ONOMA
Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

Onoma 57
Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

ISSN: 0078-463X; e-ISSN: 1783-1644
Journal homepage: https://onomajournal.org/

What onomastics can do for social history: A review article

Alexander Avram, *Historical implications of Jewish surnames in the Old Kingdom of Romania* (Studies in Jewish Onomastics, 3), University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021, xi + 296 pp., ISBN 978-0-271-09142-6

Ephraim Nissan[*]

London, UK

To cite this article: Nissan, Ephraim. 2022. What onomastics can do for social history: A review article. Alexander Avram, *Historical implications of Jewish surnames in the Old Kingdom of Romania* (Studies in Jewish Onomastics, 3), University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021, xi + 296 pp., ISBN 978-0-271-09142-6. *Onoma* 57, 287–306. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.57/2022/18

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.57/2022/18

© *Onoma* and the author.

Article history
Received on 7 June 2022.
Final form accepted on 1 July 2022.
Published online on 31 January 2023.

What onomastics can do for social history: A review article

Abstract: Onomastics can be invaluable for integrating historians' knowledge in social history, concerning a given territory and segment of a population that is cohesive in some respect. This is shown excellently in a recent book by Alexander Avram, who used a large pool of the surnames of Romania's Jews in order to answer

[*] Contact: ephraim.nissan@hotmail.co.uk

several historical questions. The present review article considers that book closely, remarks as appropriate, and proposes, when available, apt analogues, especially from Italy, in both the main text and the footnotes. Sometimes anecdotes about the use of names are useful in that they show the *Sitz im Leben* of onomastic practices. Perception is the subject of relevant examples discussed in the section "Expected perception of names, and its own perceived impact on bearers". Avram's book is useful both for its subject matter, and as a model of methodology.

Keywords: Romania (Old Kingdom), Romania's Jews, surnames, social history, permanence vs migration.

Que peut faire l'onomastique pour l'histoire sociale : un article de critique de livre en lieu de compte rendu

Résumé : L'onomastique peut être inestimable pour intégrer les connaissances des historiens dans l'histoire sociale, concernant un territoire donné et un segment d'une population qui est cohésif à certains égards. Ceci est parfaitement démontré dans un livre récent d'Alexander Avram, qui a utilisé un grand nombre de noms de famille des Juifs de Roumanie afin de répondre à plusieurs questions historiques. Le présent article en lieu d'un compte-rendu examine attentivement ce livre, remarque le cas échéant et propose, lorsqu'il est disponible, des analogues appropriés, en particulier d'Italie, à la fois dans le texte principal et dans les notes de bas de page. Parfois, les anecdotes sur l'utilisation des noms sont utiles en ce qu'elles montrent le *Sitz im Leben* des pratiques onomastiques. La perception fait l'objet d'exemples pertinents discutés dans la section «Perception attendue des noms et de son propre impact perçu sur les porteurs». Le livre d'Avram est utile à la fois pour son sujet et comme modèle de méthodologie.

Mots-clés : Roumanie (Ancien Royaume), les Juifs de Roumanie, noms de famille, histoire sociale, permanence vs migration.

Was die Onomastik für die Sozialgeschichte tun kann: Eine Buchbesprechungartikel

Zusammenfassung: Onomastik kann von unschätzbarem Wert sein, um das Wissen von Historikern in die Sozialgeschichte zu integrieren, das sich auf ein bestimmtes Territorium und Segment einer Bevölkerung bezieht, das in gewisser Hinsicht zusammenhängend ist. Dies wird in einem kürzlich erschienenen Buch von Alexander Avram hervorragend gezeigt, der einen großen Pool der Nachnamen der rumänischen Juden verwendete, um mehrere historische Fragen zu beantworten. Der vorliegende Übersichtsartikel befasst sich eingehend mit diesem Buch, weist gegebenenfalls darauf hin und schlägt sowohl im Haupttext als auch in den Fußnoten geeignete Analoga, insbesondere aus Italien, vor. Manchmal sind Anekdoten über die Verwendung von Namen nützlich, da sie den Sitz im Leben der onomastischen Praktiken zeigen. Wahrnehmung ist das Thema relevanter Beispiele, die im Abschnitt "Erwartete Wahrnehmung von Namen und ihre eigenen wahrgenommenen Auswirkungen auf Träger" diskutiert werden. Avrams Buch ist sowohl für sein Thema als auch als Modell der Methodik nützlich.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Rumänien (Altes Reich), Rumäniens Juden, Nachnamen, Sozialgeschichte, Permanenz vs. Migration.

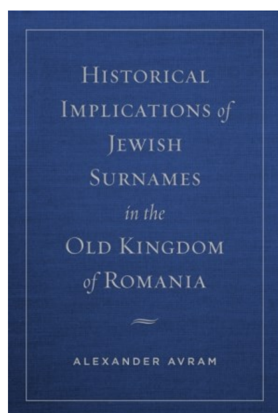
Onoma 57 (2022), 287–306. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.57/2022/18

What onomastics can do for social history: A review article

Alexander Avram, *Historical implications of Jewish surnames in the Old Kingdom of Romania* (Studies in Jewish Onomastics, 3), University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021, xi + 296 pp., ISBN 978-0-271-09142-6

Ephraim Nissan

1. Introduction



(https://www.psupress.org/books/titles/978-0-271-09142-6.html)

Much of this paper reviews an important book by Alexander Avram, showing how useful onomastics can be for shedding light as it does on the social history and historical demographics – Jewish but also general interest for regions of Romania and bordering countries in Eastern Europe – from the 16th century until the end of WWII, of what is now Romania, which is what the territories concerned became when the Danubian Principalities (Moldavia and Walachia) were unified in 1859 and achieved in 1878 full independence from the Ottoman Empire.

Avram's book is therefore of interest for several disciplines. It makes a strong case for the usefulness of onomastics for history, sociology, as well as political studies. It also shows the difference between national myths and what was the everyday reality, over centuries, for populations that lived on the same territories, and whose identity differences mainly revolved around religious denomination, whereas they toiled side by side, sharing usually harsh lives as well as partaking of their humanity. Until in relatively recent generations, some intellectuals with time on their hands or politicians (reversing earlier liberal promises) promulgated the myth, for example in a book bearing the title *Philosophical Physiology* (i.e., the strictly unscientific fantasies, including recommending extermination, on the part of a person who otherwise, in other circumstances, was a physiologist) that these ones had always lived productive lives, whereas those other ones (on the other side of the denominational divide) lived and were still living "non productive" lives (and yet, to see a sample of the latter, all that proponents of such elucubrations

had to do was to stare into the mirror). This is an instructive case study, yet far from unique in the history of modernity of how, in different geographical and national settings, sometimes the past was represented, to deleterious effects. Avram's book shows a sobering reality, of how people were diversified occupationally, on the territory, as well as by form of worship, with nothing untoward except theories some intellectuals put forward as the clumsiest contribution to nation-building (for which analogues can be found elsewhere as well,[1] between the last quarter of the 19th century, to the 1940s and beyond).

In the book under review, nine chapters are sandwiched between the unnumbered "Introduction" and "General Conclusions", the latter followed by three appendices which are a trove; then a glossary, and about seven pages of bibliography.[2] This book shows how precious onomastics can be – and especially surnames (chosen or imposed) borne by Jews, with their analysis "as an additional, complementary research tool" (3) – supplementing the historical record's patchy coverage, though what is now available is relatively more copious (8).

Surnames testify to "migrations and dispersions; occupational structure; acculturation and assimilation; relations between authorities and minorities; and beliefs, aesthetics, and social fashions" (1). This can "even help to resolve disputed historical and historiographical issues" (1). Avram's "is not an attempt to establish a prosopography of Romanian Jewry, which would be practically impossible, but rather to achieve a description of the sum of most of the Romanian and Romanized surnames adopted or used by Jews in these areas. The resulting dictionary of surnames" (4) is Appendix 3 (193–283).

---

1 Because of a constellation of circumstances, once Italy was unified, her Jews achieved more integration than elsewhere in Europe (in part because a liberal elite and the House of Savoy were pitted against the *ancien régime* in Rome, so until 1929 Italy's nation-building had had willy-nilly not to pander to clerical exclusionary precepts); see e.g. Nissan (2008 [2010]). And yet, as e.g. Annalisa Capristo has shown in English (2013), once in 1938 Italy's Jews were expelled from the universities, schools, and other jobs, the intellectual class connived even when some tried to help some individual Jews; exactly one "Aryan" professor protested and therefore lost his university chair: this was the economist Attilio Cabiati. Grotesquely, when I looked for his Italian Wikipedia webpage, I found the curt statement that he was made to leave academia because of the racial laws, conveying the wrong impression this was for being a Jew himself, rather than for being the only decent person who was really heroic in academia. Another academic, a marquis, resigned being offended at receiving several questionnaires requiring him to deny being Jewish (all academics received these), but his annoyance was because both one of his surnames (*De Medici*) and his first name (*Aldobrandino*) should have been enough to show he belonged to the old nobility, rather than being Jewish. Whereas unlike in Romania, post-unification nation-building had integrated the Jews – e.g., Luigi Luzzatti, Italy's former prime minister, who was Jewish, was active in the efforts (see Iancu 1992, 1994) to obtain equal rights for Romania's Jews, publishing an article in Milan's *Corriere della Sera* of 3 March 1913 (Iancu 2001a: 122) – interestingly ideological similarities emerged when Mussolini promoted a rural ideology, as well as disenfranchising the Jews.

2 I would have preferred the bibliography to indicate publishers, not only books' place of publication.

The end of the time interval studied being 1944 is justified, as Avram explains, by the Jewish demographic collapse during the Holocaust,[3] and the following emigration, disruption of Jewish cultural life under Communism, and the fact that intermarriage became widespread, so the presence of surnames arising from that would make the data not as reliable for understanding the Jewish past in Romania (6). Avram himself is Director of the Hall of Names, and of the central database of Shoah victims' names, at Yad Vashem, the memorial institution for the Holocaust in Jerusalem: it is Israel's Holocaust Remembrance Authority. The book is the latest output of a project that previously resulted in his 2012 doctoral dissertation at Bar-Ilan University.

2. Between history and demographics

Such "territories that would become the Romanian Principalities occupied [… a] special location on major crossroads [so this] was an open invitation […] to waves of immigration" (8). At the time Dacia was under Roman rule, "Jewish presence is documented" (9),[4] but both concerning the Jews, and in general, for a millennium afterwards there is a gap in the documentation. It is reasonably assumed that Greek-speaking Jews arrived into Walachia from the Byzantine Empire, and then German-speaking Jews arrived into what is now Romania having been expelled from Hungary in 1360. At the

---

3 See note 20 below.

4 May I mention that during the Old Kingdom, a romantic conjecture arose (see Cernovodeanu 2005), considering the Flavian conquest of Judaea to have motivated such Jews who disliked remaining under Roman rule to move to Dacia, before it became the next target of subjugation by the Flavian dynasty. But we simply don't know. There was an influx of artisans from the Roman Empire into the Dacian polity under King Decebalus, and quite possibly, the perception of it being a flourishing neighbour may have motivated Rome to conquer it. Domitian did not manage, and settled for compromise, but later military campaigns did achieve Roman rule. Cultural Romanization predated that political outcome, and perhaps was ongoing even before Domitian's inconclusive war against Decebalus. May I mention that within his theory of continuity from the Palaeolithic, the late historical linguist Mario Alinei proposed that Dacia's own language was related *ab initio* to the Italic languages, so it was not only the Roman conquest that brought about linguistic affinity.
There is a twist to the role of the Flavian dynasty (which only comprised Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian). The Bilu movement (*BYLW* is an acronym of *Beit Yaakov lekhu venelkha,* "O House of Jacob, let us go [in the light of the Lord]", *Isaiah* 2:5) brought a wave of Jewish immigrants from Romania to Ottoman Palestine in 1882. Consider a fairly frivolous use to which the notion of poetic justice was put in the rhetoric of the information press at the time. On 18 August 1882, the ship Thetis left the Romanian port city of Galaţi on the River Danube, carrying 228 Jews who were going to Palestine to establish an agricultural settlement, and who until the end of 1882 would have been followed by hundreds of Rumanian coreligionists. Carol Iancu (2001b: 241) relates that on reporting about the Thetis departure, various newspapers remarked about her name, to the effect that whereas Titus had exiled the Jews from their land, Thetis was taking them back there.

beginning of the 16th century, Spanish-speaking Jews arrived (9). In Moldavia, such early modern Sephardis became "assimilated into the growing Ashkenazi majority" (9). Warfare and massacres in 1648–1660 in Ukraine and Poland brought about the flight of Jewish refugees who ended up in various countries (Teller 2020). This increased Yiddish-speaking Jewish presence in the Danubian Principalities (9). The latter's economic liberalization in 1829 encouraged Sephardic immigration from Serbia and Bulgaria (9).

"Due to very low Moldavian population numbers (250,000 inhabitants in 1793), the local princes, as well as some of the rich landlords, invited immigrants of all nationalities and religions, among them Jews, granting them tax exemptions and privileges" (10), which is documented in 1612, 1615, 1741, and 1742, and "resulted in strong immigration of Polish Jews from Galicia, who settled in villages and towns along the northern border" (10), in many cases establishing towns, Negreşti in 1845 being one[5] (that toponym is borne

[5] Onomastics, like in the case of the *Exodus* passengers (see below), refugees who invented names for themselves by making them ostensibly fake in defiance, was also involved in an episode during the August 1947 attacks on Jews in Manchester. On the morning after the pogrom, a teenager called Haffner, the future Israeli diplomat Yehuda Avner, was beaten in class by a classmate, and scorned by the geography teacher, who had come in. He then handed Haffner the cane, and ordered him to show on the map "where your Mr. Begin is carrying out his atrocities against our lads who are risking their lives to serve our country", "show us where your Palestine is". "And your mother's from Romania, is she not? Her English could do with a bit of polish, I think". "Now show us on the map where your mother comes from". The boy only knew his mother was from a place called "Negresht" (intending Negreşti, for which, see below). The humiliated boy felt a surge of courage, and told his vicious teacher that his mother's village in Romania was "*Geh in drerd,* sir". (In Yiddish, that means "Go to hell".) The teacher replied: "Ah yes, of course. The name has a distinctive Latin ring to it, which is most characteristic of the Romanian language whose origins are largely Latin. What are the origins of the Romanian language, boys?" "Largely Latin, sir" (Avner 2010: 25–28). Of course, *Geh in drerd* does not sound as related to Latin. "Lawrence Haffner (later Yehuda Avner) was born in Manchester, England in 1928" and died in 2015 in Jerusalem (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yehuda_Avner). His Jewish (Hebrew and Yiddish) forenames were *Yehudah Leib,* traditionally paired among Jews of Eastern European ancestry. He was also known by the first name *Gubby*. His parents were Gedalia Chanoch Haffner and Chana Rivkah Haffner (Zeligovitch), according to the webpage http://www.geni.com/people/Yehuda-Avner/324811488390002860. The obituary for him in the *Daily Telegraph* of 31 March 2015 states: "He was born Gubbi Haffner into an Orthodox Jewish family in the Strangeways district of Manchester on December 30 1928, changing his name to the Hebrew Yehuda Avner after emigrating to Jerusalem in 1947".

The *Exodus* boat-people were Holocaust refugees repelled from Palestine's coasts by Britain, which had prison-ships transport them from south France's coasts to internment in Germany in the summer of 1947. As Derogy (1969) pointed out, some such passengers refused to give their captors their real names, so they gave names such as *Cary Grant* and *Mae West,* or then, they claimed for themselves the surnames *Attlee* and *Bevin* of the British prime minister and foreign secretary, but as first names, they claimed *Adolf* and *Hermann,* of Hitler and Goering, so those Holocaust survivors were making a quite

by more than one place in Romania).[6]

The annexation to the Holy Roman Empire in 1772, and to Russia in 1812, of respectively Bukovina and Bessarabia (former Moldavian provinces) resulted in Jews emigrating from there into what remained of Moldavia (11). Further Jews were prompted to move from Russia since 1827, when the Tsar, Nicholas I, introduced a system of Jewish recruitment into the army such that even children were commandeered, given into fostering[7] while pressured to convert, and then forced to serve 25 years in the army.[8] Whenever Russia occupied Moldavia, Jews from there fled into Walachia, especially to

---

unflattering statement about Britain's first postwar government.

Further to what related about Avner, also consider that the British politician Michael Howard, who in 2003–2005 was leader of the Conservative Party, was born Michael Hecht in 1941 in Swansea, Wales, to a father (a synagogue cantor) who had immigrated from Romania. When in 1997, a fellow politician said there is "something of the night" in him, which was widely interpreted as antisemitic, cartoonists portrayed him as a vampire in mainstream British newspapers, in at least one case with a mention of Transylvania, and it has been claimed that his part-Romanian family background along with the myth of Dracula likely contributed to that unfortunate representation.

[6] *Negreşti* [ne'greʃtʲ] is the name of several places; these are enumerated in a list I found in Wikipedia at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Negreşti_(disambiguation). The most populous is a town in Vaslui County, located in the eastern part of Moldavia in Romania, not far from the border with Moldova. That town has a population of around 10,000. Allegedly, it was named after a nobleman, Negrea, a member of the council of Alexander the Good (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Negreşti), also known as *Alexandru cel Bun* or *Alexandru I Muşat,* who reigned as Voivode (Prince) of Moldavia between 1400 and 1432. Alexander the Good (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_I_of_Moldavia) introduced the Council of the Voivode. Besides, Negreşti, Străşeni, is a commune (of nearly 1,300 inhabitants) in Străşeni district in central Moldova. Negreşti, Neamţ, is a commune in Neamţ County in Romania, and is composed of two villages, Negreşti and Poiana. *Poiana* means "the meadow" (cf. Felecan 2017: 85), which sounds surprising to Italians, as in Italian *poiana* denotes 'buzzard', and is somewhat negatively connotated, as opposed to the rather favourably connotated English bird-name *buzzard.* The other places called *Negreşti* are villages in Romania: in Mogoş Commune, Alba County; in Beleţi-Negreşti Commune, Argeş County; in Mihălăşeni Commune, Botoşani County; in Cobadin Commune, Constanţa County; in Malovăţ Commune, Mehedinţi County; and in Bâra Commune, Neamţ County.

[7] They were placed in barracks for the children of soldiers, or with peasant families that often mistreated them, until they came of age, by which time they would hopefully have converted.

[8] The decree of specifically Jewish conscription was revoked by Alexander II on 26 August 1856. By law, children under 12 could not be conscribed, yet actually even children as young as 8 were kidnapped and eventually conscribed. The Russian thinker Alexander Herzen referred to this as an undescribable horror. "Even though during the thirty years the decree was in effect, at most 60,000 Jews were conscribed – a low figure, considering the size of the Jewish population in the Pale of Settlement (about three millions) – it was an unforgettable trauma in the history of the Jews of Russia" (Assaf 1998: 213–214). In Yechezkel Kotik's memoirs, edited by David Assaf, the subject is dealt with in Ch. 9 (*ibid.:* 213–220); he relates the case of the child of a widow; she died of chagrin once he was kidnapped, and he in turn succumbed to severe idiocy which caused him to be detached from, and unresponsive to reality.

Bucharest (11).

In 1719, the Ottoman authorities appointed Jassy's first Hakham Bashi (chief rabbi), for both Moldavia and Walachia (11–12). This was paralleled by a secular organization, the Jewish Guild (12), "led by an elected *Staroste* (*Rosh Medina* in Hebrew"[)] (12). *Ḥakhām Bāshi* is indeed the title, mixing a Hebrew name for 'rabbi' or 'sage' (also adopted in Arabic for 'rabbi') and a Turkish adjective (for 'big'), of the officially recognised main rabbi in a city or province within the Ottoman Empire (and eventually in the 19th century until 1918, of the entire Ottoman Empire; e.g., the one of Baghdad was recognised by that title in the Kingdom of Iraq, a successor state). In the Romanian Principalities, the Hakham Bashi's authority was confined from 1819 to native Jews, excluding Jews who had moved from Galicia or Russia, and the post was abolished in 1834 (12). See Ungureanu (2005).

In 1864, a conflict of the sitting chief rabbi of Bucharest, known acronymously as Malbim,[9] with wealthy modernizers resulted in his

[9] Rabbi Meir Leibusch ben Yeḥiel Michel Wisser (1809–1879), a native of Volhynia, used his acronym *Malbim* (if it was an acronym: see below) in all his published works. It has been suggested that it originally was *Malbin,* a calque translation of the surname *Weisser,* but that conjecture is not widely accepted. He was chief rabbi of Bucharest from 1859 to 1865. He had qualms with the elementary schools introduced before his arrival (because of their curriculum), but he himself had secular knowledge (Berger 1966 [2011]), and used it. In that respect he did not go as far as Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch in Germany, the father of neo-Orthodoxy. "Although several books and studies have been written on Malbim and his works, his 1858–1864 term as rabbi of Bucharest – one of the stormiest periods both of his life and that of the Jewish community in the capital – has not yet been adequately researched, due to lack of documentation" (Geller 2005: 231), which Geller proceeds to provide. As Malbim's actual family name was *Weisser,* which in German is related to *Weiss* 'white', and as along with *Malbim* also the variant *Malbin* occurs, some maintain that the latter is a literal translation into Hebrew of *Weisser.* "R[abbi] Me'ir Leib b[en] Jehiel Michael was born on 19 Adar 5569 (1809) in Volochisk (Volhynia), Poland, and died on the first day of Rosh Ha-shanah [New Year's Day] 5640 (1879) in Kiev. His family name was Weisser (white), and therefore some claim the name Malbim (similar to the Hebrew *malbin,* whitener) is not an acronym but rather a Hebraization. Indeed, Hebrew and Romanian sources sometimes refer to him as Malbin" (Geller 2005: 231, fn. 1). In Hebrew, the letters of the acronym are *MLBYM,* which stands for ***M****ʔyr* ***L****yyb* ***b****n* ***Y****ḥyʔl* ***M****ykʔl.* In contrast, the letters of the variant are *MLBYN.*

Avram states that the Malbim was "representing the Hasidic trend" (12). This is not exact; rather, eventually some Hasidic circles liked him. Besides, Volhynia was a stronghold of Hasidism. Yet, his approach is not easily reconciled with Hasidic characteristics at the time. In some ways modern, analytical and with a polished Hebrew, Malbim had features otherwise appreciated in Maskilic circles ("Enlightened" secularizers), but they objected to his being a demanding religious leader, not one turning a blind eye. It may be that his troubles earned him appreciation on the part of Hasidim. At a Zoom lecture on 25 May 2022, Rabbi Rashi Simon here in London suggested that a contributing factor may have been an event (not in Romania) when a man soon died after Malbim accused him in public of swindling him and his wife of their assets; this was perceived by some as supernatural retribution for wronging a holy man. Malbim's fame rests upon several books, but

imprisonment[10] and then expulsion from Bucharest: the authorities forced him to leave town on a Friday afternoon, as the Sabbath was about to begin, thus forcing him to violate it by travelling during it.[11]

Chapter 1, "Historical background", includes (like the subsequent chapters) unnumbered sections (listed in the table of contents" and subsections (not listed). Subsections of Ch. 1 include, e.g., "Persecution" (13–15).[12] The Constitution of 1866 only allowed citizenship to Christians, and "opened an era of persecutions" (14), notwithstanding international pressure (which the authorities much resented). This was in relation to the perceived convenience, for a new agrarian class of urban origin, of an ideology opposing political modernity, and making the peasant into the object of a mystique, while in fact it was its aim to maintain peasants as cheap labour (14).[13]

---

especially the lucidity of his biblical commentaries.

[10] "Here [in Bucharest] he suffered intensely from people sympathetic to religious reform who accused him of obscurantism and who eventually had him thrown into jail, from which he was released only through the intervention of Moses Montefiore" (Berger 1966 [2011: 168]). Bucharest Jews of the lower classes "Jews apparently returned his affection, for he relates that many made valiant physical efforts to prevent his arrest" (*ibid.*). As for the upper class, "Malbim may well have antagonized these people by not treating them respectfully. But there can be little doubt that their religious observance was minimal and that this was a major factor in the development of antagonism" (*ibid.:* 169). "It is also told of Malbim that a non-observant Jew asked him [mockingly] whether smoking was permitted on the Sabbath [it is forbidden]; the answer: yes, if it is done with some change, that is, by putting the burning side into one's mouth" (*ibid.:* 170). Another one sent Malbim a sugar pig, and Malbim thanked him for sending him the sender's portrait. There was an analogue in Istanbul, of a rabbi imprisoned for standing up to militant non-observance. During the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz (1861–1876), a much respected rabbi who criticised in public members of the Europeanized elite who tried to introduce religio-cultural changes, was thrown into prison on their behest, but the Sultan, parading through a Jewish neighbourhood, was surprised by the crowd asking for the rabbi's release, and granted it. (That sultan was a composer of classical music, so Westernized he was in some respects, and yet, he had a Jewish young woman he had seen at her window taken to his harem, and she hanged herself.)

[11] Frankly the fact that notables within the community brought that much upon him resulted in a reputational damage that persists, but bear in mind that time and again throughout history, since the Middle Ages or even late antiquity, well into modern times (and even at present) it happened in various parts of the world that the political authorities of a country chose to empower over the Jewish community, formally or informally, in a given place such leaders who wielded economic power and that for this or other reasons (such as ideological affinity) were convenient for the general authorities.

[12] Hartman (1993) is a 62-page bibliography about antisemitism in the history of Romania. May I point out that whereas in various countries there is reticence about the evils of the past, this should not be the case: it should be both a useful memento, and comforting that the present is better than the past.

[13] Whereas Italy, too, had a new class of landowners, favoured by the Kingdom of Italy selling Church assets, in part in order to fund the 1867 war against Austria that (thanks to Prussian victory) obtained the Venetia for Italy, a ruralist ideology similar to Romania's was only promoted with Benito Mussolini in charge. Within fascist culture, there had been

"When the Jews started to demand political rights, they were declared a national hazard" (15).[14] There were waves of expulsions of Jews from the villages. In 1893, Jewish children were "expelled from all state-sponsored schools" (15). As a result, there was a mass emigration of Jews. According to the 1930 census of Greater Romania, there were "728,115 Jews according to religion (4.2%)" (19). "51.1% of the Jews in the Old Kingdom spoke not Yiddish but Romanian" (20), according to the 1930 census. In Walachia, only 21% spoke Yiddish (20). In Bessarabia and Bukovina, many (respectively 52% and 26%) of the Jews lived in rural areas. "The much smaller percentages in Moldavia, as well as in Walachia, reflect the results of a systematic policy of expulsion of Jews from rural areas initiated by the Romanian authorities in 1881" (20).

Whereas non-Jewish scholarship tended to gloss over the early settlement of the Jews in the area of what became the Old Kingdom, sometimes to suit a political agenda (20), especially as "national ideology was founded on an autochthonic cult" (21), portraying the "internal alien, whether Greek or Jew", as having "'infiltrated' Romanian economic and social life" (21), "Jewish scholars and publicists tend to bring to light and stress the antiquity and richness of Jewish life and its contributions to Romania" (20).

The last section in Ch. 1 is "Onomastics as a Means of Refuting the Anti-Jewish Claims" (28). "A high concentration of specific surnames in very specific areas, as well as the typology of these surnames, strongly supports the

---

both the pro-urban intellectuals of the Stracittà movement, and the ruralist authors of the Strapaese movement. Crucially, before seizing power the fascists had been in the service of landowners as death squads to squash the peasants' ferment, just as they intervened against left-wing factory workers who had occupied the factories after the end of the First World War. Italian cinema conveyed the regime's ideology (Reich & Garofalo 2002). Ruralization aims were conveyed through films (Bonomo 2007; Toschi 2009; Guerra 2010), prominently in films directed by Alessandro Blasetti (see a section in Ben-Ghiat 1996): in his 1931 film *Terra Madre* (*Mother Earth*), Marco, a young duke, leaves his city friends and his perfidious, snobbish lover Daisy, to lord it over his peasants, ending in his pursuit and rape in the fields of the peasant Emilia (the happy end!). Traditional social roles were to be strengthened. "When Marco sees Emilia pitching hay, he tells her to go indoors, adding, 'didn't we say that when the machines arrived the women were supposed to stop working? […] Don't you want a child someday?' At this, Emilia runs off into the fields, with Marco close behind" (Ben-Ghiat 1996: 122). It also subserved the campaign for demographic increase. Capristo (2019) discussed the sacking, in 1938, of several Jewish officials (mainly technical experts) at Italy's Ministry of Agriculture because they were Jewish; she found the Fascist regime claimed there were hundreds Jews in agriculture, perhaps overestimating their numbers. Also the director of the Istituto di Agraria, Ciro Ravenna, was Jewish and was dismissed (he died at Auschwitz).

[14] Even when reluctant steps were taken, in the new situation resulting from the First World War, to grant such rights, they were such as to be inoperant: a tribunal required a Jew who had applied for citizenship to prove he was never charged with a crime or with treason, and had never engaged in anti-Romanian activities. Obviously, only for a baby could this be proven: not even judges could satisfy those conditions, as something that never happened, just never happened. How could you prove that?

existence of early Jewish settlement (chapter 3)" (28). "Surnames derived from certain toponyms and specific occupations attest to a significant Jewish presence in rural surroundings (chapter 4)" (28). "A wide variety of surnames link Jews to very specific manual crafts and physical activities (chapter 5)" (28). "Different types of surnames attest to different degrees of integration (chapter 6)" (28). "The adoption of Romanian surnames […] was increasingly perceived by right-wing political groups as a national danger", and was forbidden in 1940 (29: this is shown in Chs. 7 and 8). Sephardic Jews were fewer, and their integration was met with less resistance (29: see Ch. 9).

3. Typology

Chapter 2 in Avram's book presents the methodological approach. In "Ashe/Zelig (happy)" (31), correct the typo *Ashe* into *Asher*. The interpretation as 'happy' rather than (likewise etymologically) 'stepping assuredly' (unmentioned, but this is not criticism) is (I presume) based on the semantic motivation ascribed to Leah in *Genesis* 30:13: "as girls/young-women declare me happy". "Zevi/Hirsch (deer)" (31), in Ashkenazic pronunciation [tsvi], is an anthroponym based on a zoonym for 'deer' as per Ashkenazic interpretation (Nissan & Amar 2012), but 'gazelle' as per the Middle Eastern Jewish (and original biblical) sense for the zoonym: there are no gazelles in Europe, whereas in Iraq they even had a *Sitz im Leben* for modern Jews (Amar & Nissan 2009).

"Generally speaking, toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Jewish population living in Eastern Europe (i.e., Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Romanian Principalities) [mostly] did not have surnames. The standard naming pattern recorded at that time in Slavic documents was the given name and a patronymic. In Romanian documents only the given name was generally recorded, sometimes together with the profession" (33). Surnames became compulsory for Jews in the Habsburg Empire in 1787, and this was extended in 1805 to western Galicia. In France, it was in 1808; in Bavaria, in 1813; in Saxony, in 1834; in the Russian Empire, by decrees from 1804 to 1835, but in the Russian-ruled parts of what had been the Kingdom of Poland, from 1821 through 1826 (34).

Before proposing a typology of Ashkenazi Jewish surnames "according to the semantics of the worlds on which they are based" (34), Avram explains he adopted the criteria and examples of Beider (2008). The title of a section (38) distinguishes between Jewish surnames and surnames used by Jews. It is followed by "Romanian naming Patterns and Romanian Surnames" (39). From 1865, in the Old Kingdom, births had to be recorded, including a surname, at the mayor's office, but it only was from 1895 that all residents had to bear a surname

(39, see Ch. 7). Earlier on, there are records of (non-heritable) nicknames,[15] e.g. a patronymic. In the Romanian Principalities, some Jews, whether they already had a surname or otherwise, "took genuine Romanian surnames while others endeavoured to adapt their foreign surnames to the local language and mores" (41). "Over time, these processes resulted in a rich onomastic reservoir" (42).

Adaptation into Romanized Jewish surnames may be "[p]artial, when only the meaning is imported and attached to an already existing word" (42), or loan translation, e.g. *Süss* > *Dulce* 'sweet' (the Italian onomasticon does have the surname *Dolci,* the Romanian did not), or a loan word: either one perceived to be foreign, or naturalized, or completely integrated (42–43), e.g. "Hahamu (ritual slaughterer) from the Hebrew *hakham*" (43): *ḥakhám* in Hebrew, literally 'wise' as an adjective, and 'sage' as a noun, denotes a rabbi (hence the Arabic term for the latter sense). In Italian, *cacamme* is derisive for a rabbi or for a Jew. Historically, Italian had *sciattino* 'Jewish ritual slaughterer' (the Hebrew departicipial noun is *šoḥeṭ*), from the Judaeo-Italian verb *šaxtare,* and this from the Hebrew verb for the same sense.

Of the surnames in the data set, "0.51% are derived from foreign surnames translated into Romanian by calque" (46). A section discusses sources (43), of which a wide range were used. A statistical analysis concludes Ch. 2. Romanian and Romanized surnames have an especially high frequency, 70.82%, in Moldavia (46, 51–52), whereas only 11.15% are in Walachia (46). Sephardic surnames are mostly represented in Walachia (46).

4. Expected perception of names, and its own perceived impact on bearers

I now digress in order to point out an interesting instance in the onomastics of Romanian Jews, one that is a clear indicator of the level of religious observance of a family into which a man was born. I recall that around 1990, take or add four years, in the city of Beer-Sheva, Israel, while staring out of a window on the bus, I saw a notice posted in the street, in Romanian, in which "familia îndurerată" (which I understood as meaning the same as in Italian "la famiglia addolorata": I had moved into that city from Milan) announced the demise of a man whose first name was *Rambam.* But *Rambam* is the acronym by which Moses Maimonides, the famous philosopher and rabbi (a ritualist) as well as royal medical doctor, is known, and nobody bears such a first name, because it is too demanding for a man (let alone a child) to bear. Only a bit not as rare is the first name *Rashi* (here in London it is borne by Rabbi Rashi Simon from Indiana, U.S., and I came across a couple of other instances in the literature). *Rashi* is the acronym for **R**abbi **Sh**elomo **Yi**tzchaki (Solomon

[15] Descriptive nicknames expressing a comic vision and that were traded down in families (as opposed to non-heritable nicknames, which is what Avram is referring to) were informally in use among Jews in the Ghetto of Rome, even as late as the early 20th century. These were discussed by Giacoma Limentani (2008) in an essay which in turn I discussed in Nissan (2016).

Isacides), from Troyes in Champagne, France, in the first half of the 11th century: he is the author of the *glossa ordinaria,* the main commentary, to both the Hebrew Bible and Babylonian Talmud. That, too, is a very demanding name to bear.

There may be, of course, another reason why a name may be difficult to bear. The surname *Şăineanu* is a "[s]econdary surname: from Primary surname Schein ‹-eanu›" (258). I have long found it fascinating that when the scholar Lazăr Şăineanu (who did not achieve integration in Romania even having converted) adapted his surname into *Sainéant* in order to better integrate in France, he had to balance the benefit of a French-sounding surname, and the inconvenient semantic remotivation as 'know-nothing', thus carrying a stigma other than foreignness. But for that matter, here in Britain we have such surnames as *Sillitoe,* which for perceivers may be a throwback to an age when many people were not wearing socks, exposing, as though, irregular toes. In jobs for which gravitas is expected, clearly such a surname is an inconvenient. In the lexicon rather than in onomastics, phono-semantic matching (which is the case of the adaptation that I notate as *Şăineanu* ">" *Sainéant*) is the subject of Zuckermann (2000, 2003). Onomastic puns are the subject of, e.g., Nissan (2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2019).

May I point out an example about perception. In Italian, the suffix *-esco* is adjectival, and occurs also in several non-negatively connotated instances, yet is now productive mainly with a negative connotation. It is rare in inhabitant or ethnic names (*tedesco* 'German') or adjectives (*moresco,* 'Moorish'), and almost absent from Italian toponomastics. In Romania, for forming surnames *-escu* was rare, but as Avram points out, it became frequent in the 19th century (48). On a visit to Beer-Sheva from London several years ago, in the office of a colleague born and raised in Romania but who has relatives in Milan, I briefly mentioned the Italian Jewish writer Alberto Cantoni, born in Pomponesco (a village near Mantua) in 1841, and who died in Mantua in 1904. (Luigi Pirandello was highly appreciative of his prose and humour.) I just referred to this writer, Alberto Cantoni, who lived in the village of Pomponesco. As soon as I mentioned the name of the place, my interlocutor snorted. Presumably, he did because he found the place-name outlandish (also to Italian-speakers, which he is not, it can be expected to sound awkward), and arguably, his Romanian background contributed to how he perceived the name. The suffixation with *-esco* sounds similar to suffixation with the Romanian suffix *-escu,* and the base of the suffixation sounds like the French noun *pompon,* which means the same as the English *pom-pom,* even though etymologists would rather think of the Latin anthroponym *Pomponius.*

5. The spread of settlement, in relation to the surnames, and cues dating them

Chapter 3 in Avram's book is "Antiquity of Early Jewish Settlement Through the Prism of Surnames". Those areas where it was more frequent for

Jews to bear Romanian or Romanized surnames "coincide with the areas of the oldest/earliest settlement in the Romanian Principalities" (52). A subsection bears the title "Surnames Derived from Old-Style Patronymics and Matronymics" (52). Concerning the matronymic pattern *X a Y,* it "was even used with a male component, as in Arabinului (the rabbi's)" (53).[16]

"Also pointing to a remote origin are various surnames based on occupations specific to earlier times that later disappeared, or common occupations described by archaic names that were preserved in surnames" (61). As "there is almost no record of emigration from the Old Kingdom toward" Bukovina and Bessarabia, the documented continued presence in the latter two "of a series of Romanian surnames" borne by Jews "suggests remote origins previous to 1775 (Bukovina) and 1812 (Bessarabia)" (64).

Chapter 4 is "Demographics Aspects: Rural and Urban Settlement; Internal Migrations". In the database, "8% of all the Romanian surnames and 17.27% of the records are based on toponyms" (65).[17] Unlike other minority groups, Jews were dispersed over the entire territory of the extended Old Kingdom (66). "[E]xpressions of appreciation toward the *village* Jews by Romanian peasants were voiced during the 1907 revolt, thus weakening the government's attempt to blame 'Jewish exploiters' as the cause of the upheaval's outbreak" (68). In Bessarabia, 52% of Jews lived in nonurban areas in 1930 (68). "The analysis of

---

[16] In Italian, the augmentative masculine noun *donnone,* as in *un donnone* or *quel donnone,* denotes a large woman (like the masculine Portuguese noun *mulherão*). A male gendarme is politely addressed in the feminine (as though with *Madam*), because the noun is feminine: *Signora Guardia.* But a gendarme is associated with the idea of virility, so English *virago* is translated into Romanian as *jandarm*. Aptly in that respect, in the Italian short story *Vagabondaggio* by Giovanni Verga, one can read: "Ma spesso egli giungeva accompagnato da un donnone coi baffi come un uomo d'arme, la quale aveva il colorito acceso, con un gran cappellone di felpa ornato di piume rosse, ed era serrata in una veste di seta grigia che pareva dovesse scoppiare a ogni momento. Quelle volte il maestro non osava muoversi neppure; il donnone, dal suo posto, non lo perdeva di vista un momento, sotto le piume rosse del cappellone." ["But often he came accompanied by a big woman with a mustache like a man-at-arms, who had a bright complexion, with a large plush hat adorned with red feathers, and was wrapped in a gray silk robe that seemed to burst at every moment. Those times the teacher didn't even dare to move; the big woman, from her seat, never lost sight of him for a moment, under the red feathers of his hat."]

[17] In note 1 on p. 65, "in the Citta di Casttello" should be "in Città di Castello" (without the determinative article), as that is the correct spelling and the idiomatic Italian syntax for this toponym. That town is mentioned in the book under review when Avram briefly exemplifies how a toponym may be used as an anthroponym: Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro (whose surname, may I add, actually was *Yarè,* in Italian modern spelling *Jarè,* which as an adjective in Hebrew means 'God-fearing') became known in Jewish rabbinic texts as the *Bartenura.* (His commentary to the *Maxims of the Fathers* is still rather widely read, as that text is traditionally read, one chapter at a time, during the Saturdays between Passover and the Pentecost.) As Avram's reference to him is quite concise, one may be left with the impression that Obadiah of Bertinoro is remembered as a banker in Città di Castello. But actually his importance was as the religious leader of the Jews of Jerusalem around the year 1500, until his death around 1515. It is said that even Muslims called upon him to decide judicial cases.

Jewish Romanian surnames supports the historical documentation regarding a significant Jewish presence in the villages" (68). Map 5 on p. 72 shows the six districts (Iaşi, Baia, Botoşani, Dorohoi, Băţi, and Soroca)[18] "in which village names appear in over half of the toponym-based surnames". Expulsions, enacted or threatened, in some Jewish circles in Romania reinforced the appeal of Zionism (73).[19]

Chapter 5 is "Socio-economic Profile of the Jewish Population". Chapter 6 is "Jewish identity as Reflected in Romanian Surnames: From Traditional separation to Integration". Chapter 7 is "The Romanian Authorities' Attitude: From Invited Settlers to Undesired Subjects". In the second quarter of the 20th century, official attitude even begrudged it that many writers who were Jewish – some of them already expatriated (158) – bore Romanian names or pseudonyms (156). "[A]lmost half of the Jews of Romania […] lost their lives in the Holocaust" (159), "a large number of them under Romanian jurisdiction" (160) – to say nothing of Romanian role in the Holocaust in Ukraine, such as in Odessa.[20] Chapter 8 is "A Case Study: Jewish Intellectuals and Romanian and Romanized Surnames". The "General Conclusions" are on pp. 174–179.

---

[18] *Soroka* (a Slavonic name for a magpie) is prominent in the microtoponomastics of Beer-Sheva, Israel, because it is the name of the local hospital, named after the surname of an important medical doctor. Also note that the biblical toponym *Arad* is borne by a modern town east of Beer-Sheva, but it is also the name of the third largest city in Western Romania, behind Timișoara and Oradea (= *Várad*). Many inhabitants of Arad in Israel are of Romanian background.

[19] Historically among Romanian Christians there was devotion to Mt. Sinai, which is traditionally perceived as having motivated a local toponym. Moreover, one of the Bedouin tribes near Mt Sinai is derived from peasants who had moved there in order to serve the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai, and because of the utterly desertic conditions had to change their lifestyle, and eventually were assimilated to Bedouin customs (and default denominational affiliation).

[20] How Romania is situated in the Holocaust concerns both her own Jews, and her role in what happened to those of Ukraine during the 1941–1942 campaign in Transnistria (see the three bulky volumes of Ancel 2003). June 1941 began, on its first two days, with the massacre in Baghdad (e.g. Black 2010, Basri 2021) of at least 300 Jews (whose names are known), but probably in excess of 1,000, under the impact of Nazi ideology, a pro-Axis government having just fled (the British army had already arrived, yet was under orders not to interfere, apparently to give the lie to the claim that Britain was a friend of the Jews). Then late June 1941 saw the huge pogrom in Jassy. "More than 13,000 Jews were murdered during nine days in the early summer of 1941 in Romania: in Iaşi (Jassy) and in two death trains. This pogrom is one of the most thoroughly visually documented events of the Holocaust in that members of the Romanian intelligence services photographed the continuing massacre that they themselves were coordinating. German troops, present in the city and involved in the massacre, were allowed to photograph the atrocities and to send those 'souvenirs' of the Eastern Front to their family members" (Ioanid 2017, from the blurb of that album of 127 photographs). Cf. Ioanid (1993). A point of departure could be https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ia%C8%99i_pogrom. In the 1941 Odessa massacre, in the early morning of October the 23rd, the Romanian military and German Einsatzgruppen (SS killing squads) launched a massacre and mass deportation of Odessa's Jews. And tens of thousands of Jews were hanged, shot, and burned alive.

6. Concluding remarks

Clearly, Alexander Avram's book under review is innovative and even poignant in the way it analyses an onomastic corpus in order "to verify and/or clarify various aspects, trends, and processes of the social history of a specific ethnic/cultural group in a designated area" (175). The book "centers on the deep-rooted anti-Jewish claim the Jews in Romania were neither indigenous to the country nor economically beneficial. As a result of the above analysis of surnames, a number of pertinent conclusions can be drawn that, in my [Avram's] opinion, should amply answer the six main questions posed at the beginning of this social-historical study" (174).

On p. 174, in fn. 1, Avram explains that the corpus is not exhaustive, as for a comprehensive description, it would be necessary to have the analysis of the data from the anti-Jewish census of May 1942 (that collected the Jews' data at a time when exterminatory actions had already been taken), and of the questionnaires of Jews at the general census of April 1941 (thus, a couple of months before the massacre of the Jews of Jassy).

Based on concentration, especially in Moldavia, permanent Jewish presence appears to be centuries-old. "Old-style vernacular patronymics (Ştrulea) and matronymics (Aperlei) and, most especially, the archaic Slavonic pattern, Sin Bercu, definitely point to an early period" (175). So do features of nicknames that became surnames, and "surnames based on archaic or outdated names of occupations" (175).

Many toponym-based surnames "refer to names of remote villages, located mostly in northern Moldavia and northern Bessarabia" (175), and there also are "surnames based on names of occupations specific to rural life" (176). There were Jews in a multitude of occupations, many of these being low status (176). So much for the anti-Jewish claim that Jews were unproductive; "about three-quarters of the active Jewish workforce" were doing physical work (176). A trend to acculturation is undeniable (177). "Unlike in other countries where hereditary surnames were imposed on Jews by the authorities", in Romania Jews adopted surnames, including Romanian and Romanized ones, which "evolved unhindered through their long history in the Romanian lands and clearly as an expression of *their* willingness to integrate" (178), even as it can be seen that the authorities were not officially interested in such integration.

As for "the Jewish intellectuals and artists" (178), not only were Romanian and Romanized surnames much more frequent among them, but the percentage of such "surnames grew significantly with the measure of public exposure their bearers achieved and cannot be explained only by simple acculturation" (178). It is likely that "at least some of these surnames may have been adopted as a means of evading in certain social-intellectual circles the stigma of being Jewish, and later, during the WWII years, even open anti-Jewish persecution" (178).

The Sephardim, fewer in numbers, were more successful in integrating, for reasons Avram enumerates (178–179), but they tended to preserve centuries-old surnames reflecting "their extensive former integration within their original Hispanic motherland" (179). But bear in mind that in Southeast Europe and the near East, sometimes in the early modern period autochthonous Jews were Sephardized, including onomastically, reflecting conditions (demographic balance within the local Jewish communities, and for considerations of prestige) in particular towns.

This is a review article, and we paid special attention to issues of cognitive perception of onomastics, as well as to historical comparison. Here and there, we supplemented the book with further knowledge. The appendices of the book under review are a trove to be delved in at length, and indeed they are a resource in their own right. This is a book to make onomastics as a discipline proud.

References

Amar, Zohar & Nissan, Ephraim. 2009. Captive gazelles in Iraqi Jewry in modern times in relation to cultural practices and vernacular housing. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies,* 8(1), 23–39. (Reprinted as Ch. 12 in: Abramson, Glenda (ed.). 2015. *Sites of Jewish memory: Jews in and from Islamic lands in modern times.* London: Routledge, 234–250.)

Ancel, Jean. 2003. *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian mass murder campaigns.* 3 vols.: 1, *History and document summaries* (860 pp.); 2, *Documents 1–559* (1049 pp.); 3, *Documents 559–1109* (1049 pp.). Tel Aviv: The Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University.

Assaf, David (ed.). 1998. *What I have seen… The memoirs of Yechezkel Kotik* [Vol. 1]. Edited and translated into Hebrew (from Yiddish) with an Introduction by David Assaf. Tel-Aviv: The Diaspora Research Institute.

Avner, Yehuda. 2010. *The prime ministers: An intimate narrative of Israeli leadership.* New Milford, CT: The Toby Press.

Basri, Carole. 2021. First came the Farhud: The 2-stage ethnic cleansing of Iraqi Jewry. Eighty years after slaughter, rape and robbery, after expulsion and dispossession, Iraqi Jews are denied access to a precious archive of their communal history. *Times of Israel*, 2 June. (https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-farhud-the-2-stage-ethnic-cleansing-of-iraqi-jewry/) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Beider, Alexander. 2008. *A dictionary of Jewish surnames from the Russian Empire,* 2nd edition. Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, Inc.

Ben-Ghiat, Ruth. 1996. Envisioning modernity: Desire and discipline in the Italian fascist film. *Critical Inquiry* 23(1), 109–144. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344079) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Berger, David. 1966 [2011]. Malbim's secular knowledge and his relationship to the spirit of the Haskalah. *The Yavneh Review* 5 (1966), 24–46. (Reprinted in his collected papers, a book whose chapters are freely available from JStor: Berger, D. 2011. *Cultures in collision and conversation: Essays in the intellectual history of the Jews*. Brookline, MA: Academic Studies Press, 167–189. Article (2011) at https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt21h4xrd.9. Book in open access at: https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt21h4xrd.) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Black, Edwin. 2010. *The Farhud*. Washington, DC: Dialog Press.

Bonomo, Margherita. 2007. *Autoritratto rurale del fascismo italiano: Cinema, radio e mondo contadino* [Rural self-portrait of Italian Fascism: Cinema, radio and peasant world]. Ragusa, Sicily: EdiARGO.

Capristo, Annalisa. 2013. Italian intellectuals and the exclusion of their Jewish colleagues from universities and academies. *Telos* 164 (Fall), 63–95. (https://www.academia.edu/25874699/Italian_Intellectuals_and_the_Exclusion_of_Their_Jewish_Colleagues_from_Universities_and_Academies) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Capristo, Annalisa. 2019. Il fascismo, l'agricoltura e l'eliminazione dei dipendenti ebrei dal Ministero nel 1938 [Fascism, agriculture and the elimination of Jewish employees of the Ministry in 1938]. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Classe di Lettere e Filosofia,* 5th series, 11(1), 291–325. (https://www.academia.edu/39996317/Il_fascismo_lagricoltura_e_leliminazione_dei_dipendenti_ebrei_dal_Ministero_nel_1938) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Cernovodeanu, Paul (ed.). 2005. *The history of the Jews in Romania, I: From its beginnings to the nineteenth century.* Tel Aviv: The Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University. (A Hebrew-language edition preceded in 2001 the English-language edition of 2005.)

Derogy, Jacques. 1969. *La loi du retour.* Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard.

Felecan, Oliviu. 2017. Oikonymic transformations in Romania in the second half of the twentieth century. *Names* 65(2), 78–87. (https://ans-names.pitt.edu/ans/article/view/2110/2109) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Geller, Y. 2005. New documents on the Malbim affair and his struggle with the *Maskilim.* (In English, trans. from Hebrew by Y. Murciano.) In Rotman, L. & Iancu, C. (eds.), *The history of the Jews in Romania, II: The nineteenth century*, 231–258. (Publications of the Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Book 172. A Hebrew edition was published *ibid.* in 2001. On pp. 205–228 in the Hebrew edition.) Tel Aviv: The Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University.

Guerra, Michele. 2010. *Gli ultimi fuochi: Cinema italiano e mondo contadino dal Fascismo agli anni settanta* [The last fires: Italian cinema and the peasant world from Fascism to the 1970s]. (Cinema/studio, 72.) Rome: Bulzoni.

Hartman, Zvi (ed.). 1993. *Antisemitism in Romania: The image of the Jew in the Romanian society. Bibliography.* [English and Romanian.] (Publication 763.) Tel Aviv: The Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University, 62 pp.

Iancu, Carol. 1992. *L'Émancipation des Juifs de Roumanie (1913–1919). De l'inégalité civique aux droits de minorité: L'originalité d'un combat à partir des guerres balkaniques et jusqu'à la Conférence de paix de Paris.* (Collection Sem, 6.) Montpellier: Centre de recherches et d'études juives et hébraïques, Université Paul Valéry (Université de Montpellier III).

Iancu, Carol. 1994. *Le combat international pour l'émancipation des Juifs de Roumanie: Documents et Témoignages, vol. 1 (1913–1919).* Tel Aviv: The Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University.

Iancu, Carol. 2001a. The struggle for the emancipation of Romanian Jewry and its international ramifications. [In Hebrew.] In Rotman, Liviu & Iancu, Carol (eds.), *The history of the Jews of Romania, II: The nineteenth century*, 97–127 (English abstract: p. vii). (Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute, 146.) Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University. (An English translation of the book was published *ibid.* in 2005.)

Iancu, Carol. 2001b. The Zionist movement in Romania in the 19th century. [In Hebrew.] In Rotman, Liviu & Iancu, Carol (eds.), *The history of the Jews of Romania, II: The nineteenth century*, 229–251 (English abstract: p. ix). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University. (An English translation of the book was published *ibid.* in 2005.)

Ioanid, Radu. 1993. The Holocaust in Romania: The Iasi pogrom of June 1941. *Contemporary European History* 2(2), 119–148. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/20081475) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Ioanid, Radu. 2017. *The Iaşi pogrom, June–July 1941: A photo documentary from the Holocaust in Romania.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Limentani, Giacoma. 2008. [Intervento] "sull'Ebraismo romano" [About the Jewish community of Rome] (title as in the table of contents) = "Giacoma Limentani: Un'identità ebraica romana" [A Roman Jewish identity] (title on p. 199). In Pontecorvo, Clotilde (ed.), "Pluralità delle identità ebraiche" [On the plurality of Jewish identities]. Thematic section, Part One (171–203), in *La Rassegna Mensile di Israel* 74(3), 199–203.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2008 [2010]. Un mistero risolto? Riflessioni in margine a *Il serpente biblico* di Valerio Marchi [A mystery solved? Reflections in the margins of *The Biblical Serpent* by Valerio Marchi]. *Rassegna Mensile di Israel* (Rome) 74(1/2), 95–124. (http://www.jstor.org/stable/41619579) (Accessed 2022-06-05.)

Nissan, Ephraim. 2014a. Anthroponomastic puns in the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic script, with considerations on onomastic punning in different script systems. In Felecan, Oliviu & Felecan, Daiana (eds.),

Unconventional anthroponyms: Formation patterns and discursive function, 247–267. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2014b. Facets of anthroponomastics, explanation, and playfulness. In Felecan, Oliviu & Felecan, Daiana (eds.), *Unconventional anthroponyms: Formation patterns and discursive function*, 268–283. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2014c. Onomastic puns and formal argumentation. In Felecan, Oliviu & Felecan, Daiana (eds.), *Unconventional anthroponyms: Formation patterns and discursive function*, 284–305. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2016. A comic vision in a folk-taxonomy of folk: Considerations about Giacoma Limentani's *Un'identità ebraica romana* (A Roman Jewish identity). In Nissan, E. (ed.), *Humour in Italy through the ages, Part II.* Thematic issue of *International Studies in Humour* 5(2), 95–133.

Nissan, Ephraim. 2019. Onomastic wordplay in Roman-age to medieval rabbinic biblical exegesis, and beyond. In Felecan, Oliviu (ed.), *Onomastics between sacred and profane*, 355–383. Wilmington, Delaware: Vernon Press.

Nissan, Ephraim & Amar, Zohar. 2012. What they served at the banquet for the wedding of Shim'on Nathan's daughter: Considerations on the sense of *tsvi,* in sources from East and West. *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* 26, 95–129.

Reich, Jacqueline & Garofalo, Piero. 2002. *Re-viewing* [sic] *Fascism: Italian cinema, 1922–1943.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Teller, Adam. 2020. *Rescue the surviving souls: The great Jewish refugee crisis of the seventeenth century.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Toschi, Deborah. 2009. *Il paesaggio rurale: Cinema e cultura rurale nell'Italia fascista* [The rural landscape: Cinema and rural culture in Fascist Italy]. Milan: Vita e Pensiero.

Ungureanu, Mihai Răzvan. 2005. Jewish leadership structures in the Romanian principalities in the 18th and 19th centuries: "Starosti" and "Hakham-Bashi". In Rotman, Liviu & Iancu, Carol (eds.), *The history of the Jews in Romania, II: The nineteenth century*, 11–63. Tel Aviv: The Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University. (A Hebrew-language edition preceded in 2001 the English-language edition of 2005.)

Zuckermann, Ghil'ad. 2000. Camouflaged borrowing: "*Folk*-etymological nativization" in the service of *puristic* language engineering. University of Oxford. (Doctoral dissertation.)

Zuckermann, Ghil'ad. 2003. *Language contact and lexical enrichment in Israeli Hebrew.* London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.