

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.

Photograph No. 1

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 sultanial 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.



ציון קבורת האשה
מרת קאלומירה אשת
דוד רומאנו נפטרה
כ' תמוז השמ"ג ומ"ך [ומנוחתה פבוד].

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

Photograph No. 2

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.



לבי מאד יצר, על פי במקום צר, כלא בעד יפיה.
רוחי בקרבי סר, חמדת לבבי מר בכה, בער' [ה]
המצבה הזאת, והומי' [ה] היא, ושמע אביה לה, העיר
קולה פנחש ילד, כי החרש לה אביה, במעבה האדמה
אכן סעפיו יש בידו: ² מה אהמה לה הבת היקרה!
לזאת יקרא ספר הקינות, ה' [הלא היא] היקרה מ' [רת] אלטאדונה
נבית [נפשה בטוב תלין], אשת ה' [הרב] נסים רומאנו י' [ישמרו צורן], ב'ש [בא שמשוה] כ'ב
/ לה' [דש] /

חשון,

נקטפה במגפה שנת ה'תס"ה ומ"ך [ומנוחתה פבוד].

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?

1 ירמיהו מו:כב.

2 כלומר, במקום צאצאים יש בידו אבן.

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 Heshvan. Plucked from among us by a plague in 5465. May she rest in dignity.

Photograph No. 3

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.



לעד כל שואל למי המערה הזאת?
 לסוף אדם תחשוב, ותוך אב'ן יחצוב,
 ותכריד בד תעטוף, ותעמוד על פתחה,⁶
 וסוף דבר תשמע, בקץ חלדך? תסמך,
 וזה כל האדם.⁸ בעודו חי צופה,
 ראה אותות עלי אותות, באב'ן גיר מנופצות,⁹
 מורים וגם אומרים: עבוד האל במופעות.
 כל איש יקאב: שנגנז אב: לכל משפחתו הוא
 אב: הלך לעבוד לאל באב¹⁰: ה'ה' [הלא הוא] הישיש נבון
 כה'ר [כבוד הרב] מבורך רומאן תנצ'בה [תהי נשמתו צוירה בצרור החיים], נתבקש
 ביישיבה¹¹ בעשרה באב: ביום א' שנת ה'ת'ג' ו'מ'ר' [ומנוחתו כבוד].

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

7 זמנך.

8 על דרך קהלת פרק יב: יג: "סוף דבר הפל נשמע את האלהים ירא ואת מצותיו שמור כי זה
 כל האדם".

9 על דרך ישעיהו כז: ט: "לכן בזאת יכפר עון יעקב וזה כל פרי הסר חטאתו בשומו כל אבני
 מזבח באבני גר מנופצות לא יקמו אשרים וחמנים".

10 כלומר בחודש אב.

11 של מעלה.

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 Av¹⁵: 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 *Yalquṣ 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.

Photograph No. 4

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



לְזֹאת יִקְרָא אָבֶן הָרֹאשָׁה: ¹⁶ לְבָכִי וּלְמִסְפָּד
לְנַעֲרָה בְּכוֹרָה, יְחִידָה וּמְאֻרָּשָׁה: כִּי לָנֶהֱיָה וְאוֹי
נֶהֱפֹךְ מְשֻׁשָׁה: וְלָאֵב וְאֵם כִּי מְרִים הֵם. אֶל הַלְקָחָהּ
מֵאֵתָם בַּת ט'וֹ שָׁנָה, יָפָה כְּתָרְצָה: ¹⁷ אָב לְזֹאת יִחְרַד,
וְאֵם תִּחִיל תִּצְעַק, וְחִיֵּיהֶם לָהֶם לְמִשָּׁא: ה'ה' [הָלֵא הִיא]
בְּתוּלָתָהּ כְּלִילַת יָפִי, מְזֹל טוֹב בַּת
הַגְּבוּל וְנַעֲלָה ה'ר' [הוּא הָרֵב] תְּשׁוּבָה רוּמָאן יִי [יִשְׁמְרוּ צוּרוֹ], נִקְטְפָה
יוֹם ד' כ"ב לְמָר חֲשָׁנֹן ¹⁸ שְׁנַת ה'ת"ד' ו'מ"ך' [וּמְנוּחָתָהּ כְּבוֹד].

על פי זכריה ד:ז; מדרש תנחומא (בבב) 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 חייהם של הורי הנערה, שמבלעדיה אין לבניין קיום.

שיר השירים ו:ד. ¹⁷

מרחשון הוא שמו העתיק של החודש העברי חשוון, ומקורו במילה האכדית "נֶרֶח-שֶׁמֶן", ¹⁸ שפירושה: נֶרֶחַ = יָרֵחַ, חודש; שֶׁמֶן = שְׁמִינִי. בעקבות קריאה מוטעית, כנראה, נקרא החודש ברוב תפוצות ישראל מֶרֶחֶשְׁשׁוֹן, מה שהביא להתייחסות ל"מר" כאל קידומת, ובסוף הביא להשמטתה. בכל בתי העלמין שתועדו בתורכייה מופיעים 3801 איזכורים של חשוון, לעומת 119 של מר חשוון (עם רווח בין שני חלקי המילה) 2270 של מרחשון. בתוך 3801 האיזכורים של השם המקוצר 2700 הם משנת 1800 ואילך. כל האיזכורים של הצורה העתיקה הם מן השנים שלפני 1800, והם מהווים 22% 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 Tirša.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 Ḥeshvan 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.

Photograph No. 5

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.



כְּבוֹדָה בַּת מְלָכִים, בּוֹר וְשׁוֹחָה זְמַן כָּרָה מְקוֹם זָבַח וּמִנְחָה,
וּבְמִקְוֵם מְשֻׁבָּצוֹת זָהָב אֲנָחָה, וְתַחַת מַעֲשֵׂה מְקֻשָּׁה צְנוּחָה,²³
לְנוֹדָה צָלְלוּ שְׁעָרֵי מְנוּחָה,²⁴ בְּיוֹם פָּסוּ יָמֵי מְשֻׁתָּה וְשִׁמְחָה,²⁵
הִיא הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר הֻכְיָה ה' ²⁶בָּאָף וּבְחֶמְדָּה בְּאֶחָד הַבֹּרֹת, וְנוֹתְרָה בַּת צִיּוֹן
מִתַּחַת לְאָרֶץ מִטְמָנִי/
מִסְתָּרִים ²⁷בְּעַד מַעֲרוֹת, וְאֵל מְכַאֵב כְּבוֹדָה בַּת מְלָךְ, עֵינֵי בְּאֵרוֹת בְּאֵרוֹת ²⁸לְזֹאת

מליצה אירונית על דרך תהילים מה:יד: "כָּל כְּבוֹדָה בַּת מְלָךְ פְּנִימָה מִמְּשֻׁבָּצוֹת זָהָב לְבוֹשָׁה" ²³
עם ישעיהו ג:כד: "וְהָיָה תַּחַת בִּשְׁם מִן יְהוָה וְתַחַת חֲגוּרָה נִקְפָּה וְתַחַת מַעֲשֵׂה מְקֻשָּׁה קְרָחָה וְתַחַת
פְּתִילִל מִחֲגֻרַת שָׁק כִּי תַחַת יָפִי".

מליצה על פי ירמיהו נא:נט: "הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְרֵמְיָהוּ הַנְּבִיא אֶת שָׂרָיָה בִּן גִּרְיָה בִּן מַחְסִיָּה ²⁴
בְּלָכְתָּהּ אֶת צִדְקָיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה בְּכָל בִּשְׁנַת הָרִבְעִית לְמָלְכוֹ וְשָׂרָיָה שָׂר מְנוּחָה". ורז"ק מפרש שר
מנוחה: "שהיה ריע המלך והיה עם המלך בעת מנוחתו לשוה ולהתענג עמו וי"ת כמו מנוחה 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 שתיים רעות ²⁸
עשה עמי אותי עזבו מקור מים חיים לחצוב להם בארות נשברים אשר לא יכילו המים".
אברבנאל חיבר את הבארות בדברים עם הבארת בירמיהו ב:יג.

יִקְרָא אִשָּׁה/ חֲכָמַת לֵב.²⁹ בָּא שְׁמִשָּׁה בְּעוֹד יוֹמָם לְיוֹם עֶבְרוֹת³⁰/

ה'ה' [הִלָּא הִיא] עֲטָרַת תְּפָאֶרֶת חֲכָמוֹת

נָשִׁים³¹ מ' [נִרְתָּ] שְׁמִיחָה נִבִּית / [נִפְשָׁה בְּטוֹב תְּלִין]

אֶלְמָנַת הַנָּבוֹן וְנִעְלָה ה'ר' תְּשׁוּבָה רוֹמָאן, נִפְטָרָה יוֹם ג' ד' לְחֹדֶשׁ אֵיָר שְׁנַת ה'ת'ד' ו'מ'ך' /
[וּמְנוּחָתָה כְּבוֹד].

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 Simḥa, 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.

29 על פי בראשית ב:כג עם שמות לה:כה.

30 איוב כא:ל.

31 על פי משלי יד:א.

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.

Photograph No. 6

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



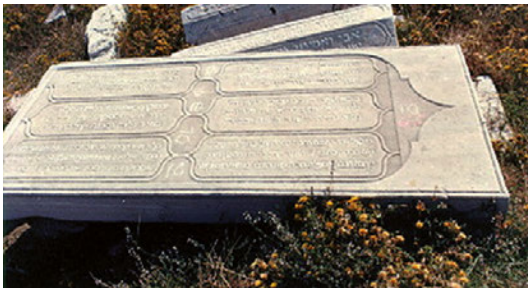
Photograph No. 7

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



Photograph No. 8

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.



תַּסְכִּינָה כְּסוּב אֶפֶן עֲגֻלוֹת, יְמוֹת עֶמֶל וַיִּרְחִי שְׂוֹא וְלֵילוֹת,
וּמִשְׁאֹת שְׂוֹא וּמִדּוּחִים³⁹ בְּרוּחָם, וּמִכְשָׁלוֹת וּמִחֲלוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת.
זְמַן בּוֹגֵד⁴⁰, מְצוּדָתוֹ פְּרוּשָׁה, וְכָל חֶפְצוֹ לְהִתְעוֹלֵל עָלֵינוּ,⁴¹
בָּבֶא עֲפָרָה בְּמַעֲמָי מְעָרָה, וּבִמְקוֹם אֲרָמְנוֹת כְּלוֹת מִחֲלוֹת,
לְגוֹד אִשָּׁה בְּלֵב אִשָּׁה, פְּלֻדוֹת יָקוֹד אִשָּׁה,⁴² וּבִמְקוֹם שִׁיר יְלָלוֹת,
נָהִי נָהִיָּה לְשׂוֹד רַעֲיָה, וּבִכְנִיָּה בְּפִי בַעֲלָה, וּבִכְנִיָּה קוֹל כְּחוֹלוֹת,⁴³
כִּי קוֹל נָהִי קָנִים וְהִגָּה וְהִי,⁴⁴ וְקוֹל כְּחוֹלָה⁴⁵ עַל כָּל רֹאשׁ קָרְחָה,⁴⁶ וּפִי קוֹל יִלְלָה עַל תַּפְאֲרָתָּה / :

39 איכה ב:יד.

בגידת הזמן באדם היא מוטיב מקובל בשירת ספרד וספרותה וראה למשל את שירו של שמואל הנגיד (993–1056) "זמן בוגד"; שלמה ׳ גבירול (בערך 1021–1058) "זמן בוגד"; דון וידאל נבננישתי (המאה החמש עשרה), "זמן בוגד"; ורבינו בחי 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>

41 תהלים קמא:ד.

42 על פי נחום ב:ד עם ישעיהו י:טז.

43 על פי ירמיהו ד:לא.

44 על פי ירמיהו ט:יח עם יחזקאל ב:י.

45 על פי ירמיהו ד:לא.

46 עמוס ח:י.

רום כְּבֹדָהּ, בַּת מֶלֶךְ⁴⁷ הָעִיר הַהִלְלָה,⁴⁸ ה'ה' הַלֵּא [היא] הַמַּעֲטִירָה מֵרֵת שׁוֹלֵטָנָה אֶשֶׁת הַנָּבוֹן וְנַעֲלָה ה'ר

שְׁלֵמָה הַמִּזֶּן/ י'ץ [יְשֻׁמְרוּ צוּרוֹ], בַּת הַנָּבוֹן וְנַעֲלָה ה'ר תְּשׁוּבָה בְּכֹר [כֵּן כְּבוֹד רַב] מִשָּׁה רִמָּאן נ'ע' [נוחו

עֲדָן], וְנִפְטָרֶת יוֹם ב' י'ח לְטַבַּת/ שְׁנַת הַתַּח, קִדְשׁ מִצְבָּתָה⁴⁹ וּמ'ך [וּמְנוּחָתָה כְּבוֹד].
Spinning around, like the wheel of a wagon, days of agony and months of futility and nights,

and oracles of delusion and deception⁵⁰ 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 mašavata*,⁶⁰

and may she rest in dignity.

47 על פי תהלים מה:יד.

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

49 ישעיהו ו:יג: "קִדְשׁ מִצְבָּתָה".

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-ḥet*.

Photograph No. 9

An Ottoman manuscript signed Darwish 'Ali, Turkey. Dated 945AH/1539AD, Ottoman manuscript on paper, 150 ff. with 15ll. of fine black nasta'liq arranged in two columns, within gold border, opening folio with illuminated header, brown morocco binding with gilt tooled medallions – $7 \times 4 \frac{1}{4}$ 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=)



Photograph No. 10

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.



לְאַבֵּל נִהְפָּךְ קוֹל רִנָּנִים, וְגַם מִקּוֹל שְׂאוּנֵי חֵיל שְׂאֲנָנִים,
 בְּעוֹד אֶהְיֶה הָגָא וְקָנִים,⁶¹ וְעֵינַי בְּבִכּי, עֵינַי [וְ] עֲנָנִים,
 אֶהְיֶה נִתְּנוּ פֶּאֶשְׁמָנִים,⁶² טְמוּנִים פְּנֵי חוֹרֶךְ⁶³ קֶצֶר יָמִים וְשָׁנִים,
 הַכִּינּוּתִי לָךְ חוּפֶת חֲתָנִים, וְיָמִים פּוֹנְנֻ לָּךְ בֵּית אֲבָנִים.
 לוֹ מִצָּאת פְּדוּתְךָ בְּנִי, תִּהְיֶה לְכַפְרוֹ אֵב יְחִידָתִי⁶⁴ אֲנִי,
 הֵהּ יוֹם אֲשֶׁר חָלַף מְשׁוֹשׁ לְבִי בְּנִי, אוֹמֵר לְנַפְשִׁי עַל פְּרִידָתְךָ אֲנִי.⁶⁵
 צִיוֹן קְבוּרַת הַתְּלִמִּיד וְנָעִים מְבָרָךְ נַע[וֹנָחוֹ עֲדוֹן], בֶּן הַמֶּר וְנֶאֱנַח הָרַ'
 מֹשֶׁה רוֹמָאן יִצְחָק שְׂמָרוֹ צוּרוֹ וְיִגְאָלוֹ, נִקְטָף יוֹם ו' ו' לְחֹדֶשׁ חֶשְׁוֹן שְׁנַת ה'ת'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 noble⁶⁸ face that died too young in years.

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

61 על פי יחזקאל ב'י: "קָנִים וְהָגָה וְהִי".

62 קְבוּרִים, על פי רד"ק ישעיהו נט:י.

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

64 על פי תהילים כב: כא "הַצִּילָהּ מִחֶרֶב גִּפְשִׁי מִיַּד פֶּלֶב יְחִידָתִי", והמשמעות הינה: לוֹ תִּמְצָא נִפְשֶׁךָ פְּדוּת, היא תהיה גם כפרת נפשי.

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

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

67 '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 myself on your departure: Woe is 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).

Photograph No. 11

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.



בעו נביעי, ⁷¹ אֱלֹה בָּלָא בָּנִים, אֵין עֲצָה. ⁷²
 נִפְשֵׁי נְאֻסָּה, גְּוָעָה גַם דְּאָבָה.
 הָכָה לְבִי אֲמִיץ פֶּח לְמִלְקוֹשׁ אֵין סוֹף,
 בָּגֵן עֲדֹן הָלֵם עַל בָּנִים גַם נִפְשָׁם.
 נָשִׁים יִלּוֹת פְּנִמִּים עַל מִשִּׁים
 לִילּוֹת פְּנִמִּים: וְרוּחַ פְּרִי מְגִדִּי
 מְכַל בְּשָׁמִים: ⁷³ גָּבֵר חֶכֶם תַּעֲזֹ ⁷⁴ מְבָרֵק
 הָרִים הָרָמִים: מְכַאֵב כְּזֶה כָּל אִישׁ
 קוֹלוֹ יָרִים: בְּבָכִי, כִּי גַם בֶּן אֵין לִי
 בְּשַׁעֲפִים. ⁷⁵ חֵי עַל אֵל אֱלֹדִים לָגֵן עֲדֹנוֹ,
 הָחַ' [כֶּם] הַנְּעֻלָּה ה'ר[הוא חֶרֶב] תְּשׁוּבָה רוּמָאן נ'ע[נוחו עֲדוֹן]/

התעבו מקורות דמעותי. ⁷¹

"ארבעה חשובים כמתים אלו הן עני סומא ומצורע ומי שאין לו בנים" (בבלי עבודה זרה ה, ⁷² ע"א). וכן מי שמת בלא בנים קרוי מת (זוהר, ח"ג לד, ב).

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

על פי משלי כד:ה "גָּבֵר חֶכֶם בְּעוֹז". ⁷⁴

במחשבות. ⁷⁵

בֶּן הָיָה [הַחֶכֶם הַשְּׁלֵמִים], הָרַם מְבָרַךְ רוֹמָאן נָעִ, נִפְטָ' [ר']/
 יוֹם ה' חַי לְאָדָר ב' שְׁנַת הַתְּכֹו'
 וּמִלֵּךְ [וּמְנוּחָתוֹ קְבוּדָה].

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'.

Photograph No. 12

Tombstone of Reina, daughter of Yişhaq 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.



לבת שְׁמַתִּי בֵּיתָהּ בַּמֶּדְבָּר⁸⁰ בְּעָרְבָה, זְמַן שָׁם בְּלִשׁוֹנִי וּבִשְׁפָתִי חֲפָה,⁸¹
 לְזֹאת לְבִי נִדְּכָה לְיוֹם, וְלֵיל שְׁרָפָה, בְּיוֹם דְּרֹךְ קִשְׁתּוֹ, וְאֵת מַלְכָּה הַכִּ"ה.⁸²
 אָהָה בַּת שְׁפָרַע הַכְרַעַת עַד נַפְשִׁי דָּאָבָה! תִּשְׁפַּח יְמִינִי אִם לֹא אֶזְכְּרִי!⁸³
 כִּי עָזָה כַּמֶּנֶת אֶהְבָּה,⁸⁴ כָּל הַלֵּילָה נַפְשִׁי הוֹלֶכֶת אֵלָיו, וּבִבְקָר הִיא שְׁבָה.⁸⁵
 ה'ה' (הֵלֵא הִיא) הַנְּעָרָה הַיְקָרָה מ' (לֵרַת) רִינָה בַת הַחֶסֶם הַנְּעָלָה ה'ר' (הוּא חֶרֶב) יִצְחָק רוֹמָאן
 נַע[נָחוּ עִדָן],
 נִקְטְפָה יוֹם ג' ב' לַחֹל הַמוֹעֵד שֶׁל סְכּוֹת הַתְּלוּ וּמִן [מְנוּחָתָה כְּבוֹד].

דהיינו בקבר, על פי מלכים א' ב:לד על רצח יואב בן צרויה: "וַיַּעַל בְּנִיָּהוּ בֶן יְהוֹיָדָע וַיִּפְגַּע בּוֹ⁸⁰
 וַיִּמָּתְהוּ וַיִּקְבֹּר בְּבֵיתוֹ בַּמֶּדְבָּר".

מושפע כנראה מספר התחכמוני של יהודה אלחריזי, שער ישיבי בעניין זווג אשה כעורה: ⁸¹
 "תַּדַּע כִּי אֵין בְּלִשׁוֹנִי רְמִיָּה. וְשׁוֹב אֲשׁוּב אֵלָיו מְחַר. אַחֵר עֲלוֹת הַשֶּׁחֶר. לְהַשְׁקִיט גִּזּוֹן לְבָד וְתִילּוֹ.
 וּבִבְקָר יוֹדַע ה' אֵת אֲשֶׁר לוֹ. וְתִלְךָ הָאִשָּׁה לְדִרְכָּה. וְלִבִּי נִלְכַּד בַּחֲפֶת חֲפָה".

⁸² על פי יהושע יא:י.

⁸³ תהלים קלז:ו.

⁸⁴ שיר השירים ח:ו.

⁸⁵ על פי אסתר ב:יד.

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 Šeruya: 'So Benaya ben Yehoyada' struck him down. And he was buried at his home in the wilderness'.

87 The Hebrew word for a trap – *ḥakka* – is very close in sound to the word *ḥika* – 'her palate' – which creates a pun. This line was probably influenced by Judah al-Ḥarizi's *Sefer Taḥkemoni*, 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, *The Book of Taḥkemoni: Jewish Tales from Medieval Spain*, 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.

Photograph No. 13

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.



צְבִית חַן וִיפָה כָּל־כְּנָה:⁹² וְאִשָּׁה בַּעֲלַת שָׁכַל וּבִינָה:
אֲשֶׁר הָיְתָה לְבֵיתִי עַז וּמִבְצָר: עֲטָרַת חַן בְּרָאשׁ בַּעֲלָהּ⁹³ נְתוּנָה:
נָהִי וְ"יָהּ" בָּהּ"קְשׁוּתָהּ בְּלֻדָּתָהּ:⁹⁴ בְּיוֹם יֵרֵד הַמּוֹנָה גַּם גְּאוּנָה:⁹⁵
וְיוֹם לְשֹׁכֵב עָלֶי מִשָּׁה כְּבוֹדָה: בְּגֶשׁ [!]⁹⁶ עָפָר וְטִיט יוֹן טְמוּנָה:⁹⁷
עָלִי זֹאת אֲצַעֲקָה בְּכִי וְתִמְרוֹר, וְיוֹם יוֹם אֶהְיֶה מְסֻפָּד וְקִינָה:
יִגְעָתִי בְּקִרְאִי⁹⁸ לִילָה וְיוֹמָם, שְׁאֵגָה כָּל־בִּיאָה⁹⁹ לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה:
וְיָהּ בְּלֻדָּתָהּ וְהָיָה תוֹאֲמִים,¹⁰⁰ נִהְפָּכוּ / עָלֶיהָ צִירָהּ,¹⁰¹ תַּחֲלִיל תִּזְעַק בְּחִבְלֶיהָ,¹⁰² גְּמוּל יָדוֹ הָדָה,¹⁰³
וְכֵן אֵין לְלִידָה.¹⁰⁴

שיר השירים ו:י.

משלי יב:ד, "אִשָּׁת חָיִל עֲטָרַת בַּעֲלָהּ".

מליצה על דרך בראשית לה:יז, אונגוטופיאה ב"נהי ויהי".

על פי ישעיהו ה:יד: "לֹכֵן הִרְתִּיבָה שְׂאוֹל נִפְשָׁה וּפַעֲרָה פִּיהָ לְבָלִי חֹק וְיָרַד הַדָּרָה וְהַמּוֹנָה וּשְׂאוֹנָה
יַעֲלֶז בָּהּ". ייתכן שהביטוי 'המונה' מתייחס למי השפיר, בהשאלה מ"המון מים" (ירמיהו י:יג).

צ"ל בגוש.

איוב ז: עם תהלים מג.

תהלים סט:ד.

ישעיהו ה:כט.

תאומים, על פי בראשית לח:כז-כח.

שמואל א, ד:יט.

ישעיהו כו:יז: "כְּמוֹ הָרָה מְקַרֵּיב לִלְדֹת תַּחֲלִיל תִּזְעַק בְּחִבְלֶיהָ".

ישעיהו יא:ח.

ישעיהו לז:ג.

וְיִי לְאֶזֶל אֹרִי לְחֶבְלָא.¹⁰⁵ אֶל /
 אֶרֶץ בְּיָדָה יִשְׁבְּתִי וְאֶבְכֶּה וְאֶתְאַבְּלָה, יַעַן וּבִנְעֻן נִתְפָּרָה הַחֲבִילָה שְׁחִבְרָה הַיּוֹצֵר
 מִתְחִילָה לְשִׁמָּה /
 וּשְׂאִיָּה:¹⁰⁶ הֲלֹא זֹאת הָאִשָּׁה עִם בְּנָה שׁוֹכֵב מְרַגְלוֹתֶיהָ, וּבֶן אַחֵר כְּרוּךְ בְּתוֹךְ פְּרָעִיָּה, הִיא
 הָאִשָּׁה שְׁלָמָה בְּתַכְלִית, כְּבוֹדָה בֵּת מֶלֶךְ,¹⁰⁷ וְתִגְלָד עָרִיָּה:¹⁰⁸
 ה'ה' הֲלֹא הִיא הִיקָרָה וַצְנוּעָה מִ[רֶת] קְאֻלּוּמִיָּה, /
 אִשֶּׁת הַחֶסֶד הַנְּעִלָה הִר' אֶהְרֹן רוּמָאן גִּר'וֹ [נְטָרִיָּה רַחֲמָנָא וּפְרָקִיָּה], נִפְתָּה נִפְשָׁה ב'שָׁפָא
 חֲשֹׁן שְׁנֵת נִסְגָּר דְּלִת'¹⁰⁹ בְּטָנִי / לִפְק' [לְפָרֵט קֶטֶן] וּמ'ךְ [וּמְנוּחָתָה כְּבוֹד].

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:

105 ווי שהלך אורי בחבליה.

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

107 תהלים מה:יז.

108 בושת, בניגוד לתחילת התאור של האשה השלמה והכבודה.

109 תמ"ד (1683).

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 דומה לך, מי 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'¹²⁸ 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*, *Beḥuqotai* 1.2, which fleshes out the ecstatically joyous, messianic message of these words.

124 Isa 37:3.

125 The word לְשִׁמָּה can mean either 'for her' or 'for destruction'. Thus, the phrase לְשִׁמָּה וְלְאַחֶיהָ, translated above as 'for her destruction', can also mean 'for her and her destruction'. By using the word לְשִׁמָּה the author achieves a double entendre as the package (*ḥavila*) is connected with the labour pains (*ḥavla*) 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.

Photograph No. 14

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.



קברה לפי כמות: והיא מתקצרה:
 שברה לפי אמת: והיא מתגברה:
 רעתה כמו פל[ות]: והיא משתמרה:
 היתה יחידתי: והיא מתגברה:
 האבן הזאת אשר שמת¹³⁰ עלי ערפה יעיד ולקטנות
 אל תפן, הלא היא כרבת בנים אומללה¹³¹ צה¹³² [!] קאדון¹³³
 בת החרש והחכם רב שלם] כמהר [כבוד מורנו הרב] אהרן רומאן נרו[נ]טריה רחמנא
 ופ[ר]קיה, נפ[ר]ט[ר]
 יום א כו לאדר א שנת אמן לך ארץ חמדה: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

בראשית כח: כב 130

שמואל א, ב: ה. 131

כך במקור ולא התברר לי. 132

Kadın בתורכית, כלומר נערה צעירה. 133

ירמיהו ג: יט. 134

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

Gen 28:22. 136

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. 137

Şe[!]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.

Photograph No. 15

Tombstone of Kalomira daughter of Aharon Roman, d. 3 October, 1703, DP Hasköy Cemetery, lot # 6-2OB, stone # 74MA, film # 568 (18 January, 1989). Marmara marble, heptagonal stone decorated with twelve stylized frames, divided by a symbolic engagement belt.



אִיךְ נִגְלוּ כְּנָפֵי גְאוֹן קִנְיָה¹⁴¹ נִחְפָּה בְּמִי כֶסֶף וְאַבְרוֹתֵימָם:¹⁴²
 לֹא עָלָה נִפְשָׁה לְמַלְט יוֹם: נִפְלָה בְּתוֹךְ רֶשֶׁת שְׁחִיתוּתֶיהָ:
 מִצָּבֶת קְבוּרַת הַנְּעָרָה הַמְּאוֹרָס'תָּה] קְאֻלּוּמִירָה יְתוּמַת ה'"]ח[קם] הַשְׁלָם] כִּמְ"ח[קְבוּד מוֹרְנו
 הָרֵב
 אֶהְרֶן רוֹמָאן נ"ע[נחזר עֲדוֹן], נִקְטְפָה יוֹם ד' כ'ג' בְּתִשְׁרֵי שְׁנַת ה'ת"ס'ד' וּמ"ח[וּמְנוּחָתָה קְבוּד].
 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 חֲשַׁפְתִּי שְׂוִלְיִךְ עַל פְּנִיךָ, וְנִרְאָה קְלוּנִיךָ" וְרָאָה פִּירוּשׁוֹ שֶׁל הַרְדָּק ¹⁴¹ 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 פי תהלים סח יד: "אִם תִּשְׁכָּבוֹן בֵּין שְׁפָתַיִם כְּנָפֵי יוֹנָה נִחְפָּה בְּכֶסֶף וְאַבְרוֹתֶיהָ בִּירְקָק ¹⁴² חֲרוּץ: "מרמז על מוות בטביעה.

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.

Photograph No. 16

A colophon of a hand-written kabbalistic prayer-book *Seder Tefillot Yesharot u-Varot* for the winter season (Hanuka 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.



Photograph No. 17

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 11th AH/17th century CE.

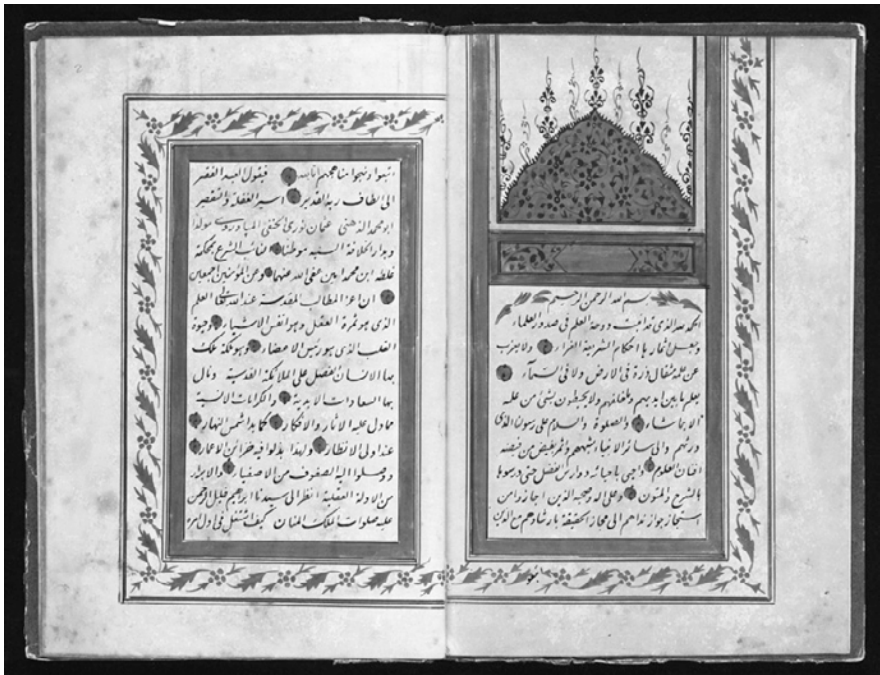
The Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, Maryland), no. 583. Reproduced courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland.



Photograph No. 18

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

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



Photograph No. 19

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).



תמול אני משחקת בתבל בחיק אישי כמו כבשה קטנה,
 ומלאך בא טרפני בזעפני בתוך מדבר פתניה,
 מצבת קבורת אשה חשוכה כבודה בת מלך המהוללה, אשת חיל עטרת
 תפארת נשים, הגבירה המחצבת קברה על צור,¹⁴⁵ המעטירה מרת מיקרי נב'ת'נשמתה
 בעדן פניחה,
 אשת החכם הנעלה ה'ר' יאודה המון נר' ונפטר יום ו' כג' לח'ש
 שבט שנת
 ה'ת'ב'/
 ו'מ'ד' ו'נ'נ'תה קבוד].

¹⁴⁵ "הלוא את היא המחצבת רהב". על פי ישעיהו נא ט: 145

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 ...'