂעְכִּים. יַּי חַי עַל אֵל אֱלִדִים לְגַן עֶדְנוֹ, הַחָּיִלְכָם] הַנַּצְלֶה הֹיר[הוֹא חָרַב] הְּשׁוּבָה רוֹמָאן נ'ע[נוּחוֹ עֵדֶן]/

⁷¹ התעבו מקורות דמעותי.

[&]quot;ארבעה חשובים כמתים אלו הן עני סומא ומצורע ומי שאין לו בנים" (בבלי עבודה זרה ה, 27

ע"א). וכן מי שמת בלא בנים קרוי מת (זוהר, ח"ג לד, ב).

^{73 .(}יבי השירים ד:י). מליצה ,רוח פרי בטני טובה מכל בושם (על פי שיר השירים ד:י).

על פי משלי כד:ה "גֶּבֶר חָכָם בַּעוֹז". 74

במחשבות. 75

בֵּן ה'ה' [הֶחָכָם הַשָּׁלֵם], ה'ר מְבֹרֶךְ רוֹמָאן ג'ע, נִפְטֵ'[ר]/ יוֹם ה' ח'י לַאֲדָר ב' שְׁנַת התכ'ו ומ'ך [וּמָנוּחָתוֹ כָּבוֹד].

My rivers of tears well up, for I will die without sons,⁷⁶ there is no counsel. My soul has been gathered up; it expires and grieves.

The source of great power and unfailing strength has smitten my heart there is no end to the last rains of the season/

in the Garden of Eden it struck on account of [my lack of sons] and their souls. Days and nights in meditation we shall spend; For him, day and night, let us lament:⁷⁷ And the fragrance of the fruit of my womb is more sweet smelling than any spices:⁷⁸ A wise man will find strength⁷⁹ from the lightning of the lofty mountains: Suffering pain such as this, every man in tears will cry out: for I do not even have a son to dream about. Forever alive he will ascend to God, to his Garden of Eden, The wise one, the exalted R. Teshuva Roman, may he rest in Eden son of the perfectly wise one R. Mevorakh Roman, may he rest in Eden, passed away on the fifth day [of the week], the eighteenth of Adar II, 5426, and may he rest in dignity.

⁷⁶ b'Avoda Zara 5a. One who dies without sons is considered dead (Zohar, 3:34b).

⁷⁷ bMo'ed Qat. 25b.

⁷⁸ Poetic language based on Cant 4:10.

⁷⁹ Based on Prov 24:5: 'A wise man is strength'.

Tombstone of Reina, daughter of Yiṣḥaq Roman, d. 7 October, 1675, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-5, stone #8L, film #9 (6 September, 1987). Marmara marble, heptagonal stone decorated with twelve stylized frames, divided by a symbolic engagement belt.



לְבַת שַּׂמְתִּי בֵּיתָהּ בַּמִּדְבֶּרִ-80 בַּעֲרָבָה, זְמֵן שֶׁם בִּלְשׁוֹנִי וּבִשְּׁפָתִי חַכָּה, 18 לְזֹאת לְבִי נִדְבָּה לְיוֹם, וְלֵיִל שְׁרֵפָּה, בִּיוֹם דָּרַדְּ קַשְׁתוֹ, וְאֶת מֵלְכָּה הִכְּ"ה.22 אֲהָה בַּת שֶׁכָּרעַ הָכְרַעְהְ עַד נַפְשִׁי דָּאֲבָהוּ תִּשְׁכַּח יִמִינִי אִם לֹא אֶזְכְּרַכִיוּ־33 כִּי עַזָּה כִּפֶּנֶת אַהָּבָה, בִּּלְלָה נַפְשִׁי הוֹלֶכֶת אַלַיִּדְ, וּבַבֹּקֶר הִיא שָׁבָה.35 ה'ה'וְהַלֹא הִיא) הַנַּעֲרָה הַיְּקָרָה מָ'(רַת) רֵיינָה בַּת הָחָכָם הַנַּעֲלֶה ה'ר[הוּא חָרַב] יִצְחָק רוֹמָאן נע[נוּחוֹ עֵדָן], נִקְּסָפָּה יוֹם ג' ב לְחֹל הַמּוֹעֵד שֶׁל סֻכּּוֹת התלו ומר[וְמְנוּחְתָהּ כָּבוֹד].

⁸⁰ בּל יְהוֹיָדֶע וַיִּפְגַּע בּוֹ בקבר, על פּי מלכים א' ב:לד על רצח יואב בן צרויה:"וַיַּעַל בְּנָיָהוּ בֶּן יְהוֹיָדֶע וַיִּפְגַּע בּוֹ וַוְמָתָהוּ וַיִּפְּבֵר בְּבֵיתוֹ בַּמִּדְבָּר".

מושפע כנראה מספר התחכמוני של יהודה אלחריזי, שער שישי בעניין זווג אשה כעורה: 81 הַדַע כִּי אֵין בִּלְשׁוֹנִי רְמִיָּה. וְשׁוֹב אָשׁוּב אֵלֶיף מָחָר. אַחַר עֲלוֹת הַשַּחַר. לְהַשְׁקִיט יְגוֹן לְבְּדּ וְתִילוֹ. וּבֹקֵר וְיוֹדַע ה' אֶת אֲשֶׁר לוֹ. וַתֵּלֶּדְ הָאִשָּׁה לְדַרְכָּה. וְלִבִּי נַלְכַּד בַּחַכַּת חִבָּה".

על פי יהושע יא:י. 82

תהלים קלז:ו. 83

שיר השירים ח:ו. 84

על פי אסתר ב:יד. 85

I made my daughter's house in the wilderness⁸⁶ in the waste land,
Time set a trap for my tongue and my lips,⁸⁷
Because of this my heart is oppressed by day and burns at night,
On the day he ['Time'] drew his bow and killed a queen.⁸⁸
Aha! Daughter who is prostrate, my soul will grieve forever.
May I forget my right hand, if I do not remember thee!⁸⁹
For love is as fierce as death,⁹⁰ the entire night my soul goes [to be with] you and in the morning it returns.⁹¹

For she is the precious young maiden, Mistress Reina, daughter of the exalted wise one R. Yiṣḥaq Roman, may he rest in Eden. Plucked [from among us] on the third day [of the week] on the second of the Intermediate Days of Tabernacles, 5436. May she rest in dignity.

⁸⁶ That is to say, in the grave. Based on 1 Kgs 2:34 which records the murder and burial of Yoav ben Şeruya: 'So Benaya ben Yehoyada' struck him down. And he was buried at his home in the wilderness'.

⁸⁷ The Hebrew word for a trap – <code>hakka</code> – is very close in sound to the word <code>hika</code> – 'her palate' – which creats a pun. This line was probably influenced by Judah al-Ḥarizi's <code>Sefer Taḥkemoni</code>, sixth gate, regarding the betrothal of an ugly young woman: 'Ah, she smiled, wait till you see her gentleness, this doe that ravens like a lioness; then you will taste of my tongue's truthfulness. I shall be back at dawn to ease your heart and moan: even tomorrow the Lord will shew who are his own. And so she went her way, bearing my heart in her teeth away.' (Judah Alḥarizi, <code>The Book of Taḥkemoni: Jewish Tales from Medieval Spain</code>, Eng. trans. D. S. Segal, London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001, p. 75). Obviously, the poetic nature of the translation does not reflect the conflation of images.

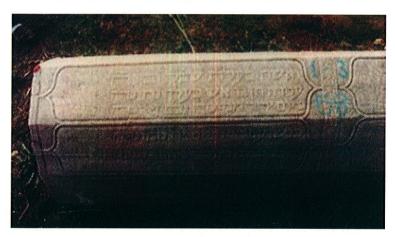
⁸⁸ Based on Josh 11:10.

⁸⁹ Ps 137:6.

⁹⁰ Cant 8:6

⁹¹ Based on Esth 2:14.

Tombstone of Kalomira, wife of Aharon Roman, d. 12 November, 1683, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #3-1, stone #58, film #15* (19 October, 1988). Marmara marble, heptagonal stone, decorated with twelve stylized frames, divided by a symbolic engagement belt, tulips, and rosettes.



צְבָיַת חֵן וְיָפָה כַלְּבָנָה: 2º וְאִשָּׁה בַּעֲלַת שֵׁכֶל וּבִינָה:
אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה לְבֵיתִי עז וּמִבְצָר: עֲטֶרֶת חֵן בְּרֹאשׁ בַּעֲלָה: 9º נְתוּנָה:
נָהִי וַ"יְהִּ'י בְּהַ"קְשׁוֹתָהּ בְּלְדְתָּה: שְּׁ בִּיוֹם יֵרֵד הְמוֹנָה בַּם גְאוֹנָה: 9º
נְהִי וַ"יְהִ'י בְּהַ"קְשׁוֹתָהּ בְּלִדְתָּה: שְּׁ בִּיוֹם יֵרֵד הְמוֹנָה וְטִיט יָוֹן טְמוּנָה: 9º
נְיוֹם לְשְׁכָּב עֲלֵי מִשְׁה בָּכִי וְתַמְרוּר, וְיוֹם יוֹם אָהְגָּה מִסְפֵּד וְקִינָה:
יָצֵעְתִי בְּקְרְאִי 9º לַיְלָה וְיוֹמֶם, שְׁאָגָה כְּלְבִיא פּי לְנָפֶשׁ חַיָּה:
נִיְהִי בְּלִדְתָּהּ וְהָיוּ תּוֹאֲמִים, סִי נֶהֶפְּכוּ/ עָלֶיהָ צִירֶיהָ, וְסוֹ תָּחִיל תִּזְעַק בַּחַבְלֶיהָ, 102 גָּמוּל יָדוֹ הָדָה, 101 נְיִהִי בְּלִדְתָּה וְהָיוּ תּוֹאֲמִים, סִי נֶהֶפְכוּ/ עָלֶיהָ צִירֶיהָ, וְסוֹ תָּחִיל תִּזְעַק בַּחַבְלֶיהָ, 102 גָּמוּל יָדוֹ הָדָה, 101 נְיִהָּי בְּלִדְתָּה וְהָיוּ תּוֹאֲמִים, 100 נְהֶפְכוּ/ עָלֶיהָ צִירֶיה, 101 תָּחִיל תִּזְעַק בַּחַבְלֶיה, 102 בָּחַבְלִיה, וְנִים אֵין לְלֵידָה. 104 בִּיבְּר.

שיר השירים ו:י. 92

^{93 .&}quot;משלי יב:ד, "אֵשֶׁת חַיִּל עֲטֵרֵת בַּעְלָהּ".

^{94 .&}quot;יהי" ברץ בראשית לה:יז, אונומטופיאה ב"נהי ויהי".

על פי ישעיהו ה:יד:"לָבֶן הִרְתִיבָה שְׁאוֹל נַפְשָׁהּ וּפָעֲרָה פִיהָ לְבְלִי חֹק וְיַרַד הֲדָרָהּ וַהְמוֹנָהּ וּשְׁאוֹנָהּ 95 יִעָלֵז בָּהּ". ייתכן שהביטוי 'המונה' מתייחס למי השפיר ,בהשאלה מ"הָמוֹן מַיִם" (ירמיהו י:יג).

צ"ל בגוש. 96

איוב ז:ה עם תהלים מ:ג. 97

תהלים סט:ד. 98

ישעיהו ה:כט. 99

תאומים, על פי בראשית לח:כז-כח. 100

שמואל א, ד:יט. 101

ישעיהו כו:יז:" כָּמוֹ הָרָה תַּקְרִיב לָלֶדֵת תַּחִיל תִּזְעַק בַּחֲבָלֵיהָ". 102

ישעיהו יא:ח. 103

ישעיהו לז:ג. 104

ווי לאַזל אוּרִי לַחַבַלא. יוי לאַזל

אֶרֶץ בְּיָדָה יָשַׁבְתִּי וָאֶבְכֶּה וָאֶתִאַבְּלָה, יַעַן וּבְיַעַן נִתְפָּרָה הַחַבִּילָה שֵׁחִבְּרָה הַיּוֹ"צֵר מתחילה לשמה/

וּשָׁאִיָּה:١٥٠ הַלֹא זֹאת הָאִשָּׁה עִם בִּנָה שׁוֹכֶב מַרְגָּלוֹתֵיהַ, וּבֵן אֲחֵר כַּרוּךְ בִּתוֹךְ כַּרְעֵיהַ, הִיא הָאִשָּה שָׁלֵמָה בְּתַכְלִית, כְּבוּדָה בַת מֵלֶךְ, יְחְוָלֵד עַרְיָה: 108

ה'ה'[הַלֹא הִיא] הַיָּקָרָה וּצְנוּעָה מֶ'[רַת] קַאלוֹמִירַה,/

אֵשֶׁת הֶחָכָם הַנַּעֲלֵה הר' אַהָרן רוֹמָאן נר'ו[נַטְרֵיה רַחֲמַנָא וּפַרְקֵיה], נַפְּחָה נַפְשַׁה בּ'שׁ[בַּא 'שַׁמַשַׁהּ] יוֹם ו' כב'

ָחֶשְׁוָן שְׁנַת נִסְגָּר דַּלְתֵּ'יפּסוּ בִּטְנִי/ לפק'[לְפָרָט קָטָן] ומ'רְ[וּמְנוּחָתָה כָּבוֹד].

A graceful gazelle and beautiful as the moon:110 A woman of intelligence and understanding:

Who was a stronghold and a fortress for my household:111 a graceful crown placed on her husband's head:112

Woe is me!¹¹³ For when her labour was at its hardest:¹¹⁴ On the day that the tumult [of her waters] came rumbling down and her pride fell low:115

The day on which I laid her honour to rest below

Buried in a clod of earth and slimy clay:116

On this I will cry out weeping bitterly,117 and every day I will immerse myself in eulogy and lament:

ווי שהלך אורי בחבליה. 105

מליצה כפולה המתחברת לפסוק שלפניה ולפסוק שאחריה, המילה חבלא – במובן חבלי 106 לידה – מתחברת לחבילה, החבילה שחברה היוצר ,האל, שתכליתה הייתה קיום המין, והיא הפכה לשמה ושאיה: האשה שוכבת, ובנה האחד מת למרגלותיה והשני כרוך בין רגליה.

תהלים מה:יז. 107

בושת, בניגוד לתחילת התאור של האשה השלמה והכבודה. 108

תמ"ד (1683). 109

¹¹⁰ Cant 6:10.

¹¹¹ Amos 5:9.

¹¹² Prov 12:4: 'A capable wife is a crown for her husband'.

¹¹³ The word nehi - a cry of lament or woe - is found in Jer 31:15.

¹¹⁴ Poetic language based on Gen 35:17. In Hebrew the first two words in the line - nehi [Woe is me] va-yehi [For when] - demonstrate both alliteration and onomatopoeia.

¹¹⁵ Based on Isa 5:14: 'Assuredly, Sheol has opened its jaws in a measureless gape; And down into it shall go, that splendour and tumult, that din and revelry'. The term hamon, translated above as 'tumult' may refer to the amniotic fluid, as alluded to in Jer 10:12-13, 'He made the earth ... hamon mayim [rumbling water].' The combination of hamon ('tumult') and gaon ('pride') echoes a liturgical poem written about Purim by R. Judah Halevi, which is read on the Sabbath before Purim by the Mizraḥi communities, מי כמוך ואין כמוך, מי דומה לך ואין דומה לך ('Who is like you and there is none like you, Who is similar to you and there is none similar to you): 'And when the sea returned to its strength / Pharaoh and his entire multitude (hamon) were drowned / for the sea made it difficult for the chariots of his pride (gaon) / and he saw that he could not overcome him (Gen 32:26)' (my translation).

¹¹⁶ Job 7:5 and Ps 40:3.

¹¹⁷ Based on Jer 31:15.

I am weary with calling out at night,118 and during the day I shall roar like a lion for her living soul:119

And when she came to give birth, and there were twins,120 she was seized with labour pains,121 writhing and screaming in her pangs,122 a baby sends forth his hand123 and the strength to give birth was lacking.124

Woe is me that my light departed in labour pains.

I sat on the ground next to her and I will weep and I will mourn, since most assuredly the package that the Creator has sown for her from the very beginning has been sown for her destruction:125

For this is the woman with her son lying dead at her feet, and her other son wrapped around her knees, she is the perfect woman [maintaining] the honour of the daughter of the king,126 and nakedness was born:127

For she is the precious and modest Mistress Kalomira

The wife of the wise and exalted R. Aharon Roman, may the Merciful One protect him and redeem him, her soul was spent when her sun set, on the sixth day [of the week], the twenty-second of Heshvan, the year of 'the doors' 28 of her womb have been closed', excluding the thousands.129 And may she rest in dignity.

¹¹⁸ Ps 69:4.

¹¹⁹ The phrase nefesh hayya may also be translated to take into account the rendering of hayya as midwife.

¹²⁰ Gen 38:27-28.

^{121 1} Sam 4:19.

¹²² Isa 26:17.

¹²³ Isa 11:8. There is a bitter sense of irony in the author's use of this prophetic verse. See Sifra, Behuqotai 1.2, which fleshes out the ecstatically joyous, messianic message of these words.

¹²⁴ Isa 37:3.

¹²⁵ The word לשמה can mean either 'for her' or 'for destruction'. Thus, the phrase לשמה ושאיה, translated above as 'for her destruction', can also mean 'for her and her destruction'. By using the word לשמה the author achieves a double entendre as the package (ḥavila) is connected with the labour pains (havla) mentioned in the previous line and to the deceased's destruction mentioned in the next line, as the package that God gave to her - designed for procreation - led to her demise.

¹²⁶ Ps 45:17.

¹²⁷ In shame, in contrast to the earlier account of the perfect and dignified woman.

¹²⁸ The Hebrew phrase for 'doors of' (daltei) has the same numerical value as the Jewish year in which the deceased passed away, 444, if the thousands of years since creation are omitted. That is, she died in 5444 (1683 CE). By linking the number of the year in which she died to a sentence describing her death, special meaning is given to the year in which she died.

¹²⁹ In the Hebrew, the phrase li-ferat qatan means that this is the enumeration of the Jewish year that omits the thousands of years.

Tombstone of Kadın daughter of Aharon Roman, d. 25 March, 1691. DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #5-4, stone #18L, film #28 (8 September, 1987). Marmara marble, pentagonal prismatic stone, decorated by four protruding stylized frames and protruding characters.



קַבָרָה לְפִי כַּמוּת: וְהִיא מִתְקַצְרָה: שָׁבָרָהּ לְפִי אֱמֶת: וְהִיא מִתְגַּבְּרָה: רַעָתָה כְּמוֹ כַּלֹ[וֹת]: וְהִיא מִשְׁתַּמְּרָה: הַיתָה יִחִידָתִי: וְהִיא מִתְנַכְּרָה: הָאֶבֶן הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר שַׂמִתִּיינוּ עֲלֵי עֶרְכָּה יָעִיד וְלִקְטַנּוֹת אֶל תַּכֶּן, הַלֹּא הִיא כְּרַבַּת בָּנִים אוּמְלָלָה וּנּוֹ צַהַ [!] יוּ הַלֹּא הִיא כְּרַבַּת בָּנִים אוּמְלָלָה וּנּוֹ בַּת הָחָרָשׁ[הָחָכָם רַב שָׁלֵם] כמהר [כְּבוֹד מוֹרֵנוּ הָרַב] אַהָּרֹן רוֹמָאן נרו[נָטָרֵיה רַחְמָנָּא

יוֹם א כו לַאַדַר א שָׁנַת אֶתֵּן לְךּ אֶרֶץ חֶמְדָּה:134 She has been buried in accord with her size: And she was tiny:

She earned her true fare: And she won out:

Her bad lot has now quite ended135: And she has been preserved forever:

She was my only one: And she has become estranged from me:

The value of the stone which I have placed¹³⁶ upon her should testify her worth. Do not pay attention to its size, for she was like the mother of many who is forlorn. 137

וּפַרְקֵיה[, נְפִ'[טַר]

בראשית כח:כב 130

שמואל א, ב:ה. 131

כך במקור ולא התברר לי. 132

¹³³ בתורכית, כלומר נערה צעירה. Kadın

ירמיהו ג:יט. 134

¹³⁵ Proverbs 16:30 (See Rashi and Ibn Ezra), and Esther 7:7.

¹³⁶ Gen 28:22.

^{137 1} Sam 2:5. Although she was young, her fate was like the mother of many who is forlorn, because she died before being able to produce any living issue.

 $\Se[!]^{138}$ is Kadon. 139 The daughter of the wise one, the unsullied rabbi, his honour our Master and Teacher Aharon Roman, may the Merciful One protect and redeem him. Passed away on the first day [of the week], the twenty-sixth of Adar I, the year of 'I will give you a desirable land'. 140

¹³⁸ The meaning of the Hebrew is unclear and the writer perhaps had in mind the word zu, in the sense of 'she is'.

¹³⁹ In Turkish, this would be Kadın, meaning 'young woman'.

¹⁴⁰ Jer 3:19.

Tombstone of Kalomira daughter of Aharon Roman, d. 3 October, 1703, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-20B, stone #74MA, film #568 (18 January, 1989). Marmara marble, heptagonal stone decorated with twelve stylized frames, divided by a symbolic engagement belt.



אֵיךְ נִגְלוּ כַּנְפֵי גָּאוֹן קַנָּהּ^{וּנוּ} נָחְפָּה בְּמֵי כֶּסֶף ואֶבְרוֹתַיִם:¹⁴² לא עלָה נָפִּשָׁה לִמַלֵּט יוֹם: נָפִלָּה בְּתוֹךְ רֶשֶׁת שְׁחִיתוֹתֵיָה:

מַצֶּבֶת קְבוּרַת הַנַּעֲרָה הַמְּאוֹרָסְ'[ה] קָאלוֹמִירָה יְתוֹמֵת הֶ"חָ[כָם] הַשְּׁ[לֵם] כְּמ"הָר[כְּבוֹד מוֹרֵנוּ הַבְּּבוֹד מוֹרֵנוּ הָבּוּרַת הַנַּעֲרָה הַמְּאוֹרָסְ'[ה] קָאלוֹמִירָה יְתוֹמֵת הָרבּן

אַהָרֹן רוֹמָאן נ"ע[נוּחוּ עֵדֶן], נִקְטְפָה יוֹם ד' כ'ג' בְּתִשְׁרֵי שְׁנַת ה'ת'ס'ד' וּמ"ך[וּמְנוּחְתָהּ כָּבוֹד]. How the proud wings of her nidus were exposed¹⁴³ in liquid silver and so [were her] pinions:¹⁴⁴

Her soul did not manage to escape the day: It was trapped in the net of her corruptions:

The tombstone [marking] the burial [cave] of the young betrothed woman Kalomira, the orphaned daughter of the unsullied wise man, our honoured Teacher and Rabbi Aharon Roman, may he rest in Eden. Plucked [from amongst us] on the fourth day [of the week], the twenty-third of Tishrei, 5464, and may she rest in dignity.

ירמיהו יג: כב–כו "וְגַם אֲנִי חָשַׂפְתִּי שׁוּלַיִּךְ עַל פֶּנָיִדְּ, וְנָרְאָה קְלוֹנֵךְ" וראה פירושו של הרד"ק 141 הוסר הוא משל על כנסת ישראל שהיתה נסתרת תחת כנפי האל ונכבדת בארצה ועתה היא גולה והוסר סתרה מעליה, והנה היא גלויה ונגלה קלונה לעין כל בארצות נכרים. ונראה כרמז על אבריה העירומים שנגלו בעת שנאספה גופתה הטבועה.

על פּי תהלים סח :יד:"אָם תִּשְׁכְּבוּן בֵּין שְׁפַתָּיִם כַּנְפֵי יוֹנָה נֶחְפֶּה בַכֶּסֶף וְאֶבְרוֹתֶיהָ בִּיֹרַקְרַק על פּי תהלים סח :יד:"אָם תִּשְׁכְּבוּן בֵּין שְׁפַתָּיִם כַּנְפֵי יוֹנָה נֶחְפָּה בַּכֶּסֶף וְאֶבְרוֹתֶיהָ בּירִקְרַק

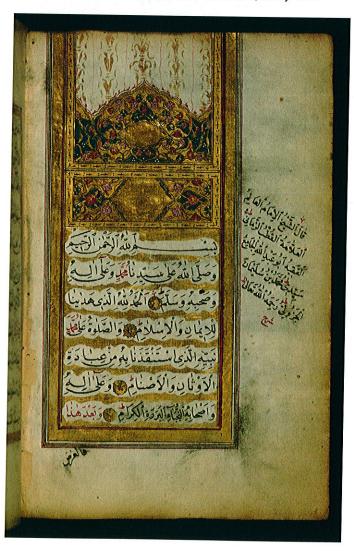
¹⁴³ Jer 13:26: 'I in turn will lift your skirts over your face and your shame shall be seen'. See Radaq who notes that this is a metaphor for the house of Israel. The epitaph's author seems to be alluding to the immodest exposure of the deceased's limbs when she was taken out of the water after drowning. The word nidus alludes to her nest, her home, and her private parts. 144 Based on Ps 68:14: 'even for those of you who lie among the cooking pots / [you will be like] the wings of a dove sheathed in silver, its pinions in fine gold.' An allusion to death by drowning.

A colophon of a hand-written kabbalistic prayer-book *Seder Tefillot Yesharot u-Varot* for the winter season (Ḥanuka through Purim; December through March), written by an anonymous scribe in 1734. Quran type illumination done with ink, gouash, and gold leaf. Reproduced courtesy of William Gross, Tel Aviv.



A leaf from an elegantly penned and illuminated copy of the well-known collection of prayers for the prophet Muhammad entitled Dalā 'il al-khayrāt and composed by Muḥammad al-Jazūlī (d. 877 AH/1472 CE). Written on paper in Turkish naskh script, this prayer-book was probably made in the $11^{\rm th}$ AH/ $17^{\rm th}$ century CE.

The Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, Maryland), no. 583. Reproduced courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Balitmore, Maryland.



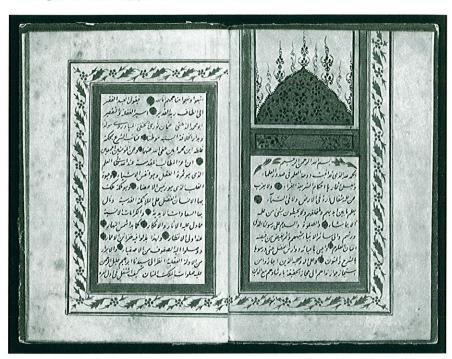
Ijazah [License, Authorization, Certificate, Permission], given by Abu Muhammad al-Dhihni 'Uthman Nurī al-Ḥanafī al-Miyāwardī to his student 'Umar Lūtfī ibn al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Ḥilmi known as Munla Isma'ilzadah al Arkhawī. 4 Jumada al-Akhirah 1312 H/3 December, 1894. Reproduced courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

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To

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http://www.library.yale.edu/neareast/exhibitions/exhibit20071.html.



Tombstone of Mikri ('little one') wife of Yehuda Hamon, d. 24 January, 1642, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot #6-5, stone #48L film #10 (10 September, 1987).





תְּמוֹל אֲנִי מְשַׁחֶקֶת בְּתַבֵל בְּחֵיק אִישִׁי כְּמוֹ כִּבְשָׂה קְטַנָּה, וּמַלְאָהְ בָּא טְרָפָנִי בְּזַעְפּוֹ וְתָנָנִי בְּתוֹךְ מִדְבַּר פְּתַנְיָה, מַצֶּבֶת קְבוּרַת אִשָּׁה חֲשׁוּבָה כְּבוּדָה בַּת מֶלֶךְ הַמְהוּלְלָה, אֵשֶׁת חַיִּל עֲטֶרֶת תִּפְאֶרֶת נָשִׁים, הַגְּבִירָה הַמַּחְצֶבֶת קְבָרָה עַל צוּר, צוֹר, מַּבְעָטִירָה מָרַת מִיקְרִי נ'ב'ת'[נִשְׁמָתָה בִּעֵּדְן תִּנּחַ],

אֵשֶׁת הֶחָכָם הַנַּצְעֶלֶה ה'ר' יְאוּדָה הַמוֹן נר'ו(נָטְרֵיה רַחֲמֶנָא וּפָּרְקֵיה), נִפְּטְרָה יוֹם ו' כֹג לְחֹדֶשׁ שָׁבַט שְׁנַת

ה'ת'ב'/ ו'מ'ך'[וּמִנוּחָתָה כָבוֹד]. Yesterday I was playing on the earth, in my husband's embrace, like a tiny lamb, 146 And an angel came and preyed upon me in his wrath, placing me in a wilderness full of snakes.

The tombstone [marking] the burial [cave] of a woman of great consequence, renowned daughter of the king, a woman of virtue is a crown of glory among women, You are the woman who quarries her tomb in the rock, 147 the crowned lady, Mistress Mikri, may her soul rest in Eden, wife of the exalted, wise man R. Yehuda Hamon, may the Merciful One protect him and redeem him. Passed away on the sixth day [of the week], the twentythird of the month of Shevat, 5402. May she rest in dignity.

¹⁴⁶ A play on words involving the deceased's name 'Mikri' ('small' in Greek). Also a reference to her tender young age.

¹⁴⁷ Based on Isa 51:9: 'Was it not you who hacked Rahab ...'