

# Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry Written and/or Published by Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sephardim from Hamburg and Frankfurt (1)<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In the latter part of the sixteenth century, small communities of Sephardic Jews from Portugal, Italy, Flanders, and Spain began to settle in the commercial northwest Germany port cities of Hamburg, Altona, Glückstadt, Emden, and Lübeck <sup>2</sup>. They

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<sup>2</sup> Population figures are: in 1603, 7 families and 2 apprentices; in 1612, 125 persons; in 1703, 13 families. Vid. *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* [TUJE] 1941, Vol. V p. 192, s.v. «Hamburg»; *The Jewish Encyclopedia* [TJE] 1907, Vol.

were prominent Sephardim: former crypto-Jews to whatever degree and/or former professing Christians of Jewish descent or not who openly embraced Judaism <sup>3</sup>.

These Iberian Jews were involved in shipbuilding and whaling, finance and importation of raw goods from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and goldsmithing. Others distinguished themselves as a fervent anti-Jewish orthodox polemicist –Uriel da Costa (in Hamburg ca. 1616) <sup>4</sup>–; a physician, philosopher, and mathematician –Manoel Bocarro Francês (= Jacob Rosales; 1588-1662) <sup>5</sup>–; a grammarian –Mosseh Gidhon Abudiente (1602-1688)–, a lexicographer and physician –Benjamin Musaphia (1609-1672)–; and an imperial notary –Abraham Meldola (1754-1829) <sup>6</sup>–. There were occasional poets among them: the subject of the present study.

In the same time period, Ashkenazi Jews from German-speaking lands settled in close proximity to their Sephardic coreligionists, but the relationship, predicated on the myth of «Sephardic supremacy», would never be fluid <sup>7</sup>.

The Sephardim living on the Elbe possessed their own Bet Ya'akov ha-Katan synagogue/community, an ample cemetery founded in 1611 in nearby Danish Altona, on the Königstraße, and editorial presses.

From 1618 to 1785 (which, incidentally, is the time period of interest to this study), at least twenty-five books in Portuguese and Spanish were printed in Hamburg and environs by the local Sephardic community <sup>8</sup>. The manuscript count is nonexistent, but must be equally small in number. Biblical texts in Hebrew had begun to appear as early as 1586, the handiwork of Christian editors and printers <sup>9</sup>.

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VI p. 191, s.v. «Hamburg»; and *The Encyclopaedia Judaica* [TEJ] 1971, Vol. VII cols. 1225-1229; and KELLENBENZ 1989 p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> There has been a running debate concerning the definition of degrees of crypto-Judaism and the classification of the *marranos* or Jewish converts to Christianity. See RÉVAH 1959-1960, KAPLAN 1994, and LIPINER 1985. MÉCHOULAN 1991 p. 12 considers *marrano* a misnomer, preferring *crypto Jew*.

<sup>4</sup> MÉCHOULAN 1991 pp. 41-46.

<sup>5</sup> Consult RÉVAH 1957 and the second part of this study, when it appears.

<sup>6</sup> *TUJE* pp. 192-193.

<sup>7</sup> See SCHORSCH 1989; MÉCHOULAN 1991 pp. 58-65; KAPLAN 1996.

<sup>8</sup> STUDEMUND-HALÉVY 1997a, 1997d, and 1997e pp. 153-157.

<sup>9</sup> *TEJ* 1971, Vol. VII col. 1225: section on «Typography».

The remains of the Sephardi cultural and religious heritage in Hamburg and vicinity are today mere shadows of what was once a thriving, albeit small, socioeconomic and cultural presence. Remnants can still be found on partially effaced and fractured tombstone inscriptions in the Altona cemetery. What the elements did not erase, World War II Allied bombings did. Cultural artifacts, such as ornately decorated seventeenth-century Jewish marriage contracts (*ketuboth*) prepared for Sephardic couples, are proudly on display in Hamburg's Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte; and there are the exceedingly rare printed editions and a handful of manuscript sources of the literatures of the Hamburg-based Sephardim.

Their *linguae francae* were primarily Portuguese and Spanish, but neo-Latin, Hebrew, German, Dutch, English, as well as French would also find their way into the printed and manuscript media <sup>10</sup>.

Many of the Hamburg-based Sephardim would abandon the city, eventually emigrating to Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Venice, or Leghorn. In 1697, an excessive poll tax on Jews prompted the wealthiest to move to Danish Altona and Dutch Amsterdam; also, internal squabbles among the Jewish population divided the congregants, causing further dispersion. The «withdrawal [in the mid seventeenth century] of Jacob Abensur (minister resident of the king of Poland) and his followers» is yet another major reason given for the subsequent decline of Hamburg's Sephardic community <sup>11</sup>.

In 1619 and in Leghorn or Pisa, Italy, the recent convert to Judaism Shlomo Abudiente (once Portuguese Christian and Franciscan monk in Madrid) would scribble the following dedication in his poetic songbook: «Ao muito magnífico Señor iahacob abudiente que el dio guarde em Liorne ... amstardam ... hamburgo» <sup>12</sup>. Such an itinerary exemplifies the «Sephardic

<sup>10</sup> An apt example is Cod. Hisp. 44, Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, *Coleção curioza de poesias & en prosa, em português, castelhano, francês, anglêz* [sic], *collegido por Bento Guilhelmo Rahmeyer*, late seventeenth-early eighteenth century, which contains texts, some dealing with Jewish subject matter, in all these languages. A second example of a multilingual literary text is Jeosúah Habilho's *Nueva Colección* in BROWN 1997.

<sup>11</sup> *TUJE* 1941 p. 193; and *TJE* 1907 p. 192.

<sup>12</sup> BROWN 1998a.

connection» in northern Europe. A second example is Paulo de Pina, Lisbon-born *converso*, who left for Rome in 1599 with the intention of becoming a monk. Instead, there he converted to Judaism, adopting the name Rehuel Jessurun. The author of the Jewish *auto sacramental* the *Diálogo dos montes* (ed. 1975), he lived in Amsterdam yet died in Hamburg in 1635.

The transitory Spanish and Portuguese literary legacy of these displaced Sephardim in northern Germany is incomplete, frustratingly sketchy. So much so that Johann Rist, in his *Musa Teutonica* (1640) and *Neuer Teutscher Parnass* (1652) completely ignores the existence of a *different* body of poetry in Hamburg and other German-speaking cities. But so does Leonard Forster<sup>13</sup>. Johann Christoph Wolf, the great Germanic scholar and hebraist, in his *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (1715-1733) was aware of particular instances of creative writing among individual Hamburg-based Sephardim, such as Jacob Rosales and Moses Gidhon Abudiente, but only for bibliographical sake<sup>14</sup>.

In fairness to modern German literary historians, blame for this oversight or ignorance should be assumed by their contemporary Iberian homologues. The Spanish José Amador de los Ríos in the mid-nineteenth century (1848)<sup>15</sup>, the Hungarian Meyer Kayserling in the same period (1859 and 1890), the Spanish Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo at the onset of the twentieth century (1910)<sup>16</sup>, and the French Camille Pitoulet (1910)<sup>17</sup> were aware of this literary phenomenon, but understood its crucial importance at a distance and with a superficial critical bent. That was generations ago.

My topic deals with the subject of «Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sephardic exile literature in Hamburg and Frankfurt», of «Iberian provincial literature written and/or pub-

<sup>13</sup> In his essay «Deutsche und Europäische Barockliteratur» (1977) pp. 31-53, as well as in his *Studien zur europäischen Rezeption deutscher Barockliteratur* (1983) pp. 7-11. Neither BECKER-CANTARINO, nor HOFFMEISTER 1977, nor TIEMANN 1936 mention it.

<sup>14</sup> *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg and Leipzig 1715) Vol. I: Rosales, no. 1108, p. 615, where he mentions the poet's «Poculum Poeticum» and «Carmen intellectuale», poems which will be included in part 2 of this study; Gidhon ABUDIENDE, no. 1534, p. 816.

<sup>15</sup> Chaps. V-XI pp. 535-655.

<sup>16</sup> 1946, 1963 pp. 285-323: «Los judaizantes».

<sup>17</sup> Pp. 165-176; 1911 pp. 360-367, pp. 466-472.

lished in Hamburg and Frankfurt by the diasporic Sephardim», and of «Spanish colonial and/or Creole literature authored and/or published by Sephardim in German-speaking cities». What emerges from this historiographical nomenclature and its tautological variants is a literary, linguistic, and sociological phenomenon, the product of a micro or minority society in a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German-speaking world.

Few poetic texts still remain to tell us a story, however partial it might be, of a keen obeisance to Judaism, of a devotion to the official languages of political oppression (that is, the Spanish and Portuguese of the Inquisition and the Expulsion), of the lives of the poets. Much presumably has been lost.

For instance, manuscript Hispan. 32, summarily described in the F. Eyssenhardt Catalogue<sup>18</sup> with its poems in Spanish and Portuguese (ff. 38-39) –a possible indication of its Sephardi authorship–, and an interlude (*entremés*) *El tudesco* (ff. 40r-44r) –possibly referring to ‘The Ashkenazic Jew’–<sup>19</sup> perished, probably in the *feuerstorm*, the Allied bombings of Hamburg in 1943. Jacob Rosales’ (Manoel Bocarro Francês) *Brindis Nupcial* (Hamburg 1632), which must have been a narration or extended epithalamium plus verse eclogue celebrating Isaak and Sara Abás’ marriage, has yet to be located<sup>20</sup>.

Hamburg’s Municipal Archive possesses some of the Portuguese (= Sephardic) Community’s protocol books. Judaica/Hebraica/Sephardica literary texts are found in the Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, whose H. B. Levy Collection of Hebrew Manuscripts and printed books is now less-

<sup>18</sup> 1897 p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> According to MÉCHOULAN 1991 pp. 58-65, esp. p. 61, section devoted to «Les Ashkenazes», the term *tudescas* would be used to refer to ‘domestic employee of Ashkenazi background’. The term, in its masc. or fem. forms, connotes a Jewish German (or Yiddish)-speaking individual of inferior social rank.

<sup>20</sup> Not located in Germany, the U.S., Madrid or Lisbon. Listed in KAYSERLING 1890 p. 96: «*Brindis Nupcial* é égloga panegyrica, representada dos Senhores Isach e Sara Abas. Hamburg 1632. 8. ‘Cette allégorie est précédée d’une sorte de dialogue allégorique de Yeosua Abendana’». Kayserling may have merely copied this information from the *Catalogue de la collection ... de livres et manuscrits hébraïques, espagnols et portugais ... de la bibliothèque de Mr. Isaac da Costa*, red. par M. ROEST (Amsterdam 1861).

than-complete <sup>21</sup>. Supposedly, seventy-five percent of the University Library's manuscript collection was destroyed or disappeared after the 1943 Allied bombings. It has been suggested that Russian troops carted away many library treasures <sup>22</sup>.

According to bibliographical sources <sup>23</sup>, before World War II in Hamburg there was also a Museum für Jüdische Volkskunde, that no longer exists, but which has been superseded by the Institut für die Geschichte der deutschen Juden; the Institute possesses secondary literature, several rare Sephardic published texts, and many of the Cassuto Family papers. (The Cassutos were a distinguished family of local historians <sup>24</sup>.) In 1842, the new Portuguese synagogue on the Altewall-Strasse, «together with the valuable archives», was completely consumed in the great Hamburg fire <sup>25</sup>.

The salvaged texts are still partially legible on Hamburg-area tombstones, in prefatory poems to unique and/or quite rare published volumes, in a single chapbook published at Hamburg in 1764, and in a collection of *Psalms* of David published at Frankfurt in 1626, as well as in manuscript miscellanies from London, Brussels, Amsterdam, Jerusalem, and Philadelphia.

The lost voices of the Sephardi Parnassus in Hamburg, and, possibly, Frankfurt, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are those of Ishak Abás, David Abenatar Melo, Daniel Abudiente, Manoel Bocarro Francês (= Jacob Rosales), Eliachim Castiel, Joseph Francês, Mosseh Gidhon Abudiente, Jeosúah Habilmente, Ishak de Herrera, Abraham Meldola, Emanuel Nahmías de Castro, Paulo de Pina (= Rehuel Jessurun),

<sup>21</sup> See *Verzeichniss* 1900; ROTH - STREIDL 1984.

<sup>22</sup> In personal conversation with Dr. Eva Horváth. Since Mozart musical scores have recently been returned by the Russians to the Hamburg University Library («Not Even Mostly Mozart, But Clearly Some», *The New York Times* [June 12, 1997] pp. A1 and A19), it remains to be seen whether missing Hebraica and Judaica texts will reappear.

<sup>23</sup> *TUJE* p. 196.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1999a, and «Alfonso Cassuto und der Portugiesenfriedhof an der Königstraße», in his 1997c pp. 721-752.

<sup>25</sup> *TUJE* p. 193.

and, tangentially, Benjamín Senior Godines and Ishak de Matatías Aboab's father: the count comes to at least fourteen men, though no women writers <sup>26</sup>. Five additional poems are anonymous.

In the first section of the present study, I intend to provide representative examples from each author's works, assessing the poetic discourse for reasons of linguistic exclusion <sup>27</sup>, autobiography, broad cultural aspects, and the connection with the Iberian Golden-Age muse.

In the *Appendix* to the study is a modernized edition of almost all the poems in Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin I have located written by the Germany-based seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sephardim. Excluded is Jeosúah Habilho's poetry <sup>28</sup>, and the one-hundred-fifty psalms of David translated by David Abenatar Melo (1626) <sup>29</sup>. Included, however, are that author's prefatory poems, other verses that couch this last edition, and a poem by D. A. M. included in an Amsterdam manuscript miscellany.

Part two of this study will include newly discovered poetic texts by Jacob Rosales, Abraham Meldola, and Emanuel Nahmías de Castro, some significant correspondence, additional poetic funereal inscriptions, and an argument bolstering the Frankfurt connection.

## 2. THE *COLECCIÓN NUEVA*

The most complete *corpus poetarum* we possess of any Sephardi poet writing from or about Hamburg is Jeosúah Habilho's *Colección Nueva de canciones lyricas, unas colegidas de los más célebres ingenios y otras compuestas por Jeosúah Habilho* (Hamburg 1764) <sup>30</sup>. A hundred-page chapbook in both Spanish and Portuguese, the *Colección Nueva* represents an unknown or forgotten and very late link in the rich Iberian

<sup>26</sup> This is surprising since in both Amsterdam and London Sephardi women wrote poetry. See BROWN 1998b.

<sup>27</sup> RIANDIÈRE LA ROCHE 1983.

<sup>28</sup> In BROWN 1997.

<sup>29</sup> See BOER 1997, and STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1999b and 1999c (forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup> BROWN 1997.

tradition of divine and profane poetry collections, known under the rubric of «Poesías Sacras y Profanas».

If in the oft-cited *Die Memoiren der Glückel von Hameln* (5451 [= 1690-1691]), published by Kauffman in the original Judeo-German in Vienna 1896, and subsequently translated to English by Lowenthal (1932), the author, «geboren in Hamburg 1645, gestorben in Metz 19 September 1724» ('born in Hamburg in 1645, died in Metz, 19 September 1724'), could tell *her* now-famous story of the Hamburg Ashkenazi community of her generation<sup>31</sup>, Jeosúah Habilho could recount *his* story of the Sephardim in Hamburg in his *Colección Nueva*: a novel and ingenious text.

At first glance, Habilho's is a volume for pleasure reading by an archtypical Iberian seventeenth- or eighteenth-century literary consumer: «Si con ánimo sencillo / me recibes sin regüeldo, / yo te fío que otro sueldo / presto pagues a Habilho». The chapbook then evolves into a type of Jewish *gebetbuch* ('prayerbook') replete with verse vindications of Mosaic Law and «extra»-patriotic Judaism, presented in predominantly anacreontic (that is to say, 'neoclassical') strophic forms. The following poem, though, is a *romance* (ballad):

De una montaña descende el Propheta más perfecto,  
a ser espejo de todo, de mirarlo quedan ciegos.  
Muy presuroso descende para enseñarles al pueblo  
la Ley santa que escribió de Dios mismo el sacro dedo.  
Lo primero que les dice, es: ¡Que adoréis por extremo  
al grande Dios de Israël, que Él es sólo el verdadero!-.

The Spanish-Christian reader conveniently excluded from these *piyyutim*, the *Colección Nueva* then becomes a wistful pan-European *liederbuch* of amatory poems accompanied by eighteen tunes from the early eighteenth-century European voice repertoire. For instance, Jeosúah Habilho asks his Jewish reader to sing the Spanish neo-Garcilasian anacreontics –«¡Oh, dulce prenda, / templa mi ciego ardor / ya que fulminas / rayos de amor!»– to the tune of the popular «Igh mag nicht lieben» ('I'd Rather Not Love'), and the equally amatory «Después que vi, / que vi con mis antojos / a tus hermosos ojos / al punto

<sup>31</sup> See also LOWENTHAL 1936, Chap. 12: «Grand Dukes in Jewry».



me rendí» to the Dutch or Flemish tune of «Ma Matie lief» ('My Mathilde's [?] Going').

As the poetic text adopts the Portuguese language, the discourse is transformed into a linguistic means for recounting the carnivalesque-like festivities of Purim as it was celebrated most likely in Amsterdam, the Jewish holiday corresponding to the bearing of first fruits of Spring in the agricultural cycle and to the story of Esther and her people in the quasi-liturgical one (poem XXXII):

Quanto dinheiro leva a festa de Purim  
em sonhos e fatias que custão boms florims.  
Pastelinhos de anjo e bom vinho do Rim,  
assados e melinas com outras couzas mil ...  
Com fausto desmarcado convidão um sem fim  
que comen seu dinheiro e zombão do festim.  
Porém dos que mais gastão da gente do candil  
são só os estudantes que vão a os Medrassim.

In the same editorial space, the *Colección Nueva* also becomes an excuse for autobiographical ranting about the petty internecine squabbles among the members of the Hamburg Sephardic community. A prime example are the «Versos que fêz Jeosúah Habilho a seu irmão porque não lhe quis falar estando muito doente, e a sua mulher haver mandado una humilde carta, e não querer responder (Em dia de Purim, d'este ano 5506 [= 1727], em Amsterdam. A voz de "Yigdal Elloim Hay"» (poem 44):

Ouví de um certo homem que entisicou;  
seu irmão morto do fomem nunca falou.  
Todo é a altiveza que lhe causou  
tirarse de pobreza, certo a passou,  
certo a passou.  
Com todo é perverso, não arrependeu  
dos males, que comverso, logo esqueceu,  
quando de Hamburgo viu e o recolheu  
um bruto muito feio lhe pareceu,  
lhe pareceu.

Jeosúah Habilho is the *gemeine spielleute* ('the popular singer of songs') par excellence, who has intelligently fused the neo-pastoral love ethos and fluid lyricism of the Spanish Golden

Age with the musical repertoire of eighteenth-century pan-European popular song and Jewish canonical liturgy. Eric Werner<sup>32</sup> calls «the musical tradition of the Jews from central Europe the *minhag* [מנהג 'custom'] *ashkenaz*». Consequently, Jeosúah Habilho's creation could be deemed the *minhag sephardi*.

### 3. OTHER VERSE

Anecdotal to our thesis is Ishak de Matatías Aboab's «Versos que fêz meu señoir pai a minha señoira mai índose para Hamburgo a buscar a minha tia Rivca Justa, e era casado de poucos anos»<sup>33</sup>. What is unique about this poem, dating approximately from 1640 and supposedly authored by Ishak de Matatías Aboab's father, a Sephardic Jew who departs from his wife, en route from Amsterdam to Hamburg, is a human expressive quality which we in literary studies used to call «authenticity» or «authentic human emotivity». Obvious in this *décima* is its epistolary intent (see strophe 1).

Equally anecdotal are romance-language epitaphs inscribed on tombstones in Altona's Jewish *Friedhof*. Dated 1681, that of a reputable poet reads: «Do Bemaventurado / & Virtuoso Varão / Joseph Francêz sua / alma goze da Glória / Faleceo 5<sup>a</sup> Feira 1<sup>o</sup> de R: ['Thursday, the first of'] Nissan / Anno 5441»; from 1688, we read: «Sepultura do Insigne / E Eminente Senhor H. H. [*Hehaham Hagaon* 'The eminent sage'] / Ribi Mosse Abudiente / Que el Dio Recolheu para / sí em 2 de Veadar A<sup>o</sup> 5448 / Sua alma gose da glória»; and from 1801, a bi-lingual Hebrew/Portuguese tombstone for Benjamin Musaphia Fidalgo: «Aquí jaz o Anciano & muy Benaventurado Binjamin Musaphia Fidalgo Author dos Versos Poéticos / que se achão ao outro lado desta Louza, os quais compós em sua vida, / para lhe servir en vez de Epytáphio. Passou desta para a outra / melhor, em 24 Tebeth do A<sup>o</sup> 5561, da Idade de 89 As ['years'] 3Ms ['months'] 15Ds ['days'] / Deixando por sucessão 2 Filhos, / 1 Netto, 3 Nettas & 5 Bisnettos / Sua Alma Gose da Glória». Unfortunately, the «Versos Poéticos» have been effaced.

<sup>32</sup> 1976 p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Appendix, no. 19.

One of several verse epitaphs still legible is that for the hazan Jacob Rephael Cohen Belinfante (1761), whose Hebrew text includes 8 verses in Portuguese. The first strophe's concision and wordplay based on opposites –*bem/mal*, *mal/bem*– and on ascending degrees –*merecer/lograr*, *padecer/penar*– resembles that common to texts in the Iberian fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century *cancionero* tradition:

Tão bem esto[u] com meu mal  
despois que perdí meu bem  
que o bem me parece mal  
e o mal me parece bem.

A dita de merecer  
não a poder bem lograr  
sem primeiro padecer  
a cabo de bem penar <sup>34</sup>.

We may add to this funerary poetry the perfunctory rhymed admonishments in Spanish by Benjamín Senior Godines, who was in Amsterdam in 1682. Max Grunwald <sup>35</sup> reproduced the following inscriptions of his containing *momento mori*: «Cuenta estrecha, pena eterna / y ves riguroso, ¡Ay del perezoso!»; «¡Oh tú, que me estás mirando, / mira bien que vivas bien, / que no saber hora ni cuándo / te verás así también»; «Haz aquello que quisiera / haber hecho cuando muera»; and «Una [sic] ánima tienes y no más, / si la pierdes, ¿qué harás?».

#### 4. PREFATORY POEMS

The final examples of Iberian-language poetry penned in Hamburg are prefatory poems and psalms published in printed texts. The following three are by Joseph Francês, about whom Miguel/Daniel (Leví) de Barrios would write: «Joseph Francês, armado de conceptos, / guardó del Pindo harmónicos precep-

<sup>34</sup> SARRAGA 1997 pp. 36, 40, 43-45, 49; see also STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1997b, and WEINSTEIN 1997. Consult BROMBACHER 1989 and HENRÍQUEZ DE CASTRO 1883. In FAUST - STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1997 p. 70, the original reads «a pude», which is phonologically possible but grammatically incorrect.

<sup>35</sup> 1902 p. 27. These examples of *momento mori* are on display at London's Jewish Museum.

tos». Central thematic are normal death and extraordinary martyrdom with subsequent glorification. The Spanish Jew Miguel/Daniel (Leví) de Barrios (b. 1631 Montilla, Córdoba, d. 1701 Amsterdam) prepared the introduction to our first example:

Ilustró al Pueblo Hebreo Hamburgués con su exemplar observancia Mosayca, y con sus poéticas expresiones, entre las quales viene este Epitafio al Jaxam Ischac Jesurum de Hamburgo:

Aquí de um varão ciente  
se resolveu o corpo em terra,  
que desta mundana guerra  
fêz a humildade valente.  
Da Lei santa ao fogo ardente  
tanto a matéria apurou  
que espírito só ficou,  
e para subir ligeiro  
a su centro verdadeiro  
o pesado aquí ficou<sup>36</sup>.

A second poem appears in Mosseh Gidhon Abudiente's *Gramática Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633). Here the occasional poet compares Mosseh Gidhon to the patriarch of the Israelites who led his people from bondage; the contemporary Moses can lead his brethren from the darkness of ignorance with the light of erudition provided by his Hebrew grammar book (see Appendix, 4.1-2). No matter how ingenuous this discourse might seem to us, we must not forget how crucial Nebrija's Spanish grammar book, the *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* (1492), was for establishing the language of the Spanish empire.

In his funerary *Elogios que zelosos dedicaron a la felice memoria de Abraham Núñez Bernal, que fue quemado vivo santificando el nombre de su criador en Córdoba a 3 de mayo 5415* (Amsterdam 1655), Francês' ingenious conceit, «ardiente amor» (see Appendix 15.4a), is employed to refer to the martyr's sacrifice for his religious beliefs.

<sup>36</sup> Barrios writes *varón* instead of *varão* (v. 1), *resolvó* (v. 2), and *y* (v. 8). KAYSERLING 1890 p. 286; also in YERUSHALMI 1971 p. 199 (Appendix, no. 16). This tombstone plus inscription is reproduced photographically in FAUST-STUEDEMUND-HALÉVY 1997 p. 60.

M. Menéndez Pelayo's evaluation of the Sephardic literature written in exile in the north of Europe (1910) is still the most often repeated and quoted: «La literatura de los judaizantes españoles del siglo XVII, lo mismo que su ciencia, no tiene originalidad ni carácter propio; antes sigue todas las vicisitudes de gusto propias de la general española»<sup>37</sup>.

His introduction to David Abenatar Melo's lacklustre translation of the *Psalms* (Frankfurt 1626)<sup>38</sup> shall be the starting point for the penultimate section in this study, on other prefatory poems and the *Psalms* themselves: «Poeta bíblico fue David Abenatar Melo, fugitivo de las cárceles de la Inquisición en 1611, y autor de una mediana traducción de los *Psalms*, inferior, no sólo a las muestras que nos dejaron Fr. Luis de León y Malón de Chaide, sino a la del Maestro Valdivielso, y hasta a la del conde de Rebolledo, a pesar de su falta de color poético».

The sole constructive and adulatory remark of his is that in some passages –especially those in Moses' first canticle– Abenatar Melo infuses his prosaic discourse with «fuerza y color poético». We have become too accustomed to Menéndez Pelayo bashing of late to understand the perspicacity of his criticism. He was mostly right. Let us, however, review the prefatory poems by others and some of David Abenatar Melo's *Psalms* to appreciate their significant passages. Read, for instance, in Appendix, Poems: 1.6a; 2.5b-c7; 3.2; 4.2f-j; 5.4; 6.3-4; 7.3; 9.1; 10.3; 12.19-28, 37-38, 45-46, 63-64; 14.5c-d; and 28.12a-b. This reading will then lead to my conclusions.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude the historical section of this study, one should bear in mind the several distinct and disparate sources of poetry, the topics they communicate, and their place of com-

<sup>37</sup> *Obras completas*, pp. 285-323, corresponding to Book V, Chap. II: «Los judaizantes». This Vol. IV, «Protestantismo y sectas místicas», is XXXVIII in the entire series.

<sup>38</sup> Text likely published by a Frankfurt-based Calvinist press tolerant and supportive of religious heterodoxy and intellectualism. This matter will be addressed in the second part of this study. See EVANS 1975. See also GROZINGER *Jüdische Kultur* 1997.

position. The numerical count is at least forty published and manuscript poems (approximately twelve to appear in my second part), one printed chapbook, one translation of the *Psalms*, several verse epigraphs, and four funerary admonishments. There are no prose novels, no drama (except for Rehuel Jessurun's awkward mystery play), no literary letters, and no critical essays.

Many of these works were written in Amsterdam or for Amsterdam-based literary and/or religious activities. I pose the following question: Is the Sephardi Parnassus in Hamburg and Frankfurt merely an aside in the Sephardic literature of exile from Spain and Portugal, an anecdote in the history of Iberian provincial letters, a footnote to Spanish colonial literatures? The answer undoubtedly is in the affirmative, but my conclusions address a more significant sociocultural reality: that is, the Hamburg- and Frankfurt-based Sephardim, as did their Amsterdam and Italian coreligionaries on a much more ambitious and impressive scale, attempted to *recreate* but also *create* a distinct nature of Spanish and Portuguese Golden-Age poetry in the north of Europe.

This poetry had its own newly-created mythology, replete with a cadre of fresh martyrs and heroes –a second Moses, a revived flesh-and-blood David, a new Isaac, a Jewish «Apollo»–. These figures were not merely set-pieces or rigid topoi, but conscious choices of a reborn leadership to guide the forgotten sons of the Israelites to a renewed preeminence. This literature boasted a *new* Hebrew grammar that contained comparative sections from Spanish and Portuguese verse writing<sup>39</sup>; it counted *new* translations from the «classics» (in this case, the *Psalms*).

This Sephardic poetry told the story of a *new* way of life, one never entirely divorced from a former one in inquisitorial Iberia. Its story was *new* and mature enough to recount the coffeehouse adventures of the picaresque Jeosúah Habilho, whose poetic chapbook was so aptly titled *Colección Nueva*, because its *piyyutim* in Spanish, its *Bildungsroman* / *Schelmenroman* (picaresque narration) in Portuguese, and its *mise en musique* in any one of several European and classical languages was, in

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<sup>39</sup> MALEAKHI 1994; KLIJNSMIT 1994.

fact, incredibly *novel* for 1764. Hardly anyone gets terribly excited about Spanish neoclassical literature; the *Colección Nueva* with its touch of Rococo spice is a pleasant exception. *Alles geschah als Spanisch, Portugiesisch und Neulatein in Hamburg und Frankfurt gesprochen und gedruckt wurden*.

Or this poetry could tell of a bourgeois couple whose parting became the stuff of real verse on the prosaic matter of matrimonial fidelity. It could also recount the humiliation of the inquisitorial dungeon, the loss of children and family. This was a conscious creative process undertaken on a micro scale.

When one studies the intense Spanish- and Portuguese-language literary productivity of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sephardim in Amsterdam, Leghorn, and Venice – literatures with Hebrew translations of the Greco-Roman classics, such as Aesop's fables<sup>40</sup> and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*<sup>41</sup>, as well as Isabel Rebeca Correa's Spanish translation of a major work of the Italian Renaissance, Guarini's 16th-century *Il Pastor Fido*<sup>42</sup>, and the anonymous *aljamiado* translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*<sup>43</sup>, the Hebrew translation of the late medieval/early Spanish renaissance classics *Celestina*<sup>44</sup> and *Amadís de Gaula*<sup>45</sup>, even the Hebrew-language translation of Racine's drama *Esther*<sup>46</sup>, and of fresh Spanish-language burlesque epics recounted in ingenious gongorine and quevedesque conceits

<sup>40</sup> MSS. Kaufmann A.547 BASHB, and ADD 26.916 The British Library. In the *Katalog* (1906) of the Kaufmann Collección, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest) p. 174, the following information is given: «... f. Ital. v. Hebr. Favoli d'Esopo. Aesopus' Fabelu B. II, 43-83 ins Hebr. übers u. Raffael Fontanella Colorne. 22 ff».

<sup>41</sup> The British Library, MSS. Kaufmann A.547 BASHB and ADD 26.916. The following description is offered in the same 1906 *Katalog*: «Metamorphoses. 4°. Pap. Ital. mit hebr. Cop. aus dem Original Mscr. 1825 v. Gabriel Trieste u. Söhne. Das original Mscr. Schenken Sie der Mantuaner Synagogenbibliothek. S. Mortara, f. 37, Thes. 580/599. Marini [מאריני] Sabbatai Chajim's שירי החליפות hebr. Übersetzung der Metamorphos. Ovids mit Ital. Texte. I, II, VIII. Gesang Index der griechischen Namen wie sie hebr. Zurückgegeben sind».

<sup>42</sup> LÓPEZ ESTRADA 1994a, 1994b.

<sup>43</sup> MINERVINI 1997. A comparable phenomenon may exist in Ashkenazi literature. FUKS - FUKS-MANSFELD 1987, Vol. II p. 457, no. 632, summarily register a Yiddish verse rendering of the Sir Gawain story (Amsterdam 1683).

<sup>44</sup> CASSUTO 1935.

<sup>45</sup> MALEAKHI 1982.

<sup>46</sup> KNAPP 1974.

and discourse <sup>47</sup>—a larger picture emerges of an attempt to create a literature that could rival and *reinvent* some of the most resounding literature Europe had to offer at the time.

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<sup>47</sup> BROWN 1994 and 1999a.



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## APPENDIX

For the present edition of poems, I have modernized the orthography and punctuation of the manuscript and printed originals. The following norms have been followed: 1) defective readings in Portuguese and Spanish –whether they be printer’s errors or authorial misspellings– are corrected to reflect modern usage; 2) scribal abbreviations are resolved within italics; 3) the use of *b*, *v*, and *u*; *i*, *j*, and *y*; *h*, and *i*; *u*, and *ü*; and *s*, *ss*, *z*, *ç*, and *c* is regularized and modernized, as are other orthographical peculiarities; 4) Portuguese renderings of Spanish words (e.g., *lhamé*, instead of the Sp. *llamé*) as well as Spanish renderings in Portuguese (e.g., *mozo*, instead of the Port. *menino*) are maintained.

1. Doctoris Jacob Rosales ad *Librum Ode* <sup>48</sup>:

- Ito per docti meditantis ora,  
 Liber, aeterna tripodans corona;  
 Liber, a morsu inuidiae profanant  
 Haud sacra sacri.
- 5] Haud valet linguae dominus dolosae  
 In sacram linguam furere; & canino  
 Inuidus partem nequit inde sanctam  
 Dente ferire:  
 Si doces linguam, eloquium *que* caeli,
- 10] Quis loqui laudes poterit doctis?  
 Haud locum mendax rabide latrare,  
 lingua tenebit:  
 I, pedi laeto, bona causa (uicta  
 Hoste doctorum inscitia) triumphat:
- 15] Non opus quaerit rigidi patroni  
 Candida uirtus:  
 Quid? si, ouans Liber, sibi, uocem coeli  
 Nunc vocas; discant homines loqui cum  
 Jam Deo; gaudet propria poli rex
- 20] Voce uocari.  
 Hac sacrae nobis Deitatis adflat  
 Numen: hac nobis loquitur salutis  
 Hac viam ostendens animas ab atro  
 Amouet orco;
- 25] Igneas *que* Alti penetrare suadens  
 Januas, tecum reserat cataenas,  
 Angeli agnoscent propria colonum,

<sup>48</sup> *Gramática Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) fol. [3r].

- Voce loquentem.  
 Ergo sub lucem rutilando, Liber,  
 30] Jam veni lucem nitidumque lumen  
 Afferes nobis; Superumque terram.  
 Lingua docebit.  
 Cum tuo vives Gedeone nato,  
 Mose, in aeternum, placidaeque Mosi  
 35] Gratiae adflabunt, ubi cum beatis  
 Vivere viso <sup>49</sup>.

## 2. Ejusdem Doctoris [Jacob Rosales]; Epygramma <sup>50</sup>

- Hic docet in Lingua proprioque idiomate Moses  
 Linguam caelestis, dictaque sancta Chori:  
 Hanc disce & disces superum commercia,  
 linguam  
 5] Tunc aliam in sacris ignis amoris habe:  
 Hac Deus ad nos, adque illum nos pellimur  
 istis:  
 Haec homines reddet mutua lingua Deo <sup>51</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> 'Book, pass to the mouth of meditative sage; / Book, [like the Pythonissa], seated on the eternal Delphic Tripod; / Book, [despite] the murmur of envy sacred things are not profaned. / The wise man pays no attention to the deceitful tongue / that suggests rage against the sacred word; and the envious one can not therefore / gnarl at that which is sacred. / If you teach the language and eloquence of heaven, / who will [then] be able to praise the teachings of the master? [= Who can do better?] / The lying tongue will have no place to bark with rage: / You, Book, go forward happily, / good cause will triumph once ignorance has been eradicated by the wise minions. / Candid virtue does not question the work of a steadfast tradition [= Judaism]. / What? [Why?] You, Book that praises, if you now call to yourself the voice of heaven, / may men learn now how to speak with God. / The King of Heaven will rejoice when addressed in his own voice. / The inspiration of the holy deity, / for that reason, resonates on our behalf. / That is why it speaks to us about salvation. / That is why by showing us the path, / it diverts souls from the black inferno and, / convincing us to transcend the burning portals of heaven, / it opens the chains for you. / The angels recognize the colonist [= poet] who speaks with his own voice; / that is why Book as you shine in the light, / I have already come to brightness, / and you bring the brilliant light to us. / The language [= Hebrew] will teach the earth the divine. / Having been born your Gideon, / you will live eternally as Moses. / And the calm graces of Moses / will blow when I contemplate life / among the contented [in heaven]'.

<sup>50</sup> *Gramática Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) fol. [3v]

<sup>51</sup> 'Here Moses will teach with and in his own tongue / the language of heaven and the sacred words of the choruses. / Learn this and you will learn the intercourse of the gods. / Then speak another language in the sacred fires of love: / By this and by these things, God to us and we to Him will be driven: / Let this reciprocal [= borrowed] language bring men back to the gods'.

3. Ao autor [Mosseh Gidhon Abudiente], De Daniel Abudiente seu tio; Soneto <sup>52</sup>

- 1] Penetrar os sofisticos enganos  
que ofuscação a pureza da verdade  
qualquer pode alcançar, a que a idade  
descobre em largo tempo os desenganos.
- 2] Mas fonte fabricar por cujos canos  
se augmente no falar propiedade  
na língua, novo ser e utilidade,  
só vós podeis fazer ternos anos.
- 3] Crescei, Robi Mosseh, que se ao respeito  
em vós saber e idade vão crescendo,  
assombro de ums sereis, e de outros guia.
- 4] Nem é alheo em vós tão alto efeito  
pois sol *que quente* vêm logo e nacendo  
prognostica abrasar ao meio dia.

4. De Joseph Francês; Décimas <sup>53</sup>

- 1] Entre as chamas corroscentes  
nos celestes horizontes,  
trêmulos os firmes montes,  
humildemente arrogantes  
nos foi dada a lei, mas antes  
que a comunicar Mossé  
porque com arte nós dé  
luz de seus pontos altivos  
nos soberanos archivos,  
profundos mistérios vê.
- 2] Foi recebendo Israel  
cabalística a doutrina  
já quasi a nos clandestina  
no cautiveiro cruel;  
mas neste horror de Babel  
em vez de em Sinay, permite  
Deus que esta arte facilite  
quanto o galut dificulta  
e o que de Mosseh sepulta,  
outro Mosseh rescucite.

<sup>52</sup> *Gramática Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) fol. [5r].

<sup>53</sup> *Gramática Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) fol. [5v].



5. De Ishak Abás ao autor [Mosseh Gidhon Abudiente]; Soneto <sup>54</sup>

- 1] Na lusitana língua, que a memória  
da santa facilite a retentiva  
arte, que do princípio o fim deriva  
do recto ensino vós promete a glória.
- 2] A ciência sem arte é falsa história,  
caduca na memória preceptiva,  
que como o rudimento a não cultiva  
fica sem fundamento, é transitória.
- 3] Vós em método puro, claro e docto  
gramaticando do princípio ao meio,  
o fim mostrais, se estás sempre ignoto.
- 4] Hoje que a luz, o Mosé sábio!, vejo  
de vossa musa a luz vencendo a Loto <sup>55</sup>:  
título adquirireis de *Apolo Hebreo*.

6. Soneto de un amigo [Anon.] al autor [David Abenatar Melo] <sup>56</sup>

- 1] ¡O músico real na hebreá lira!  
Cantou do sumo Deus altos louvores,  
as grandezas, milagros e os favores  
do povo que ao bem somente aspira.
- 2] Também profetizou a horrenda ira  
a dura sanha os ásperos rigores  
a os ímpios e perversos transgressores  
da santa lei que as manchas da alma, tira.
- 3] Outro David na cítara castelhana  
os sagrados mistérios comunica  
as remotas nações con zêlo santo.
- 4] E imitando aquela harpa soberana  
os segredos do céu aquí publica  
en concertada rima e doce canto.

<sup>54</sup> *Gramática Hebraica* (Hamburg 1633) fol. [7r].

<sup>55</sup> *Loto* 'the fruit of the lotus tree', here a personification for the loss of memory; GRIMAL 1984 p. 328.

<sup>56</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fol. [6v].

7. De outro amigo [Anon.], al autor [David Abenatar Melo];  
Soneto <sup>57</sup>

- 1] Mucho alienta al cansado su reposo  
y al marinero el puerto deseado,  
la apelación concedida al condenado,  
salir del campo el flaco victorioso.
- 2] Al buen pintor su painel curioso,  
su rebanho al pastor en fértil prado,  
al buen músico su rabel templado  
y al mercader que trata ser dichoso.
- 3] A todo esto tu pluma ha excedido  
nel método de tu verso y arquitectura,  
con que al psalmista ensalzas y sublimas.
- 4] Manifestando al mundo por tus rimas  
la gloria y el valor de tu pintura  
con armonía y dado [sic] esclarecido.

8. De outro amigo [Anon.] ao autor [David Abenatar Melo];  
[Soneto] <sup>58</sup>

- 1] As virtudes e ciência que mostrares  
componendo obra tão santa e sem igual  
farão por sempre ilustre e imortal  
a felice memória que cobrastes.
- 2] E aqueles a quem tanto aproveitastes  
dando doutrina mais que natural  
a qui terão perpétuo e bom final  
dos secretos da lei que penetrastes.
- 3] Pois se o real David profetizando  
deixou mistérios grandes encubertos,  
a nosso vário e incerto pensamento,
- 4] Vós manifestamente interpretando,  
con tão sábios conceitos e tão certos,  
nos aclarais o fraco entendimento.

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<sup>57</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fol. [6v].

<sup>58</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fol. [7r].

9. Soneto de Ishak de Herrera ao autor [David Abenatar Melo] <sup>59</sup>.

- 1] Quem viu em verso heróico tan conceito?  
Em espanhola língoa tal verdade?  
Em zêlo mais que humano a piadade?  
A virtude perfeita em tal sujeito?
- 2] Quem viu tirar do íntimo do peito  
mais zêlo do que hai na humanidade?  
Quem pôs en un romance gravidade  
se não este David que o es perfeito?
- 3] Se o nome em perfeição, Senhor, mostrastes,  
no zêlo da fé pura desprezando,  
quantos bens o terreno pôde dar?
- 4] Em esta obra que o é a luz tirastes,  
neste mundo vós fica já ilustrando,  
e no eterno fará laurear.

10. De outro amigo de casa [Anon.], ao autor [David Abenatar Melo]; [Soneto] <sup>60</sup>

- 1] Davão do nome as obras bom indício  
quando sendo tão mozo comenzastes  
a encaminhar os vozes que tornastes  
fazendo de pastor o mesmo ofício.
- 2] Não vós faltou tão bem o céu propício,  
pois tanto en terra estranha prosperastes  
mostrando n'ela o zelo que mostrastes  
em desprezar do mundo o avaro vício.
- 3] David guiou ovelhas, vós as vozes,  
David venceu gigante, vós un mundo,  
que em vós vencer a vós tanto fizestes.
- 4] Ésse vós parecestes quando mozos,  
agora nesta idade seu segundo  
en declarar seus versos ser quisestes.

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<sup>59</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fol. [7r].

<sup>60</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fol. [7v].

11. Soneto del autor [David Abenatar Melo] al *Dios Bendito* <sup>61</sup>

- 1] ¡Gracias te doy, oh Rey, justo y divino!,  
firmeza y salvación en mi esperanza,  
en quien de siempre tuve confianza  
para llegar al fin deste camino.
- 2] Conozco que del tal he sido indino,  
mas tu mano piadosa no se cansa,  
¡dichoso aquél que a conocerte alcanza  
que en ti se apura más que el oro fino!
- 3] De tu David por tu merced me hiciste  
que en rudo estilo sus psalmos cantase  
y palabras que en su boca pusiste.
- 4] Ahora resta que adelante pase,  
que pues grandeza tal me concediste,  
sepa el mundo, Señor, que de Ti nace.

12. Del autor [David Abenatar Melo] al *Dios Bendito*; [Romance] <sup>62</sup>

- 1] Rey, que a humildes levantas y a polvo abajas soberbios,  
que das ciencia a los rudos y a los sabios estropeios,  
todo con recta justicia que en ti no reina cohecho,  
que das premio justo al justo y al malo, como él, el premio.
- 5] Conozco, Señor, de ti y alcanza mi entendimiento  
que buscas quién no te busca y esto en mí claro lo veo.  
Conozco también de mí ser de rudeza un portento,  
aunque en provocarte a sanha no hubo otro más despierto.  
Tú me viniste a buscar, que yo de ti andaba huyendo,
- 10] conociendo te debía deuda que pagar no puedo.  
Muchas veces me llamaste con regalos halaguenhos,  
y otras con sacarme sangre del alma que ahora siento.  
Todo porque no seguí lo que mis padres me dieron,  
que fue la perpetua herencia que va a tu conocimiento.
- 15] Desvergoncé contra ti veces que no tienen cuento,  
y Tú de allá me mirabas con paciencia a ver si vuelvo.  
No tan sólo a ti volví, antes fue mi pensamiento  
de ensanharte e irritarte con palabra, obra y deseo.  
Viendo Tú me dé por día, por ti me acudiste luego,

<sup>61</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fol. [268].

<sup>62</sup> *Los CL Psalmos de David* (Frankfurt 1626) fols. [2r-v].

- 20] y en la Santa Inquisición en homenaje me has puesto.  
 Conocíme, conocíte, y rasgué ante ti mi pecho,  
 n'él viste a mi corazón lleno de arrepentimiento.  
 De allí, Señor, te lhamé, con ojos del alma abiertos,  
 que entonces conocí el alma, que pensé todo era cuerpo.
- 25] A ojos de mis enemigos y a pesar de todos ellos  
 suelto y libre me sacaste aunque tan malo y protervo.  
 Hecho pedazos salí, no para lo que merezco,  
 porque mis aborrecientes me dieron duros tormentos.  
 Apenas fui conocido de flaco, débil y viejo,
- 30] ni yo ahora me conozco cuando me miro a un espejo.  
 Y aún no parando aquí tu merced en mi provecho  
 me trajiste por tu nombre a tomar tu firmamento.  
 Bien pensé me perdonabas hasta allí pecados viejos,  
 y creo bien perdonarás si no los hiciera nuevos.
- 35] Cuales ellos son, Tú sabes, que los viste y yo los confieso,  
 y otorgo ante ti mis culpas como delincuente reo.  
 Sólo un hijo que tenía después de traerlo al puerto  
 de tu firmamento sacro me lo llevaste a tu cielo.  
 Vilo, quejéme, afligíme con dura ansia y desconsuelo,
- 40] no osando de levantar los tristes ojos a verlo.  
 Por justo te confesé y por gusto te confieso  
 de más piedad que justicia, atributo, tajo y fuero.  
 Quedé tan desconsolado como viste y en tanto estrecho  
 que si no me das la mano a que más te ofenda temo.
- 45] Púseme a meldar tu ley, aunque della poco entiendo;  
 mande la continuación, Señor, me hago un deseo:  
 y fue que ver ladinar aquellos divinos versos  
 que tu David te cantaba de mil profecías llenos.  
 Avergonzado también de ver que hay entre tu pueblo
- 50] para meldar vanidades tan raros entendimientos  
 con tu celo, mas sin ciencia, por darles vergüenza a ellos.  
 Tomé en la mano la pluma mojada en mis descontentos,  
 hice este pobre rascunho en este lienzo pequenho,  
 encolado con mis males que son de color de negro,
- 55] do los pintores famosos pintan los altos conceptos  
 que pide sujeto tal con el pincel de su ingenio.  
 Mucho me debe David, que siendo yo el más pequenho  
 de tu companha la santa quiera imitarlo en su vuelo.  
 Sirva este pequenho don que ante ti, Señor, presento,
- 60] en descuento de mis culpas cuantas he contra ti hecho.  
 Que a so l'ombra de tus alas seré seguro y cubierto  
 de toda lengua mordaz que en ella salvarme espero.

Y pues me quitaste hijos de mi *mispaghá*<sup>63</sup> herederos,  
 sírvase tu magestad me sea esto en lugar dellos,  
 65] hasta que a dárme los vuelvas en aquel dichoso tiempo  
 que a Job tu santo los dobles como a lo demás le has hecho.  
 Este envía en nuestros días, sea por tu merecimiento,  
 y por tu nombre, Adonay, no aguardes, Señor, al nuestro.

### 13. David Abenatar Melo; [Romance] <sup>64</sup>

1] Con todo mi corazón de día y noche clamo,  
 respóndeme, observaré, Adonay, tus fueros sacros.  
 Apretado, aflicto y triste te llamé para ser salvo  
 y guardar tus testamentos y obedecer tus mandatos.  
 5] Madrugo por la mañana llamarte como te llamo,  
 que a tu palabra esperé de ella mi refugio y amparo.  
 A las alboradas de ella mis ojos anticiparon  
 para hablar en tus dichos que de alma y corazón amo.  
 Cual tu merced mi voz oye, como tu juicio claro  
 10] me averigua, ¡oh, Adonay!, mira que en ti es confiado.  
 Los persigüentes maldad, Señor, a mí se llegaron  
 llenos de mal pensamiento con que a tu Ley olvidaron;  
 mas no pudieron conmigo, que cercano a mí te hallaron  
 y todos tus mandamientos de verdad me sustentaron.  
 15] Con esto vine a entender, viendo tus raros milagros,  
 que tus testamentos justos para siempre fueron dados.

### 14. Del Señor Eliachim Castiel In honorem & gloriam Abrahami Nuñez Bernal qui In Hispania Diem Clausit pro lege Dei exustus quia pius Ipsi obtulit; Epigramma <sup>65</sup>

Quid mentita replet codices celeberrima Phoenix  
 Vitam tune jactans, cum moribunda foco?  
 Nunc sileant Fabulae dum sunt miracula Nunes,  
 Aeu o Portentum, Martyriique Decus!  
 5] Quaeso cur tenebras Quaerat per tela, per ignes?  
 Cur instar vitae appetat ille necem?  
 Diligit ille: mori spernit Qui Verus amator,  
 Si non arsisset, Viveret ille minus <sup>66</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Hebrew משפחה 'family'.

<sup>64</sup> *Sylva de diferentes discursos* ... fol. 85v. This *romance* is designated by the transliteration *coph*, corresponding to the Heb. כּוּפּ.

<sup>65</sup> *Elogios ... Abraham Núñez Bernal* (Amsterdam 1664 or 1665) p. [15].

<sup>66</sup> 'By Sr. Eliachim Castiel, in honor and for the glory of Abraham Nuñez Bernal, who in Spain closed the day [= died], [and] for the Law of God surrendered [his life], burnt [at the stake] because he piously offered himself

15. Del Señor Joseph Francês de Hamburgo; Soneto <sup>67</sup>

- 1] Dispuesta al sacrificio la materia  
en la fragua del ara escandalosa,  
en cada acción un alma valerosa  
y un firme corazón en cada arteria.
- 2] Fija en tu voluntad constante y seria  
del padre Abraham la marca religiosa,  
llevan al cielo tu porción gloriosa,  
dejan al suelo tu mortal miseria.
- 3] Contra el tirano sin doblarte el ruego  
de la familia que viviendo amparas  
un ojo arrancas por dejarle ciego.
- 4] Ardiente amor, santa amistad declaras,  
pues cuando para Dios trasciende el fuego  
para tus hijos se quedó en las aras.

16. Del Señor Joseph Francês de Hamburgo, Epitafio al Jaxam  
Ishac Jesurum; [Décima] <sup>68</sup>

Aquí de un varão ciente  
se resolveu o corpo em terra,  
que desta mundana guerra  
fêz a humildade valente;  
da Lei santa ao fogo ardente  
tanto a matéria apurou  
que espírito só ficou,  
e para subir ligeiro  
a su centro verdadeiro  
o pesado aquí ficou.

17. Del Señor Joseph Francês de Hamburgo; [Soneto] <sup>69</sup>

- 1] Aquel reflejo o rayo cristalino  
del sol, que os ilumina soberano,

to God. Epigrams.— With what famous lies does the Phoenix fill books, / you presumptuously praising life when lies will perish in the fire? / Now let the stories be silent as long as Nuñes' miracles exist [= are remembered]. / Oh portent (extravagant tale) of the age, glory of the martyr! / Why, I ask, does he seek the shades through weapons and fire? / Why should the image of life seize at death? / This one prizes it; the true lover cultivates death / understanding that had he not burned, he would be living less'.

<sup>67</sup> *Elogios ... Abraham Núñez Bernal* (Amsterdam 1664 or 1665) p. [17].

<sup>68</sup> D. L. de BARRIOS, *Relación de los poetas*. Refer to no. 36, *supra*.

<sup>69</sup> In KAYSERLING 1859 pp. 313-314.

con que en la noche del galut tirano  
a luz de liberal abris camino;

- 2] aquí, como en retrato peregrino,  
doctas le imprimen vuestra pluma y mano,  
mostrando fácil el remedio humano  
en cognocencia del Temor Divino.
- 3] Éste en que el mismo amor campea tanto  
en años mozo, en ciencias dilatado,  
gloria os hace a Israel y al mundo espanto.
- 4] Rico de vuestro ingenio este tratado,  
como de erario del lenguaje santo,  
si era sin precio más serápreciado.

**18. Del Señor Joseph Francês de Hamburgo, Elogio apologético al Haham David Cohen de Lara; [Octava] <sup>70</sup>**

Amante el alto del más bajo mundo  
por su unión y su vínculo camina  
y en dulce liga de un amor profundo  
de la paz simboliza la doctrina;  
el ente incomprehensible y sin segundo  
entre los hombres a habitar se inclina,  
siendo de su grandeza único erario  
un templo, un sacerdocio, un santuario.

**19. Versos que fêz meu Senhor pai [Ishak de Matatías Aboab] a minha Senhora mai índose para Hamburgo a buscar a minha tia Rivca Justa, e era casado de poucos anos; [Décimas] <sup>71</sup>**

- 1] Cuando de ti me partí  
tus ojos negros y hermosos  
vide triste y llorosos  
y a llorar me persuadí;  
pero logo que entendí  
que en ausencia voluntaria  
no que temer suerte avara  
y de prendas rodeada  
te deixaba consolada,  
partir no fue acción contraria.
- 2] Mas después considerando

<sup>70</sup> In KAYSERLING 1859 pp. 313-314.

<sup>71</sup> ABOAB 1683 fol. 29r, London MS.; fol. 28r, Brussels MS.



la causa de tus enojos,  
 vierten lágrimas mis ojos  
 cuanto me voy alejando;  
 van amor representando  
 tus finezas, tu beldad,  
 y la mucha libertad  
 que fue no desierto amores  
 con que ausente tus calores  
 fuese el amor mitigando.

- 3] Pues si de prenda choras  
 de nuestro amor fuertes lazos,  
 te deixaba tres en brazos  
 perfetos, vistosos, raros,  
 que mucho te consolaras  
 viendo que ausente de ti  
 también lo estaba de mí:  
 «tata», «nen», Señora, «pecho»,  
 que por cada cual los pecha [*sic*]  
 su amor me olvide de ti.
- 4] A verte espero volver  
 y decir cuánto es de estima  
 la música de una prima  
 si es prima como mi Ester;  
 entre tanto es menester,  
 pues con los pimpollos tiernos  
 que son lazos sempiternos  
 de nuestro amor te dejé,  
 gozar en ellos mi fe  
 mientras no es posible vernos.

*Finis laus Deo*

## 20. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>72</sup>

- 1] Para que em voz sonora cantara seus louvores  
 ser rouxinol quisera dêstes sagrados montes.  
 Quisera ser mais libre e de les não tão longe,  
 mais ausente e cativo canto alegre não sofre.
- 5] Com todo, em quanto as sombras desta pesada noite  
 poem trégoa a meus receos e engano a meus temores,

<sup>72</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* (Amsterdam 1624) fol. [24v, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

- razão será que cessem meus olhos de ser fontes,  
 pôndoos nos cumes altos donde meu bem se esconde.  
 Pois nas penas e glórias meus companheiros fostes  
 10] e a vós sou comparado no ser firme e imóvel.  
 Lembremos *bems* passados, presentes disfavores,  
 porque esperansas firmes nossos males consolem.  
 Se a vós desconheserdes, disculpai, pátrios montes,  
 quem por tão largos anos os estrangeiros sofren.  
 15] Pode o legeiro tempo mudar formas e vozes,  
 porém vossas lembranças nunca tirar mais pode.

21. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>73</sup>

- 1] Presente em Sion vejo de meus progenitores  
 a prova da fé pura que ainda imitamos hoje,  
 se faltão sacrifícios, que meus êrros perdoem,  
 promesas imfalíveis nosso temor socorrem.  
 Té ver o alegre dia em que meus salvadores  
 desde teus cumes altos minha verdade mostrem.

22. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>74</sup>

- 1] Se em Sinay ponho os olhos, a voz se gela e o bronze  
 de meu coração duro em mil partes se rompe.  
 Se vós admira o verme, meo mal não vos assombre,  
 que poden meus delitos mudar glórias maiores.  
 5] Mais não que haja mudança em quem já mais a ouve,  
 nem que o concerto eterno que en vós se deu, se troque.

23. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>75</sup>

- 1] E vós, depositário do sumo Sacerdote,  
 que desprezando a vida deteve tantas mortes;  
 Vós, que em seu trance ouvistes meus lamentos entonces  
 por meu mal renovados com causas não menores.  
 5] Que muito que este fogo se dilate e prolongue!,  
 Té que das cinzas frias qual fénix me renove.

<sup>73</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [32r, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

<sup>74</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [35r, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

<sup>75</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [38v, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

**24. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>76</sup>**

- 1] O vós, túmulo santo, fiel erário a onde  
a incompreensivelmente seu fiel servo incobre!  
Nas profundas cavernas de vosso peito soem  
os amorosos ecos destas lembranças doces.
- 5] Até que das entranhas em vez de ervas e flores  
a alegre madre terra vivientes corpos brote.

**25. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>77</sup>**

- 1] Se de Guerizim vejo a alevantada fronte  
na presente baixesa meu ánimo se encolhe.  
Lembrando glórias tantas, bênçãos e favores,  
que hoje o contrário vejo por delitos enormes.
- 5] Até que passe a ira que o sol que se me esconde  
destas secas raízes férteis plantas renove.

**26. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>78</sup>**

- 1] E vós, monte felice, ara sagrada a onde  
sacrificou meu zêlo a superstição torpe.  
Ser Adonay, Deus, firme, gritando em altas vozes,  
sou por largo espaço pelos vezinhos montes.
- 5] Se há hoje quem discrepe cedo espero que torne,  
quem corações divisos faça brandos e acordes.

**27. Rehuel Jessurun; [Romance] <sup>79</sup>**

- 1] Vós, monte das olivas, que em meu delúvio forte  
me dais indícios claros de cessarem rigores;  
Quando o tribunal santo verei que o mundo otorgue  
a sentença do pleito que ainda trazemos hoje?
- 5] Mostre, o Senhor, seu braço, véjase sobre os montes,  
quem de seu reino eterno novas glórias pregõe.

**28. «De un señor de Hamburgho»; [Décimas] <sup>80</sup>**

- 1] Nace el hombre, y de la cuna  
buscando el túmulo incierto,  
dudoso entre vivo y muerto,

<sup>76</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [41r, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

<sup>77</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [43v, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

<sup>78</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [46r, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

<sup>79</sup> *Diálogo dos montes* fol. [49r, Act 1]: «Os músicos».

<sup>80</sup> *Elogios ... Ishak de Castro Tartás* 1648? ff. [98r-99r].

vaga sin quietud alguna  
en un cuerpo, en alma una;  
liga de paz transitoria,  
moviendo guerra notoria  
que o le salva o le condena,  
glorias le destinan penas,  
penas le destinan glorias.

- 2] Si abraza del apetito  
sin luz real lo aparente,  
solicita infelizmente  
pena para su delito;  
mas si inculpable o contrito  
al freno de la razón  
sujeta su inclinación  
no aparente, antes real,  
rayo de luz inmortal  
glorifica su elección.
- 3] Sale a luz en noche oscura  
Ishack en región extraña,  
donde la malicia baña  
su inocencia en agua impura;  
mas tanto que ve segura  
la elección que al alma importa,  
el pacto de Abraham le exhorta  
al sacrificio que paga,  
... [verse missing]  
su cuchillo sí que corta.
- 4] Si el predestinado viene  
(dicen) para salvación,  
y el precito es opinión  
que sabido el daño tiene,  
d'este el hábito previene  
tanto temor al pecado  
y resiste tan osado  
las fuerzas de su apetito  
que si naciera precito  
se hiciera predestinado.
- 5] Sigue el precepto divino  
como del alma alimento,  
mas de la vida el sustento  
le fuerza a andar peregrino;  
saltéale en el camino

el lobo, ladrón feroz,  
sordo a tanto llanto y voz,  
vara que inquiera el registro  
del alma, y de Dios ministro  
usurpa el oficio a Dios.

- 6] En su prisión, sepultura  
de vivientes, le acaricia  
falsa piedad y justicia,  
crisol que inmundando apura;  
mas el que sólo un Dios jura  
de sacrificar su vida,  
ganada cuando perdida  
por la soberana causa,  
que usa de piedad sin pausa  
de justicia con medida.
- 7] Dícenle que al mar incierto  
del mundo nadando entró,  
que el agua en que naufragó  
puede reducirle al puerto,  
que es sello y hábito cierto  
que al alma señala y viste,  
que si en ser muralla insiste  
al fuego hallará trabuco;  
responde, cual a Nabuco:  
«sabia juventud resiste».
- 8] Si en agua no hay firme letra,  
la vuestra imprimir es yerro;  
mi marca abierta con hierro  
hasta lo inmortal penetra,  
como cuesta sangre impetra  
blasón firme y verdadero,  
sin mudarse más espero  
vencer mi adversario atroz,  
que el buen soldado de Dios  
no sabe ser bandolero.
- 9] La mancha que en mí confieso  
limpie la llama en su fragua,  
borre el carácter del agua  
que decís que tengo impreso;  
ya será de culpa exceso,

que con este aviso peque  
sin que tal vestido trueque  
y en reliquias de naufragio  
el fuego sí que es sufragio  
para que el agua se seque.

- 10] Uno solamente es Dios,  
y por su glorioso nombre  
no hay tormento que me asombre  
ni muerte que juzgue atroz;  
a su tribunal mi voz  
clama de vuestra violencia,  
no importa que mi inocencia  
culpéis, si con Dios la abono  
que Éste sólo ocupa el trono  
de integridad y clemencia.
- 11] Movidos de la eficacia  
de estabilidad tan fuerte,  
con la más tirana muerte  
mandan reprimir su audacia;  
condenan por pertinacia  
condenar a un Dios criador;  
quieren que vivo el rigor  
del fuego sufra, ¡oh dilirio!,  
que le apliquen por martirio  
y a su lisonja mayor.
- 12] Sales al mortal suplicio,  
nuevo Ishack, que al santo i[mitas]  
en fe, aunque sollicitas  
notorio tu sacrificio;  
contra el sofístico vicio  
la verdad que te celebra  
allí sin mella ni quiebra  
mantiene en pública plaza  
que aunque dicen que adelgaza,  
ni adelgaza ni se quiebra.
- 13] La pira erigida en alto,  
formidable a quien la m[ira]  
a tus ojos no fue pira  
de error ni de sobr[esalto];  
firme en ella a todo asa[lto]

muestras al contrario ...  
 que con tu Dios va ...  
 de entrar su divin[idad]  
 y haciendo la hoguera ...  
 ... [verse missing] <sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> The manuscript text is incomplete. In 1725, the Philadelphia bibliophile James Logan purchased it from Isaac Miranda. Logan informs us in a note attached to the text that Miranda «tore out the first pages or the first twelve leaves of it».

## RESUMEN

El presente artículo es la primera entrega de un trabajo, cuya segunda parte aparecerá también en *Sefarad*. Incluye una introducción histórica y evaluativa, y textos de poemas en español, portugués y neolatín escritos en los siglos XVII y XVIII por sefardíes de Hamburgo. Examinados aisladamente, los poemas que componen este poemario muestran poca creatividad; pero si se consideran como la aportación de los sefardíes diaspóricos a un fenómeno pan-europeo, se observa que nos encontramos ante un intento de recrear y desde luego crear un nuevo discurso literario.

## SUMMARY

This is the first of a two-part study the intention of which is to reproduce and evaluate Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin poetry written by 17th and 18th-century Hamburg-based Sephardim. The general conclusion is that considered in isolation these poems are, at best, circumstantial and of limited creative significance, but when considered as part of a pan-European literary phenomenon they represent an attempt to create a new literary discourse.