

construcciones se dan patrimonialmente y por doquier en varias lenguas semíticas, y es castiza en árabe. Tampoco parece imponerse que la pronunciación *šá'ar* 'rabia' en judeo-árabe (pág. 205) indique préstamo del hb. *ša'ar* 'tristeza, pesar', no sólo por la disparidad semántica, sino por la frecuencia en árabe de {s'r} en aquel sentido, y la facilidad con que una consonante velarizada, en este caso /r/, contamina a toda la palabra, así como es bastante improbable que el giro andalusí y norteafricano *ṭayyar almā* 'orinar' (lit. 'hacer volar agua'), descienda del hebreo *heṭil mayim* que, como mucho, podría haber circulado muy limitadamente como lenguaje secreto entre judíos, al contener un verbo conjugable y no un mero sustantivo, que habría facilitado la transferencia.

Para concluir y no alargar excesivamente la reseña de un libro de más de 350 páginas, con datos lingüísticos a veces muy exóticos, en los que es difícil no equivocarse alguna vez, aun ejerciendo suma prudencia y consultando detalles a los especialistas, diremos que, a pesar de esos descuidos y alguna exageración que hemos detectado, esta miscelánea de artículos de A. Maman nos permite profundizar considerablemente en el conocimiento tanto de las manifestaciones orales en judeo-árabe norteafricano, como en las escritas, completando el elenco de datos lingüísticos de que disponemos de unas comunidades que no existirán pronto como tales, y de las que sólo nos quedarán sus escritos y estas preciosas informaciones de los estudiosos. Enhorabuena, pues, y ánimos al autor y sus compañeros de fatigas.

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### Daniel de Ávila Gallego

Diálogo del colorado (*Salónica, 1601*).  
*Interpretación académica de la escarlatina*

[= Colección *Fuente Clara*. Estudios de Cultura Sefardí]. Edición, introducción y notas de Pilar Romeu Ferré. Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2014.— ISBN: 978-84-940083-6-8.— 304 págs.

The linguists not yet familiar with *Diálogo del colorado* by Daniel de Ávila Gallego must have enthusiastically welcomed the publication of this volume that makes another sample of sixteenth-century *aljamiado* text from Salonica (1601) generally available. Yet I suspect that some historians of Sephardi culture might have overlooked it, because, being a medical treatise on a well-known disease that is treatable by antibiotics, it is scientifically outdated and not specific to Ottoman Jews. However, as is often the case with texts of this kind, it is not the subject matter that makes this work interesting for the historians of Ottoman Jewry but, rather, the time and place of its appearance, its language and the author's perspective. Of course, I cannot claim to perceive all the questions this treatise brings up, but it is evident that among them there are some critical issues that warrant reconsideration if we are to understand the complex dynamics of Judeo-Spanish culture. Here, I will mention only a few issues that, in my view, merit further examination, hoping that other scholars will come up with more ideas.

The first group of questions I find interesting is raised by the striking dedication of *Diálogo del colorado* (fols. 1v-2r). Daniel de Ávila Gallego, a young man who had embraced Judaism in Salonica only a few years earlier and was still unable to write his treatise in Hebrew, condescendingly tells the

Salonican elders (*muy alto y augusto senado*) that “their creations in the fields of medicine and philosophy are nowhere near what their ancestors produced in the golden age [*dorados tiempos*] of peace and tranquility in their ‘natural hemisphere,’ in their Arcadia where the air was pure. And since now their minds are dimmed and contaminated by the impure vapors and the slimy commerce of the barbarians whose kingdoms they now inhabit,” this young physician who was educated at Salamanca and then spent some “turbulent years” in Europe, will put aside his immediate obligations and enlighten them on how to deal with scarlet fever. This outburst of arrogance rooted in the belief in Europe’s geographic and cultural superiority is akin to what one finds in contemporaneous European accounts of the Ottoman Empire that lament the fate of Constantinople’s Greeks who are “for a vast distance [...] encompassed on all sides” by “those barbarians.”<sup>1</sup>

The form and style of Gallego’s work unmistakably point to his readings, including both sixteenth-century Castilian authors and the Latin classics. The former must explain his mention of the native hemisphere, whereas the latter accounts for his use of the classical notion of the Golden Age. The use of this term in reference to the pre-1492 Jewish existence in Spain and the idea of the corrupting influence of the East on Jewish creativity, might have appeared in Jewish vernacular literature for the first time, but they certainly would be repeated by many Jews in the centuries to come. The possibility to address the Salonican elders in such a way also poses questions that warrant investigation.

Finally, Gallego’s educational effort begs comparison with the attitude of Amatus Lusitanus (João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco, 1511-1568), a celebrated physician and philosopher, born in Portugal and educated in Salamanca, who lived in Eu-

rope as a New Christian but ended his days in Salonica as a Jew. Unlike the latter, who, even while living in Salonica, published all his works in Europe in Latin in order to make his findings available to his European colleagues, Gallego, half a century later, makes his treatise available to his coreligionists in order to educate them about the scarlet fever. I suggest that this decision reflects a turn from an earlier cosmopolitanism of the *ex-converso* scholars who still cherished strong intellectual ties with Europe to a more introverted outlook and focus on the community’s own concerns.

A second group of questions brought up by Gallego’s *Diálogo del colorado* has to do with the phenomenon of sixteenth-century high vernacular literature of which this treatise is the latest extant sample. This dialogue happens to be the third sixteenth century *aljamiado* text from Salonica transliterated and published by Pilar Romeu. The other two are Moisés Almosnino’s *Crónica de los reyes otomanos* (1567) [Barcelona, 1998] and the anonymous *Fuente Clara* (c. 1595) [Barcelona, 2007]. By far the most prominent of the three writers is Almosnino (1518-1580), a Salonica-born scholar and a renowned author of Hebrew and vernacular works. The anonymous author of *Fuente Clara*, a work of Jewish apologetics, like Daniel de Ávila Gallego, was a physician and philosopher of *ex-converso* origin, educated in Europe. Together with Almosnino’s treatises *Regimiento de la vida* and *Tratado de los sueños* (Salonica, 1564),<sup>2</sup> these three works edited by Romeu form the extant corpus of secular literature in the vernacular produced or published by Ottoman Jews in the sixteenth century.

Intended mainly for the converts (re)embracing Judaism who had lived in Europe and were generally educated but not yet fluent in Hebrew, these works dealt with intellectual matters, such as history, phi-

losophy, and science. Unlike all other vernacular texts from that period produced in the Ottoman lands, these books were original creations, that is, despite containing numerous quotations, none of them depended on a single text in another language. Finally, they were written in a high register of Judeo-Spanish characterized by a predominance of Castilian elements.

Almost all other extant vernacular books published in Constantinople and Salonica in the sixteenth century, were Bible and prayer-book translations as well as adaptations of Hebrew religious texts meant to serve as educational tools for those who were illiterate in Hebrew, including those Jews who had always been faithful to Judaism. The registers of Judeo-Spanish used for these two groups of adaptations are marked by a significant presence of Hebrew elements at all levels (albeit in different proportions).

Although from a sociological standpoint it is obvious that Judeo-Spanish literature emerged in the sixteenth century when a few original works and some translations were produced, most histories of Judeo-Spanish literature do not consider them its part and start in the eighteenth century with the first volume of *Me'am Loez*, a popular Bible commentary (1730). This happens primarily because many scholars consider the fact that the Sephardi vernacular had reached its final shape only by the eighteenth century, sufficient reason not to regard earlier texts created by the same speech community in the same territory as part of this literature. (Needless to say, scholars of other literatures do not use language stabilization as a criterion of inclusion, which is why the study of Spanish literature, for example, begins with *El Cantar de Mio Cid*, written circa 1200 in an early Ibero-Romance variety.)

As a result of this skewed linguistic approach, sixteenth-century Judeo-

Spanish literature has never been treated or even conceptualized as such, and the original vernacular works are seen as an extension of Spanish (Castilian) literature. Unfortunately, some scholars, including Pilar Romeu herself, categorize the language of the above-mentioned works as Castilian, despite their many Jewish and "Salonican" features (which she aptly identifies) and the use of a non-Latin script incomprehensible to Spaniards. And while the use of a particular alphabet alone does not affect the nature of any language, it explicitly points to the speech community for which a given text is intended.

Still, in the absence of any vernacular works from the seventeenth century, it is generally assumed that during the first two hundred years of their residence in the Ottoman Empire, Sephardi Jews did not produce a vernacular literature of their own. The three sixteenth-century works published by Pilar Romeu, regardless of her own convictions, demonstrate to an unbiased reader the absurdity of this notion that has prevented scholars from seeing the full trajectory of Judeo-Spanish literature.

Only a historical approach to Sephardi culture can explain the emergence and demise of Judeo-Spanish literature in the sixteenth century. Brought into existence by the mass immigration of Iberian Jews in the 1490s and constant flow of *ex-conversos* throughout the sixteenth century, it lost its relevance in the early seventeenth century when the general economic decline made the Ottoman Empire unattractive to immigrants. This led to a decline of Hebrew printing, and a long hiatus in the production of Judeo-Spanish literature.

Daniel de Ávila Gallego addressed the Jewish elders in the vernacular because, unlike them, he was not fluent in Hebrew. Of course, his intended audience included readers like himself, yet by 1601 the *con-*

verso immigration had almost come to a standstill, and the number of educated Jews who were illiterate in Hebrew was very small. For this reason, there was no more need for new vernacular books. Some of those published in the previous period were still available, and a few others were reprinted in Venice in Hebrew script.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Gallego's treatise was the last Judeo-Spanish work to be published before the much-later revival of this literature that began in the 1730s when the rabbis turned their attention to another large audience that was illiterate in Hebrew. We are very fortunate to have access to this book that closes the first page of the history of Sephardi vernacular culture.

In order to make *Diálogo del colorado* available to those who do not read the Rashi script or are unable to work in Amsterdam where its only extant copy is held, Pilar Romeu, as always, has done an immense textual work. In particular, as we learn, it required an enormous amount of time and great perseverance to identify around 200 authors and works cited by Gallego who often used uncommon abbreviations, odd translations, and phonetic spelling (p. 58). As a scholar of Sephardi culture, I feel personally indebted to Pilar Romeu for bringing to me Gallego's treatise.

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre GILLES, *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, transl. John BALL, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition with new introduction and bibliography by Ronald G. MUSTO (New York: Italica Press, 1988), 62.

<sup>2</sup> Moshe ben Baruk ALMOSNINO, *Regimiento de la vida. Tratado de los suenyos*, ed. John M. ZEMKE (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004).

### Katja Šmid

*El Séfer Měšec Betí, de Eliézer Papo: ritos y costumbres sabáticas de los sefardtes de Bosnia*

Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2012.— ISBN: 978-84-0009-559-8.— 328 págs.

Eli'ezer ben Šem Tov Papo was a renowned rabbi active in Sarajevo and in other Judeo-Spanish speaking communities during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He was born in Sarajevo in an unknown year in the first half of the century and died in Jerusalem in 1898. He wrote several books in Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish, most of which deal with Jewish laws and interpretations of texts. His Hebrew books include *Séfer Apé Žutré* (Sarajevo 1875) explaining the laws of Passover, and *Daméseck Eli'ézer* (Jerusalem, 1892), a collection of some of the laws presented in his Judeo-Spanish trilogy: *Séfer Daméseck Eli'ézer: Órah Hayim* (Belgrade, 1862), relating to Jewish life and holidays; *Séfer Daméseck Eli'ézer: Yoré De'á* (Belgrade, 1865), regarding the laws relating to mourning; and another *Séfer Daméseck Eli'ézer: Yoré De'á* (Jerusalem, 1884) concerning laws specifically applicable for women.<sup>1</sup>

*Séfer Měšec Betí* 'the book of my housekeeping' is Papo's Judeo-Spanish collection of Jewish laws concerning the observation of the Shabbat. It was written in Judeo-Spanish in non-vocalized Raši script in Sarajevo between 1872 and 1874. Katja Šmid's book in which she edits, transcribes and analyzes Papo's *Séfer Měšec Betí* is an expansion of her doctoral thesis.

The title page of *Séfer Měšec Betí* says (Hebrew and Aramaic words appear in boldface letters): ***Dinim*** de šabat reglado '***al séder*** '[alef] b[et] porque sea liviano