



Sephardic poetry for children: from oral tradition to contemporary lullabies

Poesía infantil sefardí: de la tradición oral a las canciones de cuna contemporáneas

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Abstract

Poetry for children is a literary genre with its own characteristics, both in the form and in the content, which plays an important social role in all cultures. Firstly, we propose an analysis of the main characteristics of poetry for children in the Sephardic oral tradition. The second part of the article is devoted to the study of the lullabies and nursery rhymes composed by two contemporary authors, Beatriz Mazliah and Ada Gattegno Saltiel, who write poetry for children in Judeo-Spanish in a moment when this language is close to extinction. The question asked is what the cultural significance of writing poetry for children in a language which is no longer spoken by children is.

Resumen

La poesía infantil es un género literario con características propias, tanto en su forma como en su contenido, que cumple una función social de gran importancia en todas las culturas. En este estudio se presenta, en primer lugar, un análisis de las características fundamentales de la poesía infantil de tradición oral sefardí. La segunda parte del artículo está dedicada al estudio de las nanas y las canciones infantiles compuestas por dos autoras contemporáneas, Beatriz Mazliah y Ada Gattegno Saltiel, quienes escriben poesía infantil en judeoespañol en un momento en que esta lengua se encuentra cercana a la extinción. Se plantea entonces la pregunta de cuál es el significado cultural de escribir poesía infantil en una lengua que ya no hablan los niños.

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Introduction

At least, the term “children’s poetry” encompasses two different realities. These being, on the one hand, “poetry by children”, that is folk and nursery rhymes that children themselves sing and pass on while playing; and on the other, “poetry for children”, composed and recited by adults for the enjoyment and benefit of children (Waksmund, 1999).

Traditional children’s poetry or orally transmitted rhymes are vividly present in the whole of history of literature and history of different peoples, although we are observing a decline in its popularity among children, principally arising from social and cultural changes that are taking place in our societies (García Padrino, 1991). In contrast, children’s poetry written by identifiable authors, appeared in the 19th century as an alternative to instructive and didactic texts. It was rooted in folklore and took into consideration the interests and preferences of children. In relation to these two approaches, Juan Cervera (1991) establishes a distinction between a child as an *addressee* of a given poetic product whose aim is to make her/him acquire some knowledge through reading, and a child as a *receiver* of poetry, where the stress is put on the child’s pleasure. Thus, children’s poetry would not only be directed at children, but its definition would also include the requirement of concordance with children’s imagination (Waksmund, 1999). This requirement would be met by poems in which the frontier between the adults’ and children’s worlds are blurred and the child, with her/his specific modes of perception, comprehension and feeling, is placed at the center of a poem (Waksmund, 1999). The experience elicited by such poems may be defined as ludic and esthetic at the same time.

From the point of view of themes and form, we can state that children’s poetry is a literary genre with its own characteristics. Among some common aspects we can mention sonority, musicality, rhythm and rhyme; frequent employment of onomatopoeias and repetitions; brevity, sim-

licity and naturality; use of metaphors and vivid, suggestive images; fantastic elements; topics attractive to a child’s imagination; and finally humor (Lombas Martínez, 2009). In this context we can find, on one hand, a considerable number of children’s songs in the repertoire of the traditional Sephardic poetry, most of them preserved thanks to oral transmission, while on the other hand in most recent times we have witnessed a process of creation of poetry for children in Judeo-Spanish. Thus, the point of departure for this article is the statement that “children’s games/rhymes transmitted orally indicate a methodology of expression and interpretation that could be implemented in the area of contemporary authorial writing for children” (Pelegrín, 1991, p. 42).

The term “Sephardic” makes reference to the descendants of Jews who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492 and who had migrated principally to the territory of the Ottoman Empire (present-day Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, the Balkans and North Africa). For over five hundred years members of this ethnic group have used Judeo-Spanish for communication and cultural expression, developing an extensive body of religious and secular literature, written and published mainly in *aljamiado*, which uses Hebrew script. At the same time it should be highlighted that the banished Jews took along the cultural lore of medieval Spain, with its numerous romances (folk ballads, sung narratives) and songs that continued to be passed on orally and performed.

Oral poetry for children is a part of the same tradition. Just as many other romances and poems that played an important part in ceremonies of the so called “cycle of life” (birth, circumcision, *bar mitzvá*, marriage, death) (Weich-Shahak, 2013), children’s rhymes played a fundamental role in the culture, being a vehicle of tradition and contributing to the emotional and linguistic development of that society.

Below we present a study analyzing the characteristics of the traditional children's poetry that was transmitted orally within the Sephardic communities throughout ages, as well as those of the recent manifestations of children's poetry in the Sephardic Culture, that is songs written for children by contemporary Judeo-Spanish authors. These poems are not anonymous; they were written and published by authors committed to preserving Judeo-Spanish, considered to be on the brink of extinction. As a matter of fact, political and social changes that took place at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in the territory that used to belong to the Ottoman Empire resulted in a mass emigration of the Sephardic Jews to Western Europe, United States, Latin America and Israel. Later, the Holocaust brought about a physical annihilation of some emblematic communities (like the one in Thessaloniki, Greece), accelerating even further the exodus from the former Ottoman areas and the ensuing destruction of the traditional Sephardic life. Thus, 1945 marks the beginning of a phase of rapid decay of Judeo-Spanish.

The question this paper aspires to answer is whether writing poetry in a nearly extinct language, where the transmission from parents to children has been lost and therefore the children no longer speak it, makes sense. Closer look at the motives behind such a decision of some contemporary poets and their links with the bygone tradition of Sephardic songs will allow us to explore the psychological and cultural meaning of their creative gesture.

The poets selected for this purpose are Beatriz Mazliah (Buenos Aires, 1942), with her book *Scraps of the Soul (Trapikos del alma)* (2007), and Ada Gattegno-Saltiel, author of *Multicolor. Poems for Small and Big (Multikolor. Poemas para chicos y grandes)* (2010). Also, it is indispensable to mention Avner Perez (Jerusalem, 1942), the author of a bilingual (in Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew) book of poetry titled *A Tower in Jerusalem (Una torre en Yerushalayim)* (2010), a project directed at older children and pro-

pelled by the desire to show the potential of Judeo-Spanish as a poetic tool. Nevertheless, its idiosyncratic properties make it differ considerably from nursery rhymes and lullabies, which is why its analysis has not been included in the present article.

Sephardic children's poetry transmitted orally

The corpus of Sephardic children's poetry has been studied to a lesser degree than other genres belonging to this tradition, such as romances and wedding songs. A researcher from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Susana Weich-Shahak, is basically the only one who undertook the task of compiling and classifying these compositions. Weich-Shahak points to the fact that this material has been "Largely ignored by the academic world, as well as by the sizeable group of fans of the Sephardic tradition" (Weich-Shahak, 2001, p. 9). In her monographic work (Weich-Shahak, 2001) the author presents "an anthology of *retahílas* (rhymes) and *cantinelas* that used to accompany Sephardic children in their toddler years, when they were sung to them by their parents and grandparents to guide their development or simply to amuse them, and later, when songs became a part of their games and leisure activities (p. 9). The anthology brings together compositions that originated in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Northern Morocco, gathered during field work by the Argentinian-Israeli folklorist and ethnomusicologist who carried out her research between 1975 and 1999 principally in Israel, but also in Morocco, Greece, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Turkey, Belgium, France and Spain. The volume opens with a critical study by Ana Pelegrín (2001).

Sephardic poetry for children is a genre characterized by singular richness and heterogeneity, given the fact that most pieces date back to medieval times, but they evolved over centuries incorporating elements from the cultures and languages the Sephardic communities functioned in. In her work Susana Weich-Shahak (2001) discerns a considerable

number of correspondences with the Spanish tradition (pp. 14-20), with the documents of the Inquisition and those related to Crypto-Judaism (pp. 20-29), and the Jewish tradition (pp. 29-34). The Spanish correspondences arose due to a double process: transmission of the medieval tradition between the Sephardic Jews and later contacts between these communities (especially in Morocco) and Spaniards, mainly at the end of the 19th and in the 20th century.

In other texts the Jewish element plays the role of a fundamental differentiating trait of identity. Weich-Shahak (2001) gathers *retahílas* inspired by the Bible and those in which appear figures of special importance in the Jewish tradition. Some songs are related to studying and reflect the reality of Sephardic communities in which the bases of children's education were acquisition of the Hebrew alphabet and group reading of the Torah (Pentateuch, the nucleus of Jewish sacred scripture). The importance of the book as a physical object from which to learn and which should be revered is repeatedly stressed in the above-mentioned songs. Frequently a parallelism between food and the book is established, with a recurrent image of a child going to school carrying his/her lunch snack and the book.

Retahílas are not the only texts from the field of children's poetry testifying to the importance of Torah studies in the educational process of the Sephardic children. This theme appears also in a few lullabies proper that have survived to this day and which Susana Weich-Shahak (2013) labels "well-boding lullabies" (pp. 133-137). The consecutive stanzas of these nighttime songs describe the stages through which a child has to pass in order to mature and enjoy a successful and satisfying life. The stages differ in various versions of the song – they may mention growing out of diapers, learning to walk, learning to read (or in some versions learning *alef bet*, which means learning the Law), learning a profession, studying to obtain a university degree, serving in the military, getting married and having children. The fragment below convincingly illustrates this structure:

You'll leave diapers
Off to school you'll go,
You, still, baby boy, my beloved,
You'll start learning ali-bet.
Close your beautiful eyes,
Sleep, sleep sweetly

You'll leave school,
Off to Europe you'll go,
You, still, baby boy, my beloved,
You'll become a great doctor.
Close your beautiful eyes,
Sleep without worry and pain.

Informant: Mazaltó-Matilda Lazar (Jerusalén, Israel). (Weich-Shahak, 2013, p. 134)

It is well-known that Sephardic women used to put their babies to sleep singing principally romances whose "repetitive melody and calm" made the little ones fall asleep, whereas the storyline "kept the mother awake and entertained other children" (Weich-Shahak, 2013, p. 35). Hence the scarce number of traditional texts representative of the lullaby genre *sensu stricto*.

The repertoire of children's poetry, as stated by Weich-Shahak (2001), is a source of preservation of the traditional poetry and at the same time it has been subject to intensive changes over time. Changes affected not only the lyrics, but also the music, games and dances associated with them, and which are crucial in the development and socialization of children.

Ana Pelegrín (2001) suggests that "the games hereby collected confirm that Sephardic children participate in the Western Pan-Hispanic ludic culture that has been documented since the Greco-Roman period, as well as in the culture of the Middle East" (p. 51). In this context, we should evoke such games as spinning top, jacks, marbles, throwing nuts and almonds, jumping, hide and seek, tag etc.

Orally transmitted Sephardic *retahílas* (rhymes) are embedded in the social and cultural context of the communities founded by Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, residing

during five centuries in the territories belonging principally to the Ottoman Empire. Sephardic children sang those compositions while playing, and adults taught them those songs to tighten relationships or amuse them. They testify to the history and customs of a world practically extinct today, that fostered, nevertheless, surprising literary manifestations, very different in form and function, and some of them addressed to children.

Lullabies and contemporary children's songs in Judeo-Spanish

Contemporary poetry for children in Judeo-Spanish, being written by concrete authors for the first time in the history of this language, is a part of a different tradition than the traditional poetry we have discussed up to now. It is only possible to encounter points of contact between the two when looking at the formal aspects (rhyme, parallelisms, repetitions etc.).

Beatriz Mazliah is an example of a writer with a consolidated trajectory as a poet creating for adults in Judeo-Spanish. Conversely, Ada Gattegno-Saltiel writes exclusively poetry for children, considering it a medium for revitalizing Judeo-Spanish and saving it from oblivion. As already mentioned, spoken Judeo-Spanish has been losing terrain starting from the beginning of the 20th century, which phenomenon was strengthened by the tragedy of Holocaust and the ensuing massive emigration that brought the Sephardic language to the brink of extinction. Today Judeo-Spanish is listed as an endangered language by the UNESCO and therefore an object of special protection to preserve the cultural heritage of Sephardim. Despite these efforts, there remains only a handful of competent speakers of the language, all of them of advanced years, which foreshadows a rapid death of Judeo-Spanish as a vernacular. Nevertheless, recently we have seen a considerable number of Sephardic Jews, chiefly women, employing Judeo-Spanish in literature (for the

most part poetry) and publishing their work. The question arises as to who the intended readers of these compositions are, and the present study approaches the problem from an especially paradoxical point, given that it is dedicated to poetry for children written in a language that the children no longer speak. Hence we can conclude that these texts are characterized by a certain hybridity, as on one hand they seem to be centered on the receiver (the child with her/his particular taste), but on the other hand may be perceived as exercises in expression or even poetic experiment.

Pedro Cerrillo (2007) proposes the following definition of a lullaby or a nighttime song:

A lullaby or a nighttime song is a kind of popular song that was passed on orally from generation to generation. It includes typical first words of toddlers. It is commonly admitted that a lullaby is a short song used to calm children down and essentially make the addressee fall asleep. Usually they are performed when a child does not want to sleep or has difficulties with entering that state (p. 318).

Still, the addressee of the lullabies is twofold: the child listening to the song and the adult in charge of singing. Cerrillo (2007) highlights the fact that "a lullaby is one of a few genres among children's songs in which the sender is an adult" (p. 322). Indeed, we can consider a lullaby to be a composition reflecting the feelings and thoughts of an adult that takes care of and soothes the baby. Most lullabies describe the mother's bitterness or worry caused by her baby's crying, her desire to protect the child, even complaints about life situations perceived as unjust, as a source of suffering; there are also frequent mentions of the absence of the father. In the case of Sephardic tradition, women used to put their babies to sleep singing romances, which is why the examples of orally transmitted lullabies are scarce. In the next section we will move on to analyzing two lullabies composed by a contemporary Argentinian poet, Beatriz Mazliah.

Las nanas de Beatriz Mazliah

Beatriz Mazliah (Buenos Aires, 1942) was born in Argentina into a family of Sephardic origin, whose roots in Buenos Aires date back to the previous generation. She started writing in Judeo-Spanish relatively late, in 1997, and her style is characterized by formal simplicity.

Childhood is a privileged theme in her work. References to birth, protection of the child from adversity, sickness and premature death appear in many of her poems. Pieces included in her *Scraps of the Soul* (Mazliah, 2007) focus on the lives of women in the environment of the Sephardic community, and on the changes that ensued from its progressive dissolution. One of the compositions, "A Child and the Storm" represents clearly the lullaby genre:

Sleep sweetheart,
do not wake up yet
as the morning
is black.

Sleep, my joy,
As the rain
strikes the windows
and dyed with fury
is the sea.

Wrap yourself up
in your blanket
and sleep my baby
a rose on your face
little star on your pillow.

Later
when it gets clear
together we will sing
ballads to the sun. (p. 8)

From the formal point of view, the poem's parallelistic structure is typical of traditional lullabies. Still, we can detect certain details indicating a different kind of composition, e.g.. absence of rhyme, despite the poem's intense musicality. The first two stanzas open with words commonplace for lulling in

Judeo-Spanish: the imperative "sleep" (*durme*) followed by a variable term of endearment, such as "sweetheart", "my joy" (literally "my good"), "my baby", which structure is typical of orally transmitted lullabies. In the third stanza we see a slight modification- it starts with the verb "wrap up", and the imperative "sleep my baby" appears only in the third verse.

The aim of these small modifications is to highlight the change in content. In the first two stanzas the safety of the child sleeping in his/her mother's arms contrasts with the threatening weather outside - dark morning, rain striking against the windows, raging sea. These elements may serve to inspire fear, a mechanism so often present in lullabies - the mother lulling her baby to sleep tries to convince him/her that the outside world is full of peril, while in her arms she/he is guarded from harm.

In the third stanza we won't find this juxtaposition, it is all about intimacy and coziness. More tender words are pronounced - "rose", "little star"-, combined with the image of a blanket and pillow that cover and protect the child. Finally, the last lines bring a promise of a new day filled with sunlight and romance singing.

The other lullaby by Beatriz Mazliah (2007), titled "Milk, Cinnamon and Honey" is a night-time song further way from the traditional model:

I have a child in the crib,
that was brought by the moon.

A morning star
that shines on his face.

His scent that of warm bread,
it makes people's mouth water.

Garlic, clove and beads,
so that evil doesn't hurt him.

His toes like almonds,
they are little gems.

Angels be with him,
who is milk, cinnamon and honey.

My baby's asleep in the crib,
that was rocked by the moon. (p. 11)

In this case the poetic voice does not address the child directly, but he is the subject around which the poem is constructed. In its original version the lullaby is composed of seven octosyllabic couplets. Only the first and the last couplet, very similar to each other and encompassing the poem in a circular structure, refer directly to the image of a sleeping child.

The moon is a recurrent motif in the lullabies of the Spanish tradition. Sometimes it is depicted as a star able to reflect the child's beauty, or a kind presence that helps him/her fall asleep, but on other occasions it becomes a threatening element, associated directly with the idea of death. In this poem on one hand the moon brought the child, on the other it rocks the crib. Thus, the moon seems to be linked to the creation of life and introduces an aura of mystery into the lullaby. The poetic voice expresses joy and tenderness characteristic of maternity, detectable in the comparisons to the smell of warm bread, almonds or morning star that lightens up the child's face. Nevertheless, the poem also alludes to the mother's fears, such as envy of other people. To protect the child, she calls for the help of angels and mentions objects traditionally used as amulets – garlic, clove and beads, apart from evoking the biblical image of milk, cinnamon and honey, a symbol of life filled with happiness and abundance in the Sephardic culture.

Both "A Child and the Storm" and "Milk, Cinnamon and Honey" are poems addressed to children only partially; they express a mother's feelings related to taking care of a baby and evoke traditional practices aimed at protecting the little ones from an evil eye or other mishaps. In this sense it is possible to interpret them as efforts to save selected elements of the Sephardic culture from oblivion, the Judeo-

Spanish language being the tool to describe old customs. These lullabies are born out of nostalgia of the childhood, songs of the ancestors and a language that is one step away from non-existence.

Children's songs by Ada Gattegno-Saltiel

Ada Gattegno-Saltiel, a resident of Israel, of which we possess scarce biographic data, is the author of a book of nursery rhymes (as she herself described them) titled *Multicolor* (2010). The book was published in a bilingual version, Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew, with an introduction by another poet, Avner Perez, who justifies the fact of writing a poetry book for children in a language that is no longer passed from parents to their progeny with these words:

You can wonder: for what reason one could write poems for children in Ladino, in a generation with hardly any children who learn Ladino as their mother tongue? And the answer could be that the poetry for children is a literary genre as any other, with its own characteristics, requirements, rules, its major trends and movements. (Perez, 2010)

Thus, the fundamental reason is not emotional or sociological, but literary - children's poetry can be perceived as an autonomous literary genre, practiced by a significant number of authors of different backgrounds and in different periods. Avner Perez (2010) suggests in his introduction that children's poetry can be appreciated by adults, too, provided it is of good literary quality, and that is why creating such poems contributes to the vitality and dynamism of Judeo-Spanish:

The composition of poems for children in Ladino is another attempt of testing the limits of the potential of this language, as well as of taking up the challenge of further cultivating this literary genre. As long as the lovers of both Ladino and its literary creations exist, there also exists a would-be audience of this genre, as well as readers who could enjoy these works, provided that they have been well-written and had some literary value – even in case the readers have their childhood and youth far behind.

At the same time the author offers Hebrew versions in an attempt to bring the text closer to the contemporary children that do not speak Judeo-Spanish, but still are given a chance to appreciate the content of the poems ("the Hebrew part can talk to the heart and ears of the present-day children"). Avner Perez retains hope that the Judeo-Spanish version could possibly help parents and grandparents to recall or discover the language and subsequently they could pass their love of it onto new generations. The subtitle of the book, *Poems for Small and Big*, can be interpreted in the same line.

From the formal point of view, the twenty five poems included in *Multicolor* are very musical and employ rhetoric procedures common both in modern children's poetry, as well as in the oral, traditional one: rhyme, anaphora, parallelisms etc. The author makes an attempt at integrating a multisensory experience, combining words, music and photos taken by herself.

A quick analysis of the content allows for identifying some central themes, all of them characteristic of poetry for children. In that sense Ada Gattegno is not original, as she uses motifs popular in this literary genre. Thus, we find poems about dolls and clowns (accompanied by corresponding photos), colors, seasons and differences between daytime and nighttime. Moreover, there is one piece of poetry with a typically Jewish theme, "Treasure", in which the cause of exaltation is a book:

My grandfather
Had a treasure
A golden book
With letters of the sun
And each word shone
In Judeo-Spanish. (p. 8)

This poem is paired with a photo of a book that supposedly belonged to the author's grandfather. The image aims to illustrate the past of a language, which is, in fact, the past of its speakers. Judeo-Spanish is depicted as a treasure inherited from the previous generations – its letters and words shine bright as the

sun and can enlighten the reader or listener. The general attitude of Ada Gattegno-Saltiel to poetry in Judeo-Spanish can be summed up as follows: she uses easy words and everyday topics to call the attention of the readers upon the language itself, its capacity for producing rhymes and stirring up images in the minds of children.

Just as many other nursery rhyme collections for children, *Multicolor* closes with a nighttime poem:

The night is a shawl
The night – a cap
The night – a pair of pyjamas
That my mom puts on me. (Gattegno-Saltiel, 2010, p. 30)

Children's perception of time is deeply influenced by the alternation of night and day, and the moment of going to bed is to them a natural conclusion of the activities they undertook during the day. The same moment supposes the end of listening to poems in Judeo-Spanish. Again, the structure of the book is circular, as Ada Gattegno tried to establish a connection with the routines of children, incorporating words in Judeo-Spanish into their daily activities.

Conclusion

Children's poetry, both transmitted orally and authorial, forms an important part of the literary and cultural heritage of peoples. It is present during the whole period of child's development, is maintained from one generation to another and helps establish relationships between children and adults (Cervera, 1991). For this reason, when confronted with a language on the brink of extinction, which is clearly the case of Judeo-Spanish, studying the poetic patrimony addressed to children seems relevant.

As we have seen, over centuries practically all of the poems sung and recited by the Sephardic children and their parents were a part of the oral tradition. Those compositions lived, playing their role in daily life and, above all, accompa-

nying children in their group games, as well as facilitating interactions between parents and children. After the traditional communities dissolved, the chain of transmission stopped functioning, and as Judeo-Spanish ceased to be used as a vernacular, games and songs dependent on that language were abandoned. The work of the ethnomusicologist Susana Weich-Shahak (2013 and 2001), focused on interviewing senior Sephardim, allowed us to preserve at least a part of this heritage.

The two examples of contemporary children's poetry that we have analyzed (Mazliah, 2007 and Gattegno-Saltiel, 2010) testify to different approaches that a writer can adopt in relation to the future of an endangered language. The decision to write literature in Judeo-Spanish seems justified from the point of view of the author and the potential audience of such compositions. The question formulated at the beginning of this paper – what sense does it make to write children's poetry in a language children no longer speak? – has been partially answered: the authors claim that children's poetry is an autonomous literary genre that can be practiced in whichever language and is addressed not only to children, but also to adults who for whatever reasons may enjoy reading original texts in Judeo-Spanish. Among factors that come into play we can point to nostalgia of the past, respect for one's cultural heritage and continuity of tradition.

Through their lullabies and nursery rhymes Beatriz Mazliah y Ada Gattegno Saltiel develop a poetic language dedicated to childhood. They talk to children from their position of adults, trying to pass their culture on to the new generations and they are convinced that writing children's poetry opens new possibilities to save the past from oblivion. From an aesthetic point of view, both projects are original, as each author adapts this literary genre to her own particular style. In this way the two demonstrate how versatile poetry for children can be, initiating a privileged path of transmission of emotions and development of new forms of

expression in an endangered language, in this case Judeo-Spanish.

Notes

1 Further information on the Sephardic history and culture in Díaz-Mas (2006); and Rodríguez y Benbassa (2004).

2 A global vision of Sephardic literature can be found in Romero (1992).

3 A useful review of information on Judeo-Spanish can be found in Lleal (1992). On the process of extinction of Judeo-Spanish, consult Harris (1994); and Schmid (2007).

4 More on contemporary Judeo-Spanish poetry in Martín Ortega (2014).

5 Further information on the question of the Sephardic Romancero (collection of romances) and its social and cultural relevance can be found in Díaz-Mas (2001) and (2007). On the Spanish Romancero for Children, see Pelegrín (1990).

6 The on-line versión of the book is available at: <http://folkmasa.org/av/migdall.htm> [1.6.2017], belonging to *Sefarad – La Asociación para la Konservasion I la Promosion de la Kultura Djudeo-Espanyola* (Association for Conservation and Promotion of the Judeo-Spanish Culture) and *al Maale Adumim Institute for the Documentation of Judeo-Spanish Language (Ladino) and its Culture*.

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