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PERSONAL NAMES OF SEPHARDIC WOMEN IN SARAJEVO
IN THE PERIOD 1905–1941¹

Names given to the Jews throughout the centuries raise a remarkably interesting, interdisciplinary question that has already been discussed in academic literature. The linguistic or cultural description of Jewish male and female given names, of their history and functions, especially in Diaspora, has been provided by Jeffrey Malka², Alexander Beider³, Benzion Chaim Kaganoff⁴, Eva and Heinrich Guggenheimer⁵, Zofia Abramowicz⁶,

¹ The paper is based on unpublished excerpt from my doctoral thesis *Anthroponymy of Sephardic Jews from Sarajevo in the period 1905–1941* (in Polish).

² J.S. Malka, *Sephardic Genealogy*, Bergenfield (New Jersey) 2002.

³ A. Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic Given Names. Their Origins, Pronunciation and Migrations*, Bergenfield, New Jersey 2001.

⁴ B.C. Kaganoff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Names and Their History*, Lanham–Boulder–New York–Toronto–Oxford 2005.

⁵ E. H. & H.W. Guggenheimer, *Etimologisches Lexikon der jüdischen Familiennamen*, München–New Providence–London–Paris 1996.

⁶ See Zofia Abramowicz's publications such as: *Imiennictwo Żydów białostockich w latach 1886–1939*, „Studia Podlaskie” 1989, t. 2, p. 139–145; eadem, *Imiennictwo Żydów białostockich a zjawisko interferencji językowej*, [in:] *Systemy onomastyczne w słowiańskich gwarach mieszanych i przejściowych*, „Rozprawy Slawistyczne” 7, Lublin 1993, p. 9–23; eadem, *Wpływy słowiańskie w nazewnictwie osobowym Żydów*

Moshe Altabuer⁷, Ewa Geller⁸, to name but a few. Presenting the research on Jewish personal names, one should not forget about the Israeli series *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics* edited in Bar Ilan University up to 2011 (containing papers on Jewish personal names by researchers such as Aaron Demsky⁹ and Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky¹⁰), a bibliographic compilation by Robert Singerman¹¹ or an anthology exclusively on Sephardic names¹².

białostockich, [in:] *Współzależność języków słowiańskich. Aspekt lingwistyczny i glotto-dydaktyczny*, Gdańsk 1998, p. 132–144; eadem, *Wpływy słowiańskie w żydowskich compositach antroponimicznych*, [in:] *Słowiańskie composita antroponimiczne*, „Rozprawy Slawistyczne” 1999, t. 16, p. 13–19; eadem, *Rodzime i obce w antroponimii Żydów białostockich*, [in:] *Wielojęzyczność i wielokulturowość na pograniczu polsko-wschodniosłowiańskim*, „Studia Slawistyczne” 3, Białystok 2002, p. 116–122; eadem, *Z badań nad antroponimią żydowską*, [in:] *Onomastyka regionalna*, Olsztyn 2006, p. 7–12; eadem, *Antroponimia Żydów białostockich*, Białystok 2010; eadem, *The Role of the Name in the Identification of Jews in the Podlasie in the 16th–20th Centuries*, [in:] *Ashkenazim and Sephardim: A European Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2013, p. 175–187.

⁷ See M. Altabuer, *O kilku przykładach „depluralizacji” zapożyczeń w języku polskim*, „Język Polski” 1995, R. 35, p. 42–26; idem, *Dublety imion biblijnych w polszczyźnie*, „Onomastica” 1956, R. 10, z. 1–2, p. 198–203; idem, *Od typu metronimicznego do „pajdonimicznego”*, „Onomastica” 1958, R. 4, p. 355–364; idem, *O technice zdrobnień i spieszczeń we współczesnej hebrajszczyźnie*, [in:] *Wzajemne wpływy polsko-żydowskie w dziedzinie językowej*, Kraków 2002, p. 189–194.

⁸ E. Geller, *Dobra Gitl, słodka Zisl, nadobna Szejndl – o pochodzeniu imion Żydówek polskich*, [in:] *Nieme dusze? Kobiety w kulturze jidysz*, Wrocław 2010, p. 131–152.

⁹ E.g. A. Demsky, *Some Reflections on the Names of the Jews of Kaifeng, China*, [in:] *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, Vol. 4, Bar-Ilan University Press 2003, p. 91–108.

¹⁰ E.g. L. Bornstein-Makovetsky, *Jewish Names in Istanbul in the 18th and 19th Centuries. A Study on Bills of Divorce*, [in:] *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, Vol. 1, Bar Ilan University Press 1997, p. 13–26.

¹¹ R. Singerman, *Jewish Given Names and Family Names. A New Bibliography*, ed. D.L. Gold, Brill 2001.

¹² *Pleasant Are Their Names. Jewish Names in the Sephardic Diaspora*, ed. A. Demsky, Maryland 2010.

Customs of giving names among Sephardic Jews do not differ greatly from those among Ashkenazim. When a girl was born, her family invited guests and after accepting wishes of *mazal tov*, they announced a name of the new-born¹³. The choice of a name for a child was not random. It often followed some fixed rules: the first daughter was given a name after her paternal grandmother, the second one – after her maternal grandmother, whereas the following daughters – after their aunts (the first from the father's side and the next from the mother's). Sometimes Sephardim gave names after parents or prominent figures in the Jewish history¹⁴.

Sephardic women were, naturally, given biblical names: the oldest (such as *Tsipporah, Deborah, Jonna, Rachel, Shoshana, Tamar*) or of various origin from the period of Babylonian Exile (e.g. *Esther*). Starting from the Middle Ages new Hebrew names of non-biblical origin appeared in female anthroponymy (*Chaya, Margalit, Mazaltov* or *Simcha* – used as a female name among the Sephardim)¹⁵.

In the same period, due to migrations, Sephardi Jews extended their naming system by female names such as *Belle, Benvenida, Blanca, Bonafila, Bone, Clara, Contessa, Diamante, Dolca, Dolza, Dueynna, Esperanza, Ferosa, Flora, Gentil, Gracia, Joye, Luna, Madrona, Oro, Petita, Preciosa, Regina, Reyna, Rica, Rosa, Sol, Stella* (many of which were also used among Ashkenazi women). Arabic names such as *Jamila* and *Seti* originate in medieval Spain. Basically, until the first half of the 20th century Jewish anthroponymy absorbed personal names borrowed from non-Jewish neighbourhoods, which was the result of progressing acculturation. Thus, also Sephardic women acquired names such as *Amelia, Antoinetta, Dorotea, Eleonore, Irena, Julia,*

¹³ J. Nehama, *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol*, Paris 2003, p. 325.

¹⁴ Ž. Lebl, *Do „konačnog rešenja“*. *Jevreji u Beogradu 1521–1942*, Beograd 2001, p. 388–389; J.S. Malka, *Sephardic Genealogy*, op. cit., p. 76–78.

¹⁵ J.S. Malka, *Sephardic Genealogy*, op. cit., p. 72–77; B.C. Kaganoff, *A Dictionary of Jewish...*, op. cit., p. 40–42; M. Nosić, *Hrvatska imena hebrejskoga podrijetla*, “*Riječ*” 1998, Vol. 1, p. 62–70; B. Feldblyum, *Russian-Jewish Given Names*, Teaneck 1998, p. 12.

Katarina, Laura, Lilia, Matilda, Mina, Renata, Tereza, Viktoria, and even Slavic *Zlata, Krasna, Zora*.

The most complete synthesis of Jewish given names (their origin, identifying and cultural function throughout the centuries) was presented by Alexander Beider¹⁶. He showed a few main groups functioning in the Jewish naming system categorising them according to the reasons for and ways of creating and adopting names:

- 1) assuming names straight from Tanakh or other religious books (e.g. *Esther, Hannah, Sarah, Deborah, Abigail, Ruth, Tsipporah, Naomi, Tamar*), as well as adapting the forms which functioned among non-Jewish people (e.g. *Sephora* < *Tsiporah*, *Anna* < *Hannah*, *Marie* < *Miriam*, *Samuel* < *Shmuel*, *Moises* < *Moshe*);
- 2) creating a new name by a calque of a name which already existed in and originated from a different language (e.g. *Vivus: Chayim* – connected with nouns meaning ‘life’, *Bondia: Jom Tow* – lit. ‘good day’);
- 3) creating a new name, not a calque but, for example, due to the fact that the meaning of an appellative which it was based on was attractive or important for other reasons, including Hebrew or non-Hebrew names (e.g. *Malkah, Nechama, Simcha, Chayim, Merkado/Merkada*);
- 4) borrowing names from non-Jewish people which had an identical or similar meaning to those already existing in the Jewish naming system (e.g. *Benedictus/Bendit: Baruch* – ‘blessed’);
- 5) borrowing names which sounded similarly to the names already existing in the Jewish naming system from non-Jewish surroundings (e.g. *Avram: Albert, Marcus: Mordechay, Esther: Erna*),
- 6) simple borrowing names from non-Jewish people. The names which constitute this group were assumed since the Jews found their meanings clear and attractive (e.g. *Clara*) or they were simply fashionable in their environment at that time (e.g. *Katharina, Alfred, Emilio*)¹⁷.

¹⁶ A. Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic...*, op. cit.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 20–40.

The categorisation was used for the studies on Ashkenazi given names, but it can be also valid in the case of Sephardic names (including female ones), as there was a similar mechanism of creating or borrowing personal names in Sephardi Diaspora. As Beider underlines, sometimes it is impossible to make an unequivocal division of the names, because of lack of written sources, lack of data, etc. Sometimes it is almost impossible to determine if a name was actually borrowed from the Gentiles or if it was created by the Jews themselves. Sometimes it is also hard to establish which name in the group of calque-names is older and which one appeared as first in the Jewish naming system.

The aim is to present the examples of collected Sephardic female names and observe what kind of tendencies influenced the process of giving names among Sarajevo Sephardi women before World War II, at the same time trying to consider the types of names mentioned by Beider. The gathered material includes names which appear in the sources separately (singular names, that is a person is designated by one name) or in a pair with another name (double names designating one person). The ways and rules of combining names to make double names and the relations between them are equally interesting.

The onomastic material which forms the basis of this presentation comes from Sarajevo from the years 1905–1941 and has been excerpted from official sources: *Knjiga rođenih* (the birth records of the Sephardi community in Sarajevo¹⁸), *Indeks matičnih knjiga* (the index of registers of the Sephardi community in Sarajevo), *Knjiga mrtvih* (the index of the deceased buried in the Jewish cemetery in Sarajevo), the tombstones from the Jewish cemetery in Sarajevo, as well as widely available sources less official in character – Jewish weekly newspapers (*Jevrejski život* and *Jevrejski glas*) published in Sarajevo before 1941. All examples listed below have the original spelling from the sources.

¹⁸ There were two separate Jewish communities in Sarajevo before World War II: Ashkenazi and Sephardic.

1. The Names Which Occur Separately (Single Names)

1.1. Single Names in Full Form

1.1.1. Biblical Names:

Avigail, Cipora/Sipura, Debora, Ester/Estera/Estira, Hana, Izraela, Lea/Leja, Merjam/Mirjam/Mirjama, Naomi, Ribeka/Rifka/Rebeka/Rivka, Rahela/Rahel/Rašel/Rašela, Rut, Sara, Sulamita, Tamar.

The names adopted from Tanakh were traditionally assumed by Sephardic Jews (as well as Ashkenazim) for many reasons, including the fact that biblical names are exceptionally important in the Jewish history and culture (e.g. *Cipora, Debora, Ester/Estera, Hana, Mirjam, Rahela* and *Rifka* with its variants, *Sara*) or due to the meaning of names (e.g. *Hana* – ‘life’). There is also a subgroup of biblical names which appeared just to expand the naming system¹⁹ (i.e. *Avigail, Lea/Leja, Naomi, Tamar*). The written records show that biblical names have the forms which were morphologically and phonologically shaped under the influence of various languages and anthroponymies, like borrowed forms as: *Rebeka, Rašela, Mirjama*. One of the names in the group was derived from the male name *Izraela* which is quite rare among Jewish women in Sarajevo.

1.1.2. Non-Biblical Names of Hebrew Origin:

Malka, Mazal, Mazalta/Mazaltov, Neama /Nehama, Simha, Zijona, Bohora.

These names are much younger than biblical ones, they appeared among the Jews in medieval Diaspora. The name *Zijona* was morphologically derived from the male form *Zion* (maybe it was a male personal name as well, although it was not noted in the sources) and it was surely given due to its important meaning in the Jewish tradition.

¹⁹ See A. Beider’s notes on acquiring biblical names: *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic...*, op. cit., p. 45.

Other names (*Simha*, *Mazal*, *Mazalta/Mazaltov*, *Neama/Nehama*) in the described system are primarily female names. It is also worth mentioning that probably due to their wishful, protective or consoling functions hidden in their meaning, in Jewish general tradition, although this was not the case among the Sephardim in Bosnia, they were also given to boys, c.f. *Simha* – ‘joy’, *Mazal* – ‘luck’, *Mazaltov* – lit. ‘good luck’, *Neama/Nehama* – ‘consolation’²⁰. The name *Malka* (‘queen’) was probably given to girls born during the holiday of *Purim* because of the association with the character Esther.

The name of Hebrew origin *Bohora* (‘firstborn’) is not found among birth certificate names: it was additional in character, it was given in addition to the actual name of a firstborn daughter. A male version of *Bohor* < Hebr. *bochor* appeared as an additional name already in biblical period to underline an exceptional position of the eldest son in a family²¹. However, as Ženi Lebl writes²², in the circle of relatives this name was often superseded by the very name which meant ‘firstborn’.

1.1.3. Names of Latin, Roman and Judeo-Spanish Origin:

Amada, *Angela*, *Balomba/Paloma/Palomba*, *Beja/Bela/Belja*, *Bianka/Bjanka/Blanca/Blanka*²³, *Bjenvinida*, *Boena/Buena*, *Bolisa/Bulisa*, *Dona*, *Djoja/Đoja*, *Djustina/Đustina/Gjustina/Justina*, *Džentil*, *Erdonja*, *Ermoza*, *Esperansa*, *Estreja/Stela/Strea/Streja*, *Flor*, *Flora*, *Gracija/Gracija/Grasija/Grasja*, *Klara*, *Lumbrila*, *Luna*, *Mercedes*, *Merkada*, *Oro/Oru*, *Perla*, *Regina/Rena*, *Rika*, *Rosa/Roza*, *Safira*,

²⁰ *Nehama* and its variants symbolise consolation in the period of Tisha B'av, a holiday connected with mourning, or after tragic or sad experiences in a family, cf. B. Kaganoff, *A Dictionary of Jewish...*, op. cit., p. 47.

²¹ S.P. De Vries Mzn, *Obrzędy i symbole Żydów*, Kraków 2001, p. 275–284.

²² Ž. Lebl, *Do „konačnog rešenja”*, op. cit., p. 338.

²³ The name *Blanka* and its variants have Germanic roots, but in the characterization of the Jewish naming system it seems to be more relevant that it is the same as Romanic lexemes.

Senjora/Signora/Sinjora, Soltana/Sultana, Venecija/Venezja, Vida/Vita, Sumbula/Zimbula /Zinbula/Zumbula.

It is very hard to determine which names were borrowed and which were created by Jews²⁴. Nevertheless, in my selection they all fulfil two conditions:

- 1) they are linked to lexemes used in the Judeo-Spanish language;
- 2) probably the meaning of them all was semantically clear and understandable for Sephardi Jews in the described period.

In the process of acquiring and giving female Jewish names the meaning of a name was extremely important²⁵; it had to be attractive and the names from this group confirm that. The meanings show some positive external and inner features (e.g. *Amada* – ‘loved’, *Belja/Beja/Bela* – ‘beautiful’, *Buena/Boena* – ‘good’, *Djoja/Đoja* – ‘joy’ or ‘precious’, *Džentil* – ‘nice, joyful, kind’, *Ermoza* – ‘beautiful’, *Gracija/Gracija/Grasija/Grasja* – ‘grace’), refer to flowers (*Flor/Flora* – ‘flower’, *Rosa/Roza* – ‘rose’, *Sumbula/Zimbu-*

²⁴ I have not found names such as *Bjenvinida, Bolisa/Bulisa, Djoja/Đoja, Džentil, Erdonja, Luna, Lumbrila, Merkada, Oro/Oru, Rika, Safira, Senjora/Signora/Sinjora, Vida/Vita or Ćika, Delisja* (see double names below) in non-Jewish anthroponimies. We might think that these are typical Sephardic (Jewish) names and, more importantly, they were created by Jews themselves. Nevertheless, the majority of this group’s names are ambiguous when it comes to their origin: they are the same as Judeo-Spanish appellatives and, at the same time, they are linked to old Latin *cognonimia*, e.g. *Amada*: Lat. *Amata, Angela, Flor/Flora*: Lat. *Flora, Fortunata*: Lat. *Fortunata* (see double names below), *Klara, Rosa/Roza, Djustina/Đustina/Justina/Gjustina*: Lat. *Justina, Buena/Boena*: Lat. *Bona, Ermoza*: Lat. *Formosa*. Many of them can be also found in many non-Jewish naming systems: *Angela, Blanca/Bianca, Gracia/Grazia, Perla, Rosa, Stella, Mercedes, Leona, Regina* (cf. *Regina/Rena*), *Blanka/Bianka, Sumbula*.

A. Beider elaborates on the same question concerning Ashkenazi female names: he treats them as borrowed from non-Jewish names such as *Clara (Klore), Bella (Beyle), Bona (Bune)* (cf. *Buena/Boena*), *Regina, Rosa/Rose, Shprintse* (cf. *Esperansa*), *Yusta*. And, according to him, Jews created names such as *Perle, Reyne, Rike, Gentil (Yentl)* (cf. *Džentil/Đentila*), *Joye (Yoye)* (cf. *Djoja/Đoja*). However, for Beider some of the examples are still debatable; see: idem, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic...*, op. cit.

²⁵ A. Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic...*, op. cit., p. 16–19; Z. Abramowicz, *Imiennictwo Żydów białostockich w latach 1886–1939*, „Studia Podlaskie” 1989, t. 2, p. 140–142; Z. Abramowicz *Imiennictwo Żydów białostockich...*, op. cit., p. 20.

la/Zinbula/Zumbula – ‘hyacinth’), precious stones and metals (*Oro/Our* – ‘gold’, *Perla* – ‘pearl’, *Safira* – ‘sapphire’), colours (*Bianka/Bjanka/Blanca/Blanka* – ‘white’²⁶), or noble social positions (e.g. *Rena* – ‘queen’, *Soltana/Sultana* – ‘princess’, *Senjora/Signora/Sinjora*, *Dona* – ‘lady’), etc.

Some of them could play additional roles: of semantic or sound equivalents²⁷ of biblical or Hebrew names. This is confirmed in the records of double names which I will present later on. For example, *Estreja/Stela/Strea/Streja* are linked with the biblical names *Estera/Ester/Estira* by the meaning ‘star’, *Gracija/Gracija/Grasija/Grasja* are linked with *Hana* (‘grace’) and *Rena/Regina* appeared as calques of *Malka* (‘queen’)²⁸. Among the Sephardi women in Sarajevo *Rosa/Roza* could replace the biblical name *Rahel/Rahela* based on similar initial sounds of both names²⁹, which is confirmed by the records in the sources. The name with the meaning ‘rose’ (*Rosa/Roza*) is sometimes interpreted as a calque of biblical *Shoshana*³⁰. The role of the name *Rikawa* was typical for Sarajevo. In the sources it very often occurred with *Rebeka* and *Rifka* as their ‘outer’, exonym equivalent due to sound similarity.

There are other interesting functions of the names in this group. The name *Vida* which is semantically linked to Hebrew *Chava* and *Chaya* (‘life’) as an apothropaic, protective name, might have changed the original name after illness or a different kind of threat to life. *Merkada* through its meaning (‘bought’) symbolised the ceremony of ‘buying’ a newborn

²⁶ E. Geller in her paper on Ashkenazi female names writes that names such as *Biela*, *Blanka*, *Bianka*, *Zlata*, *Gołda* are linked to hair colour; see: eadem, *Dobra Gitl...*, op. cit.

²⁷ For Ashkenazi female names E. Geller proposes the division into exonyms (names used in external contacts) and endonyms (names used in Jewish circles) (see: eadem, *Dobra Gitl...*, op. cit.).

²⁸ A. Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic...*, op. cit., p. 556.

²⁹ For that kind of sound relation between names E. Geller (op. cit.) uses the term ‘alliteration’ (see: eadem, *Dobra Gitl...*, op. cit.).

³⁰ Z. Abramowicz, *Imiennictwo Żydów...*, op. cit., p. 20.

child by a relative³¹. In this way a child was supposed to be, like someone's 'property', protected against the influence of evil powers. The name *Bjenvinida* was given to girls born after older siblings' deaths and this way it symbolised a consolation after the loss³².

1.1.4. Full Names Borrowed from Other Ethnic (and Religious) Groups:

Amalja, Antoanete, Beba, Bela, Berta, Edita, Ema, Erna, Ernestina, Frida, Frieda, Gizela, Henrieta, Ida, Johanna, Josefina, Katalina/Katarina, Laura, Lina, Luisa, Matilda, Mila, Nada, Nina, Olga, Paula, Renata/Rene, Sarafina /Serafina, Sidonija/Sidonja, Sofija, Šarlota, Tereza, Zlata, Zora.

These are names of various origin: Latin, German and Slavic. There are also a few Hebrew names (*Sarafina/Serafina, Josefina, Johanna*) which were not taken directly from the Bible by the Jews themselves, but have to be considered as borrowed from the Gentiles. They were assumed in various periods due to their popularity in the surroundings and some of them did not play any other roles apart from the role of esthetic identification (e.g. *Amalja, Antoanete, Ernestina, Gizela, Henrieta, Katalina/Katarina, Luisa, Tereza, Zora*).

However, some of them were popularised among Sephardi women under the influence of German-speaking foreign population at the end of the 19th century or they belonged to a pattern borrowed from the naming system of the Ashkenazi who also came to Bosnia in the second half of the 19th century. Some of the names were given not only due to fashion, but they also appeared as new sound equivalents of traditional Sephardic names of biblical, Hebrew or Judeo-Spanish origin. For example: many Sephardi women named *Ester/Estera* were fashionably called *Erna, Mazalta/*

³¹ Similar apotropaic tradition existed among Slavic nations, Romanians, Gregorians and Tatars. For example, Serbs and Bulgars gave their children names such as *Kuplen/Kupen* ('bought') and *Prodan* ('sold'); see: W. Budziszewska, *Imiona ochronne Słowian bałkańskich*, „Onomastica” 1989, R. 34, p. 236–244.

³² J.S. Malka, *Sephardic Genealogy*, op. cit., p. 78.

Mazaltov, *Mazal* became *Matilda* and *Sara* became *Šarlota*³³. In many cases the Judeo-Spanish names *Belja/Beja* were replaced by German *Berta* and *Paloma/Palomba* might be replaced by *Paula*.

Very few new borrowed names played a role of semantical equivalents. *Zlata* by its meaning was linked to the Judeo-Spanish name *Oro/Oru* ('golden; gold'), *Nada* to *Esperansa* ('hope') and *Mila* is often connected in the sources with *Grasja/Gracja/Grasija/Gracija* ('kind; grace').

1.2. Single Names in the Hypocoristic and Diminutive Forms

1.2.1. Derived from Biblical or Non-Biblical Hebrew Names:

Anica, Anika, Anuka, Anula, Buhureta/Bohoreta, Bukica, Cili, Cilika, Ela, Ella, Esterina, Estika, Estirola, Hani, Hanika, Ita, Izika, Mariette, Mazi, Meri, Mici, Mikica, Neci, Rahelina, Sarika, Sarina, Sarinka, Stirola.

Some diminutive forms were probably borrowed directly from non-Jewish anthroponymy (e.g. *Mariette*) and others were created by Sephardi Jews, e.g. by using Judeo-Spanish diminutive endings – *Cilika, Estika, Hanika, Izika, Sarika*. Since the discussed anthroponymy includes full forms of all those names, we can assume that the Sephardi Jews of Sarajevo actually perceived them as diminutives.

³³ A short story printed in the pre-war Bosnian Jewish weekly *Jevrejski glas* confirms that before World War II there was a tendency to change Sephardic names to 'modern' ones under the influence of non-Sephardic surroundings:

“– [...] il novjo komo te diši ez švabu, no keri ki si ki jami maz la novja Saru, sino keri di oj ki si jama [...], en esi papiliku skrivi komo se jama...

– Aki eskrivi Šarlota.

– Bravo, bravo! Esto ez il nombri”

(M. Nezirović, *Jevrejsko-španjolska književnost*, Sarajevo 1992, p. 614).

– [...] the fiancé, as I told you, is a German Jew, doesn't want her to be called 'Sara' anymore, but he wants her to be called..., the name is written on this piece of paper...

– It says 'Šarlota'.

– Bravo, bravo! This is the name”].

1.2.2. Derived from the Names of Latin, Roman and Judeo-Spanish Origin:

Bea, Biankica, Blankica, Bonača, Bonči, Bončika, Bulka, Bunača, Donica, Donka, Donkica, Floreta, Flori, Gentilina, Klari, Klarica, Lunči, Lunči, Lunčika, Luni, Lunika, Rega, Reni, Renika, Riki, Rikica, Rozika, Solče, Solči.

It can be stated that all of them were created by Sephardim and they actually played a role of diminutives, because their full forms appeared regularly in the sources.

1.2.3. Derived from the Names Borrowed from Non-Jews and/or Ashkenazi Jews:

Betica, Betika, Betty, Bertica, Emica, Ernica, Goldina, Lenka, Lelica, Lenkica, Nela, Nella, Loti, Lori, Lorika, Milka, Sida, Šarika, Tilda, Zlatica.

As it is been already mentioned, full forms of these diminutives functioned as semantic or sound equivalents of biblical, Hebrew or Judeo-Spanish names Nevertheless, as the sources show, diminutive forms could also be sound equivalents in the discussed anthroponymy: the form *Sida* (< *Sidonija/Sidonja*) very often replaced Hebrew *Simha*, *Nella/Nela* (< *Antonella*) – biblical *Nehama/Neama/Neana* and *Lenka, Lenkica* – biblical *Lea/Leja*. *Betika, Betica, Betty, Beti*, could replace the older names *Belja/Beja*. A very interesting example is the diminutive *Goldina* which comes from the Ashkenazi name *Golda* and like *Zlatica* was semantically related to Judeo-Spanish *Oro/Oru*.

The formation of Sephardic female diminutives is very rich and illustrates the phenomenon of linguistic interference. There are suffixless names (e.g. *Sida, Tilda, Ela, Lena*), but also a vast collection of names with endings of various origins such as the typical Judeo-Spanish diminutive suffix *-ika*, Roman (?) *-ula*, South Slavic *-ica, -ka, -k + ica*, the endings *-ača, -ina, -i* used in many European anthroponymies etc. As in the case of full names, it is quite difficult to determine which diminutive forms were created by Sephardim independently and which were taken from other naming systems.

Zofia Abramowicz observes a pattern of giving names among the Jews in Poland before World War II:

Żydzi [...] od otaczających narodów przejęli zwyczaj zdrabniania imion dziecięcych przez dodawanie odpowiednich końcówek i sufiksów, nadających im cechy pieszczotliwości i miłości i wprowadzili te imiona do metryk³⁴.

[Jews [...] adopted from surrounding peoples the habit of forming diminutives of children's names through adding appropriate endings, giving them the features of tenderness and love and they introduced these names into birth certificates].

The provided examples show that this habit was also acquired among the Sephardi women in Sarajevo. Single hypocoristic and diminutive names in the naming system of the Sephardic women of Sarajevo could be the only actual names written down in the birth records (e.g. *Anuka*, *Anula*, *Bončika*, *Donka*, *Hani*, *Ita*, *Lenka*, *Lunika*, *Nela*, *Rena*). The majority of diminutives, however, appear in less formal sources which seem to provide names and forms people were best-known for: at home, in the family circle or in the local Sephardi community.

2. Double Names

2.1. Double Full Names

2.1.1. Combinations of a Name of Biblical/Hebrew Origin + a Name of Non-Biblical/Non-Hebrew Origin:

*Em*a (*Ester*), *Em*a (*Estera*), *Ester-Er*na, *Er*na (*Ester*), *Ester (Er*na), *Stella (Ester)*, *Fortunata (Mazalta)*, *Malka (Regina)*, *Mazalta (Matilda)*, *Roza (Rahela)*, *Rahela (Roza)*.

³⁴ Z. Abramowicz, *Imiennictwo Żydów białostockich...*, op. cit., t. 2, p. 143.

Most examples of this type of combination include names related to each other through similar initial sound or similar meaning. Typical sound equivalents are: *Ester/Estera* and *Ema*, *Ester/Estera* and *Erna*, *Rahela* and *Roza/Rosa* and *Mazalta* and *Matilda*. As I mentioned before, almost all non-biblical names in the pairs were borrowed from German-speaking Gentiles or Ashkenazi women. On the other hand, similar meaning links Hebrew *Mazalta* (lit. ‘good luck’) to Roman *Fortunata* (‘luck’), biblical *Esterto* Roman *Stella* (‘star’), Hebrew *Malka* to Roman *Regina* (‘queen’).

2.1.2. Combinations of Two Names of Non-Biblical/Non-Hebrew Origin

In the sources we can find double non-Biblical and non-Hebrew names. In this kind of pairs older, traditional Sephardi names are noted next to more “Europeanised” ones or borrowed from Slavic neighbours. These names are typically related by similarity of initial sound:

(*Berta*) *Beja*, *Belja* (*Berta*), *Buena* (*Berta*)

or similarity of meaning:

Grasja (*Mila*), *Oru* (*Zlata*), *Zlata* (*Oru*).

We can also come across pairs in which one of the names has a distinctly apothropaic function:

Djustina (*Merkada*), *Merkada Klara*, *Luna Merkada*.

There are many other examples of non-biblical, non-Hebrew name combinations which are neither related genetically nor in a way which is regular and typical for the sources:

Beba (*Simbula*), *Esperansa* (*Beba*), *Gracja*, *Sinjora* (*Berta*), *Delisja* (*Dika*), *Roza* (*Delisja*), *Đentila* (*Nina*), *Đustina* (*Gizela*), *Erna/Erdonja*, *Fermoza* (*Roza*), *Flora* (*Marčela*), *Regina* (*Georgina*), *Vida* (*Ida*), *Irena* (*Rena*), *Irma* (*Rena*), *Perla* (*Lidja*), *Luna* (*Luciana*), *Luna* (*Ljubica*), *Oru* (*Olga*), *Luna Laura*.

Nevertheless, some of these double names seem to be set together into nicely sounding pairs, similar in initial or final parts. One of the names, *Beba*, has emotional hint and also appears in South Slavic anthroponymy³⁵.

³⁵ Ž. Bjelanović, *Antroponimi u općem rječniku*, “Filologija” 1994, No. 22–23, p. 121.

2.2. Combinations with a Diminutive Form

2.2.1. Combinations in Which Both Names are Genetically Linked

This type of combinations means that hypocoristic elements or bases of derived forms represent a part of a full name:

Buena (Bonaća), Buena (Bonči), Buena (Buni), Delisja (Dika), Ester (Estika), Jozefina (Fini), Hanči (Hana), Rahela (Ela), Rahel (Ela), Rahel (Reli), Sara (Saly), Sara (Sarika), Sara (Sarina).

2.2.2. Combinations in Which Names Are Not Genetically Related:

Beti (Beja), Beti (Belja), Lea (Lenka), (Lenka) Lea, Lenka (Lea), Mazalta (Tilda), Neana (Nella), Nehama (Neli), Oru (Goldica), Oru (Zlatica), Rahel (Rozi), Rena (Gina), Rifka/Riki, Simha (Sida), Sida (Simha).

Once again, in some of the examples the names are connected in frequent and typical relations based on similar sounds or similar meanings: *Beti* with *Beja/Belja*, *Lenka* – with *Lea*, *Nella*, **Neli* – with *Neana/Nehama*, *Sida* – with *Simha*, *Goldica* with *Oru*. etc. This kind of records strongly confirms the existence of equivalents of names among Sephardi women in Sarajevo.

We can also find the combination of actual names with Hebrew names meaning ‘firstborn’, in its full or diminutive forms:

Rena Bukica, Rena (Bukica), Merjam Bukica, Bukica Flora, Simha (Bukica), Sarika (Bukica), Estera (Bukica), Sarina (Bukica), Ita (Bohora), Hana (Bohoreta).

Other examples of combinations in which names were not genetically related, where the motivation of correlation is unclear:

Blanka-Bulka, Rena-Bulka, Erdonja (Eda), Ester (Ela), Ester (Elsa), Ester (Tina), Ester (Lenika), Flora (Loni), Loti (Ina), Katka (Sara), Kela (Keti), Limči (Luna), Simha (Liza), Luna Liza, Rahela (Zela), Simha (Rita), Simha-Sofra.

In some of those cases it is hard to establish the mechanism of linking the names. Some of them just seem to play a role of a nice-sounding, esthetic identification.

The overview of the collected female names (their origin, the genesis of their acquisition, their forms, the relations between them) shows that among the Sephardi women from Sarajevo, unlike in the case of Sephardi men, non-Biblical and non-Hebrew names had a position which was as strong as for the biblical ones. This is obviously determined by religious and cultural factors, as well as tradition: since women did not take part in religious life as actively as men did, they were more open to introducing names from the surroundings. For that reason it is understandable that the vast majority of female names were of Roman and Judeo-Spanish origin with clear meaning, many of which were present among Jewish women since the Middle Ages. Their role was to provide attractive meaning or to symbolize some positive features. Some of them could appear as semantical equivalents of biblical and Hebrew names.

Another big group of names includes those surely borrowed from Gentile anthroponimies. They played a role of fixed equivalents of biblical, Hebrew or Roman anthroponyms and all these relations were based on the rule of similar sounds. Some of them were introduced to the naming system due to contemporary fashion.

The Sephardi women also used hypocoristic and diminutive forms of names and some of them had the status of metrical names since they appeared in *The Birth Records*. In all types of combinations of double names we can also observe great care about the esthetic aspect of linking the names.

Still, there are many doubts and secrets hidden behind the Jewish names, behind their origins, history, migrations, cultural and social functions. To discover them we need to learn more about the history, way of life and tradition of Jewish Diaspora.

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STRESZCZENIE

Imiona Żydówek sefardyjskich w Sarajewie w latach 1905–1941

Artykuł przedstawia charakterystykę sefardyjskich imion żeńskich odnotowanych w Sarajewie przed II wojną światową w kilku rodzajach źródeł: w Księdze Urodzeń gminy sefardyjskiej, Indeksie Ksiąg Ewidencyjnych gminy, Księdze Zmarłych, a także imiona występujące na nagrobkach cmentarza żydowskiego w Sarajewie oraz w dwóch bośniackich tygodnikach żydowskich. Zebrane imiona podzielono pod względem sposobu zapisu w źródłach: na imiona pojedyncze i podwójne oraz, odwołując się do klasyfikacji imion żydowskich zaproponowanej przez Alexandra Beidera, podjęto próbę scharakteryzowania ich pochodzenia, form oraz funkcji jakie pełniły w antroponimii żydowskiej

w ogóle lub w omawianym okresie i społeczności. Podano również przykłady relacji i zasad łączeń w imionach podwójnych zaobserwowane w zapisach źródłowych.

Słowa kluczowe: imiennictwo, antroponimia żydowska, Żydzi sefardyjscy, Sarajevo

Keywords: personal names, Jewish anthroponyms, Sephardic Jews, Sarajevo