

Harm den Boer

Bibliography and History. Two rare works by Isaac de Castro printed at Hamburg or Amsterdam?

In 1932, the great collector and bibliographer Alfonso Cassuto disclosed the existence of an extremely rare book written by a certain Isaac de Castro, titled „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ (On the beginning and restoration of the world)¹, published without address or printer in the year 1612. Cassuto had come across a copy of this work, which by itself had been somewhat overlooked by previous bibliographers², at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek of Hamburg, and discovered that it contained a hitherto unknown second work by the same author, called „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ (On the duty of the sages). Cassuto considered both works as belonging to one single edition and provided a short bibliographical edition together with an appraisal of the historical significance of both titles in the context of early Sefardic settlement in Northern Europe. The relevance of precisely this edition resides on its importance regarding the initial period of Jewish life in what is now called Germany, as the author and other persons mentioned in the works appear to have belonged to the Portuguese Jewish community of Hamburg. Moreover, „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ could be the first Jewish books to appear in that area. On the other hand, both works have been related to the Northern Netherlands as well. In fact, there has been some discussion on which community both works „belong to“, depending mainly on the city where they are supposed to have been printed: either Hamburg or Amsterdam. Cassuto surmised that all the typographical evidence of Isaac de Castro's work pointed to the Northern Netherlands, although he thought the author and sponsor of the edition were Portuguese Jews living at Hamburg. Unfortunately, the evidence provided by Cassuto is of a rather general nature, and his article was published without any reproduction of typographical details, thereby leaving the identification of the details and circumstances surrounding Isaac de Castro's work open to further speculation.³ The loss of the book together with other extremely rare and unique *Sefardica* from the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek during World War II has made matters far worse, as the three remaining copies of Isaac de Castro's edition are all incomplete, all of them lacking the second work „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“.⁴

Recently, I was thrilled to trace a volume containing both „Sobre o princípio do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“, in the magnificent collection of

Judaica at the Universitätsbibliothek of Uppsala. Upon examining this copy, it is finally possible to determine both the place where the volume was printed and to reveal the identity of the printer himself, as I shall argue hereonwards.

The two works by Isaac de Castro belong to a series of editions in Spanish and Portuguese language realized by Iberian immigrants of Northern Europe at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, sharing many of the particular features present in these publications, notably their lack of concrete information on where and by whom they were printed. The concealment of address and printer or even their outright falsifications are highly significant in the context of early Jewish settlement in Northern Europe, as has been demonstrated in studies by leading historians and bibliographers dealing with the topic.⁵

In his famous „Bibliographie en Historie“, Seeligmann, as passionate a book collector and bibliographer as Alfonso Cassuto, presented an overview of the first Jewish books printed in the territory of present day Holland, starting with a reprint in 1584 of a prayer book previously printed at Ferrara – the so-called „Mahzor Maguntin“ – and ending with 1627, the year in which Menasseh ben Israel founded the Jewish press. Seeligmann’s exploration of some sixteen editions probably printed in the Netherlands has since been completed and partially corrected by Herman Prins Salomon in his study on Fernão Alvares Melo alias David Abenatar Melo⁶, while actualizations, on the basis of newly available bibliographical data have been offered by Offenberg and den Boer.⁷ Salomon provided a careful analysis of Jewish liturgy printed in Spanish language in Amsterdam, offering insight in the motives Melo had to found his own Jewish print shop where some new prayer books were printed between 1617 and 1622.⁸ On the other hand, Salomon contested Seeligmann’s theory that Melo’s „Salmos“, published with the false address of *Franqua Forte* (Frankfurt) in 1626, were printed at Amsterdam, arguing instead that the book must have been realized at Hamburg. Salomon’s arguments are highly relevant to our present analysis of the works by Isaac de Castro, as he compares the „Salmos“ typography with all presently known extant or reported editions related to Hamburg, mentioning such details as vignettes, paper or type, again used in combination with historical information.⁹ As a consequence of this type of analysis, Salomon proposed that „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ should be considered as Hamburg rather than Amsterdam editions¹⁰, thus contesting Cassuto’s earlier hypothesis.¹¹

The Impressum as a Strategy

Many of the Spanish and Portuguese books printed for the Sefardic Jews in the Netherlands and Germany up to the 1630’s either present the reader with no infor-

mation at all as to where and by whom they were printed, occasionally even concealing the date of impression; or, they present outright misleading information, with falsified places, printers and even the year of publication. In such a context, in order to determine the bibliographical details, typographical information needs to be complemented with the historical background that explains for the concealments. On the use of falsified address and printer, several arguments have been forwarded. Seeligmann thought that the *Marranos* intended to send copies of their books to Spain and Portugal, and could mislead the Inquisition by mentioning cities as Frankfurt, Antwerp or Mainz, which were still reputed as catholic, and therefore orthodox. Although the bibliographer implicitly also recognized the commercial value of the address of Frankfurt – or its international reputation as the city of the Book Fair¹² his argument was dismissed by Salomon¹³, who instead offered other external and internal motives for the falsification or suppression of printing details, such as the wish to avoid censure from the local Protestant churches, in the case of the „Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur“ by *Franco de Mendonça et Companhia*¹⁴; or also from within the Jewish community itself, this being the case of the substitution of Frankfurt for Amsterdam on the title page of part of the printing of his „Conciliator“ (1632). In the last case, the *parnassim* would have reacted out of fear of the Calvinist opposition to Menasseh's book.¹⁵ The fictional name of Frankfurt adopted by Melo as the place of printing of his „Salmos“ was supposed to „disculpate the Hamburg Sefardic rabbinate of all responsibility“, again in a context of Christian, Protestant, opposition to overt Jewish practice.¹⁶

Convincing as this argumentation is, at least in the mentioned cases, it can, however, not be applied to all the early Spanish and Portuguese editions with a false or suppressed address, published in the Netherlands and Germany in the early seventeenth century. Some works by Joseph (Francisco) de Cáceres, „Los Siete días de la semana“ (1612) and „Diálogos satíricos“ (1616/17), or the Spanish translation of Maimonides' treatise on contrition by Samuel da Silva (of Hamburg) (1613) were issued with different title pages alternating Amsterdam with the falsified addresses of Antwerp and Frankfurt. In Cáceres' publications, we must take commercial motives into account, not dismissing Seeligmann's argument of misleading the Inquisition either. The „international issues“ of Cáceres' non Jewish works were surely intended for a non Jewish segment of the Spanish reading intended audience, whereas the issues printed overtly at Amsterdam were intended for the internal Portuguese Jewish market.¹⁷ The case of da Silva's „Libro de la tesuba“ or „Tratado de la thesuvah“, in two issues with the addresses of respectively *Francaforte* and *Amsterdam*, are more intriguing. As the only extant copy of the latter issue only has a manuscript title page, albeit in full typographical fashion, it could be supposed that da Silva would have suppressed the identification of Amsterdam in part of the issue addressed to the Portuguese Jewish readers at Hamburg. The close relation

between the Jewish communities at Amsterdam and Hamburg apparent from such an overtly Jewish publication could compromise the situation of early Jewish settlement in the German city, then still watched with hostility by the Lutheran Church.

In this context the suppression of the printing place in Isaac de Castro's two works can only be considered as a deliberate strategy, motivated by a still insecure position of a Jewish community within a Christian environment. As for the discussion on Hamburg or Amsterdam as the real printing place, the fact that the work originated at Hamburg makes it a similar case to Samuel da Silva's „*Libro de la tesuba*“: if „*Sobre o princípio dos sabios e restauração do mundo*“ and „*Sobre a obrigação dos sabios*“ were printed at Amsterdam, the concealment would serve the purpose of protecting the Hamburg Jews responsible for the edition.

Typographical Evidence

The Netherlands were reputed for the high quality of printing paper during this period. The paper is strong, clear and only occasionally affected by severe browning. To the contrary, German printing of the same period is known for its poor paper quality, with a typical brownish color, uneven wear and felt-like consistency. When applied to the early Sefardic editions, we could conclude that the appearance of poor paper in a particular copy induces to consider an edition as realized in Germany, but this argument cannot be reversed: when a copy is made on good paper, it could still have been printed in Germany as Portuguese Jews living at Hamburg, given their extensive contacts with the Portuguese Jews in the Netherlands, would have been able to purchase Dutch paper.

As the Dutch printing industry was far more developed than German printing, and, moreover, internationally oriented due to its large colonies of foreign immigrants, Dutch printing shops possessed the (Roman) *type* required to print in such languages as Spanish and Portuguese, whereas German printing houses frequently lacked the possibility of printing accents and tildes in the less used Roman type. Cassuto and Salomon have therefore repeatedly adduced the presence or absence of movable accents and, notably, the *tilde* – as in *ñ* and *ç* – to determine whether an edition was printed at Amsterdam or Hamburg.

The use of *decorative* elements such as large or small *vignettes*, the latter frequently combined in order to form decorative strings or borders, and that of embellished initials have also been pointed out in the distinction between Sefardic books printed in the Netherlands or Germany. Although the argument holds true for the general situation, Dutch books showing off a notably superior esthetic quality than German books of the early seventeenth century, it should be noted that the study

ISHAC de CASTRO
SOBRE O PRINSIPIO,
ERESTAVRACAO
DOMVNDQ.



A 14. de Adar, 5372.

ISHAC de CASTRO,
**SOBRE A VBRI-
GACAO DOS SABIOS,**
VIDA, E CVSTVMES, QUE
TAL NOME REQVERE, EDA
Vbrigacão que tem os Iudeus de ob-
servar, as declaraçoys he per-
seytos por elles declarados
para melhor guarda
da Ley de Deus.

Dirigido ao Señor IACOB
CORONEL.



A 14. De Adar, 5372.

Sobre o prinsipio, e restavracao do mvndo. By Ishac de Castro. [Amsterdam], f. Iacob Coronel, [pr. Albert Boumeester], 14 Adar 5372. Copies: Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek, Rosenthaliana, Ros. 1899 F 8; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Res 125P (lacking (¿)1 = title page, +A7 blank, -C7); New York, Jewish Theological Seminary 260:29; Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, Obr. 53:526 (bound after Sobre a obrigação, lacking (¿)1-8 and A1-6 = fourteen preliminary leaves)

Sobre a vbrigacao dos Sabios, vida, e cvstvmes, qve tal nome reqvere, e da vbrigacão que tem os iudeus de observar, as declaraçoyes he perseytos por elles declarados para melhor guarda da Ley de Deus.

By Ishac de Castro. [Amsterdam, pr. Albert Boumeester], 14 Adar 5372. Copies: Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, Obr. 53:526

of vignettes requires a careful analysis in which mere resemblance is never enough to make sound conclusions; as vignettes and type traveled from one printer to another and occasionally also from one place to another, only the cases in which vignettes or initials show evident signs of wear repeated along different editions can be used as positive evidence to single out a particular printer or printing shop.

„Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“: a Description

The complete edition containing „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“, printed in small octavo format, is composed of 112 leaves, 104 of them belonging to the first title, while the remaining eight constitute the second work. There are as many arguments to consider both works as a whole as there are to view them as separate editions. The fact that the gatherings are signed as a continuum (A–N⁸), and the author's remark that he decided to end his work on Creation and Deliverance with a second small treatise, plead for the first classification, while the appearance of a second title page, and a discontinued foliation – „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ – lacking any numbering – open the possibility that the second work was printed some time after the first work, or that the author decided to include it during the process of printing. It can be concluded that in any case, both works were considered as different, because all five of the known copies have a different composition of both titles. The copies extant in the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon, the Jewish Theological Seminary at New York and the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of Amsterdam only include „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“, while the copy at the Universitätsbibliothek of Uppsala begins with „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ followed by „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“, the latter work lacking however both its title page and preliminaries.¹⁸

The main work, „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ has a spectacular title page dominated by an engraving that depicts a sitting crowned lion, one leg resting on a round object – possibly the moon or a globe – the right leg holding the sun. On top of the Lion the word „Ivda“ is read, whereas the engraving is contained in a double circle, with the inner surrounding text or lemma „Andarão as gentes a tua luz, e os Reis ao resplendor de teu Sol“ (And the Nations shall walk at thy light, and kings at the brightness of thy rising [Is. 60:3], see above).¹⁹ At the bottom of the page, only the date of impression appears, according to the Jewish calendar A 14. de Adar, 5372, corresponding to 17th March 1612.

The verso side of the title page contains the upper inscription „Por despeza do Señor Iacob Coronel“ (At the expense of Señor Iacob Coronel) and below, an

impressive coat of arms, complete with the knight's helmet on top. The helmet's crest is a lion, holding a sword. The blazon, is divided in four squares, representing from top/left to right/bottom a marching lion, a standing gryphon, again a standing gryphon, and a tower. The inscription below the coat of arms reads: „Diriovido [sic] a Señora doña Sarah a Bravanel“. Given the attributed nobility of the dedicatee, I suppose that the coat of arms belonged to the Abravanel family, indeed one of the families with a long tradition in Sefardic nobility; however, I have not been able to find a similar coat of arms among the known Abravanel or Sefardic heraldry of the seventeenth century and earlier.

The following five unnumbered pages (leaves signed ¿2r-4r) are the proper dedication to the „Nobilissima Senhora, dona Sara Abravanel“, while no less than 20 unnumbered pages provide a detailed table of the issues commented in „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ in the order in which they are presented (leaves ¿4v-A6r). The verso of leaf A6 is reserved for errata. The work itself starts off at leave B1 and ends with M8v, foliated from 1-95, but in fact counts only 86 pages, as the numbering is highly erratic. The text itself is divided into 16 chapters.

The scope, contents and context of this work on Creation and Deliverance shall not be dealt with here: our first impression is that „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ is, rather than a strictly scriptural interpretation, a collection of thematically connected homiletic discourses. This opens up the possibility that the work is some form of reflection of actually delivered sermons, or a collection of so-called *asuntos predicáveis* (preachable topics), a popular genre in the Iberian religious (catholic) literature of the period. The homiletic/moral discourse can be recognized by interruption of the hermeneutical discourse – the interpretation of the meaning of the Scriptures, in a moral sense – through occasional instances of first person enunciation (*preacher*) addressed directly to a second person (*Jewish worshipper*), prompting him to better his behavior.

The second work, „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“, appended to the former, at least in the now lost copy at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek at Hamburg, starts off with a title page of its own. The full title reads „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios, vida, e costumes, que tal nome requiere, e da obrigação que tem os judeus de observar as declarações e preceitos por eles declarados para melhor guarda da ley de Deus“ (On the obligation by the sages. The life and habits required by that name and the obligation the Jews have to observe the interpretations and commandments declared by them, for a better observance of divine Law). In identical fashion to the first work, the title page is headed by the author's name *Ishac de Castro*. The title is directly followed by the statement that the work is dedicated to *o senhor Iacob Coronel*.

The title page lacks any kind of ornamentation, except from the typical disposition of its typography in the classical inverted triangle fashion. A small vignette,

at the bottom separates the title from the address. The latter only provides us with the supposed date of impression, „a 14. de Adar 5372“, the same day on which „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ was printed. Again, we find no information, neither on the title page or the remaining leaves, on where the work was printed, nor by whom.

„Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ consist of one gathering of eight leaves only, signed *N*, an indication that the author or publisher intended it to be appended to „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“; the numbering, however, is discontinued in the sense that the leaves of the second work bear no numbering at all. The verso side of the title page is blank, and the work starts off at the second leaf (*N2r*), finishing at the final leaf of the gathering (*N8v*).

Again, the contents will not be dealt with here. The title is rather accurate as the work is about the importance of rabbinical authority, dealing with the two sides of the question, both the required respect and obedience from the part of the congregants and the moral qualities required by the (religious) leaders themselves in order to deserve the authority they are entrusted with. The work seems to belong thus to the very actual question of the so frequently disputed rabbinical authority in early Sefardic settlements from New Christian origin. Actual as the topic might have been, one will not find references to concrete events or persons in the treatise. Again we deal with a kind of moral discourse of a general nature.

History: Isaac de Castro, Jacob Coronel and Sarah Abravanel

Isaac de Castro

The first puzzle to be resolved is posed by the persons involved in the edition of „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“, starting with the identity of the author himself. Leaving aside the all too evident erroneous identifications with Isaac Orobio de Castro (1620–1687) and Isaac Cardoso (1603/4–1683), made by early bibliographers, Kayserling not excepted²⁰, the question that remains is that no person called Isaac de Castro is known to have existed among the early Portuguese Jews of both Amsterdam and Hamburg. Alfonso Cassuto has proposed as the most likely candidate the name of Isaac Namias de Castro (1580–1669), son of the famous physician Rodrigo de Castro (David Namias, c. 1550–1627); reasoning that he did not find any person by the name of Isaac de Castro among the first Portuguese Jews living in the Netherlands²¹, whereas to the contrary, a positive identification was a real possibility among members of the Namias de Castro family in Hamburg.²² We could add to the negative argument offered by Cassuto, the fact that the Namias de Castro family was known for its active role in Jewish life at Hamburg, and the fact that

both „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ are manifestations of a notably zealous attitude, preoccupied with the integration of former Iberian *conversos*. Contrarily, it could be argued that we know of no other work or action by Isaac Namias de Castro in this sense, and we lack the undoubtedly precious information that could have been provided by his appearance in any form of records regarding early Jewish life in Germany.²³

Jacob Coronel

According to Cassuto the Hamburg identity of the author is enforced through the dedication of both „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ to Jacob Coronel. Again, we can confirm the initial assessment by Cassuto that no Jacob Coronel can be found during the period in which both works were printed in the Northern Netherlands, whereas to the contrary there are numerous references to a Jacob Coronel living at Hamburg at the time. This rich Portuguese merchant also known as Gonçalo Lopes Coutinho (d. 1640) was an influential person most befitting to the condition of sponsor for the publication of Castro's books.²⁴ Coronel was co-founder of the society for dowry „Santa companhia de dotar orphans e donzelas“, established by the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam in 1615, and he was its representant at Hamburg.²⁵

Sarah Abravanel

The most mysterious person mentioned in Isaac de Castro's works is, still, Sarah Abravanel. Despite the appearance of a prominent coat of arms, and the name of *dona* Sarah Abravanel on the verso of „Sobre o princípio e restauração's“ title page, together with a four pages long dedication, Isaac de Castro's does not provide enough detail on his patroness to enable us to situate her place in the edition, not to mention Sephardic history. From the dedication we only gather that he offered „this bouquet of flowers culled from the garden of the Holy Writ for You, as a descendant of that so illustrious blood and zealous heart, which in the Kingdom of Portugal served to protect and defend the afflicted Jews, risking its life to give it to them“. Would she be related to dona Bienvenida Abravanel of the famous family of Spanish financiers who settled in Italy after the Expulsion of 1492?

Typographical analysis

In order to establish where Isaac de Castro's works were printed, I shall deal with its main typographical features, trying to make good use of illustrations to sustain the conclusions drawn up from the direct examination of the extant copies of „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ and „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“.

Paper

The paper is, in all copies extant, of a good to excellent quality. Cassuto (1927) listed the paper of the copy he examined at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek at Hamburg among the elements that could only belong to works printed in the Netherlands, although he did not provide any detail on its properties. Salomon, basing his conclusions upon the copy at the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon lists the paper among other elements to make the similarly general statement that „they are typically German”.²⁶ Comparing the paper to that used in Hamburg non Jewish editions of the same period, such as Jacob Reneccium's, „Tria controversa problemata oder Drey Streit-Fragen“, published at Hamburg by Michael Herings in 1612, or Rodrigo de Castro's, „Medicus politicus“, printed at Hamburg by Froben in 1614, or even the „CL Salmos“ by David Abenatar Melo, printed presumably at Hamburg in 1626, one finds a typically brownish paper in the three latter, with a felt-like consistency in Reneccium and Castro, whereas the paper of all extant copies of Isaac de Castro's work is clear and of a far superior quality.

Type

Salomon (1982: 158) and Cassuto (on „Tratado de Herem“, which he supposed printed at Hamburg²⁷, single out the defective qualities of German typography regarding the printing of Spanish and Portuguese works. Upon examining Melo's „Salmos“, Salomon argues that Hamburg printers „were not equipped to cope with Iberian tongues either, since they were unable to provide a ‚c‘ with a cedilla in Roman nor an ‚n‘ with a tilde“. Regarding Isaac de Castro's „Sobre o princípio“ ... Salomon also observes the „printer's lack of a movable til accent and the appearance of the type [?]“, a conclusion we cannot share. Cassuto observes that in the „Tratado de Herem“, printed in 1618, the printers were not able to make the *õ*, printing instead a Gothic *o*, and had a special character in order to compensate for the lack of *ç*.²⁸

Although at this stage I am not able to present a careful analysis of the different Roman types used in „Sobre o princípio ...“ and „Sobre a obrigação ...“ the general aspect is that of a careful typography, with a firm, regular setting. With respect to the use of movable tilde and accents, both *ñ* and *ç* appear with normality, whereas the typically Portuguese *o* with tilde *õ* does appear, albeit only occasionally, extensive use is being made instead of *accent aigu* and *accent grave*. As both the Portuguese spelling of the seventeenth century was far from regular and the use of accents would also depend on the copy provided by the author, I see no reason to range the type used in Castro's works among the more *primitive* character of German typography.

A further observation should be made. In all the works printed at Hamburg,

Jewish and non-Jewish, the Roman type, apart from a different general aspect I can presently not give evidence for, makes use of ending consonants with a kind of ornamental lower tail piece, resembling calligraphic writing. This kind of types is completely absent among works printed in the Netherlands. Moreover, in Hamburg printing, initial „J“ if often used instead of „I“ („Jo“ instead of „yo“ or „io“), a feature also lacking in Dutch printing in Roman letter. The analysis of the types used in Castro's works unmistakably points to the Northern Netherlands.

Initial decorative capitals

I shall not compare the normal initial roman capitals normally used in both works at the start of a new chapter or section. Cassuto mentioned some similarity between the capitals used in the „Segunda parte del Sedur“ printed at Amsterdam in 1612, some three weeks after Castro's works were finished. In what I have seen, the type used does not seem very specific. A careful letter by letter analysis would be required to establish if we can really speak of an identical typeset having been used.

Quite to the contrary, the decorative initial letters in „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ offer a great deal of information on the printing. The elegantly carved initial capitals with flower motives and vases such as the A (?)2r, D (B1r), C, (E7r), do resemble Dutch printing of early seventeenth century more than German printing, as proposed by Salomon.²⁹ Although I have as yet not been able to confer both works, the initial A used in „Sobre o princípio ...“ (on the second leaf of the preliminaries, signed „(?)“2r) is very similar, if not identical with the initial A apparent from the first published regulations of „Dotar orphans e donzellas“, printed at Amsterdam in 1615.

It is, however, the discovery of „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ that offers the most convincing proof that both works must have been printed at Amsterdam. The initial P on leaf N2r (fig. 8) is, in fact, identical with the initial P in the edition of Samuel da Silva's „Libro de la tesuba“, supposedly printed at Amsterdam (fig. 9). The initials present in both works have a characteristic sign of wear at the right part of the standing foot of the P, a small missing piece that must be considered an exclusive feature. The very similar arrangement of the title page in the Frankfurt issue of „Libro de la tesuba“, with an almost identical vignette printed in the same place as on „Sobre a obrigação“ further strengthen the hypothesis that the two works were the work of one and the same printer. If this holds true, a further possibility should be discussed. We could assume that both „Sobre a obrigação ...“ and „Libro de la tesuba“, their authors belonging to the Portuguese Jewish community at Hamburg, were printed, in fact, at Hamburg. In order to exclude this possibility, a further proof is needed to establish that one or the other work was in fact printed at Amsterdam.

Vignettes and other decorative pieces

The most spectacular elements in Isaac de Castro's work are evidently the engraved title page with the allegorical lion of Juda and the coat of arms on the back of the title page, but as these wood-cut engravings appear to belong exclusively to „*Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*“, they are of limited value in our assessment of the typography. Most probably, the irregular feature of the engraving, and the fact that it's somewhat primitive nature dominates over the typography of the book itself, have contribute to the impression that the edition belongs to German instead of Dutch typography.

The small block vignettes used through „*Sobre o princípio ...*“ (leaves C3v, C6v, E8v, F7r and K3v) and the block vignette on the title page of „*Sobre a obrigação ...*“ are very close the fashion of vignettes as decorative element used in other Sefardic editions of the period, notably Bahya ibn Paquda's „*Libro de las obligaciones de los corazones*“ printed presumably at Amsterdam in 1610, the Spanish Bible printed at Amsterdam in 1611. Very similar vignettes and their use are also present in the already mentioned „*Libro de la tesuba*“ by Samuel da Silva, published in 1613. Although all these editions have a similar typographical aspect, we cannot conclude, however, that the vignettes single them out as belonging to the Northern Netherlands. Block vignettes of a very similar nature are also found in German printing of the seventeenth century, and only a detailed analysis of single vignettes concentrating on particular defects or signs of wear could really help to establish where and possibly by whom one of the early Sefardic books was printed.

We need to refer again to „*Libro de la tesuba*“ to establish a final argument in our analysis. Its last printed leaf, F4v (corresponding to p. 44, fig. 10) has a large very characteristic vignette tail piece, which is to be found in another early Sefardic work as well, namely, „*Los siete días de la semana*“ by Josepho alias Francisco de Cáceres, published in Amsterdam between 1612 and 1613, and in its Antwerp issue presumably in 1612. Both from the title pages of this Spanish translation of Du Bartas's popular poem on Creation and from archival sources at our disposal, we know that this work was printed by Albert Boumeester, a Dutch printer who lived in the Breestraat, very close to where the early Sefardim of Amsterdam lived. The combination of our previous conclusion that Isaac de Castro's „*Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*“ and „*Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*“ were printed at the same house as Samuel da Silva's „*Libro de la tesuba*“, together with the present conclusion that „*Libro de la tesuba*“ must have been printed by the printer of Cáceres' „*Los siete días de la semana*“, namely Albert Boumeester, permits, therefore the latter was in fact responsible for all four editions, all realized at Amsterdam in a limited period ranging from 18th March 1612 („*Sobre o princípio*“; „*Sobre a obrigação*“) to 30th May 1613 („*Libro de la tesuba*“).

Conclusion

The discovery and analysis of a copy of „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“ by the Hamburg Sefardic author Isaac de Castro (= Isaac Namias de Castro 1580–1669?) have permitted us to finally establish Amsterdam and Albert Boumeester as the place and printer of the author's major work „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“. A short survey on early Spanish and Portuguese printing in Northern Europe shows that a rigorous typographical study on this subject is still lacking, despite the serious efforts entailed by eminent bibliographers and scholars. The availability of new bibliographical resources will, however, greatly help to answer many of the questions, both bibliographical and historical, on the fascinating project of rejuvination among the Iberian New Christians in Northern Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century, apparent from the religious and didactical books published in Spanish and Portuguese language.

- 1 A detailed bibliographical description with a precise typographical reproduction of the title and title page is offered below. From hereon I shall refer to both titles using modern Portuguese spelling.
- 2 Meyer Kayserling, *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judaica*, Strassbourg 1890, S.VIII, does not mention any place, nor if the work was printed or extant in manuscript only; Sigmund Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en histoire: bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der eerste Sephardim in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1927, did not include „Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo“ in his survey of early Sefardic editions of the Northern Netherlands.
- 3 Herman Prins Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian, Fernão Álvares Melo (1569–1632)*, Paris 1982; Harm den Boer, „Spanish and Portuguese Editions from the Northern Netherlands in Madrid and Lisbon Public Collections. I. Towards a Bibliography of Spanish and Portuguese Editions from the Northern Netherlands (±1580 – ±1820)“, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana* 22 (1988), pp. 97-143; 23 (1989), pp. 38-77 and pp. 138-177; Idem, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing from the Northern Netherlands 1584 – 1825. Descriptive Bibliography*, Leiden 2003, CD-Rom; Adri K. Offenberg, „Spanish and Portuguese Sephardic Books Published in the Northern Netherlands before Menasseh ben Israel

(1584–1627)“, in: *Dutch Jewish History*, vol III, Jerusalem 1993, pp. 77-96; Michael Studemund-Halévy, „Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg: erster Teil“, *Lusorama* 32, pp. 85-101; „Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg: zweiter Teil“, *Lusorama* 33, pp. 41-72; Idem, „Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken in Hamburg“, in: *Menora. Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 1997, pp. 150-180.

- 4 Amsterdam, *Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana*, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary; Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional*, lacking titlepage (= -(z)1); Uppsala, *Universitätsbibliothek*, bound after „Sobre a obrigação dos sábios“, lacking titlepage and preliminaries (= -(z)6, -A6).
- 5 Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en historie* (as in note 2); Alfonso Cassuto, „Zur Bibliographie und Geschichte der portugiesischen Juden in Hamburg. 1. Ein seltener nordholländischer Druck“, in: *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 76 (1932), p. 215-219; Jacob da Silva Rosa, *Die spanischen und portugiesischen gedruckten Judaica in der Bibliothek des Jüd.-portug. Seminars Ets Haim in Amsterdam. Eine Ergänzung zu Kayserlings Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judaica*, Amsterdam 1933; Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3); Offenberg, *Spanish and Portuguese Sephardic Books* (as in note 3); Harm den Boer, „Ediciones falsificadas de Holanda en el siglo XVII: escritores sefardi-

- tas y censura judaica", in: *Varia bibliographica. Homenaje a José Simón Díaz*, Kassel 1988, pp. 99-104; Idem, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing* (as in note 3).
- 6 Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3).
- 7 den Boer, *Spanish and Portuguese Editions* (as in note 3); Idem, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing* (as in note 3),
- 8 Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3), pp. 144-154.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-159.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 11 When referring to two works by Abraham Cohen Herrera (Alonso Núñez Herrera), „*Epitome de la lógica*“ and „*Libro de las definiciones*“, published without place nor date, Salomon also proposes them as having being printed at Hamburg rather than in the Netherlands, although awaiting further analysis (Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3), pp. 185-186). Offenberg did not mention both works in his surveys on Spanish and Portuguese Sefardi books published in the Northern Netherlands (Offenberg, *Spanish and Portuguese Sephardic Books* [as in note 3]), which implies that he did not regard them as works possibly printed at the Netherlands.
- 12 Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en historie* (as in note 2), p. 50, n. 1.
- 13 Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3), p. 183.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 den Boer, *Ediciones falsificadas* (as in note 5).
- 18 Amsterdam, *Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana*, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary; Lisbon, *Biblioteca Nacional*, lacking titlepage (= -(z)1); Uppsala, *Universitätsbibliothek*, bound after „*Sobre a obrigação*“, lacking titlepage and preliminaries (= -(z)6, -A6).
- 19 Quotation from Is. 60:3: „And nations shall walk at thy light, and kings at the brightness of thy rising.“
- 20 Baltasar (Isaac) Orobio de Castro was of course not even born when „*Sobre o princípio*“ and „*Sobre a obrigação*“ were printed, and Fernando (Isaac) Cardoso, apart from the obvious difference in name, was born around 1604, and would not leave Spain before 1648.
- 21 See Cassuto, *Zur Bibliographie und Geschichte* (as in note 5), where he mentions that such a person was not reported in any contemporary historical source.
- 22 Idem (as in note 5); Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden*, Hamburg 2000.
- 23 Aron Leone Leoni and Herman Prins Salomon, „*La Nation Portugaise de Hambourg en 1617 d'après un document retrouvé*“, in: Henry Méchoulan and Gérard Nahon (eds.), *Mémorial I.-S. Révah. Études sur le marranisme, l'hétérodoxie juive et Spinoza*, Paris-Louvain 2001, pp. 263-293. Epitaph and picture of the tombstone of Isaac de Namias de Castro in: Michael Studemund-Halévy/Gaby Zürn, *Zerstört die Erinnerung nicht. Der Jüdische Friedhof Königstrasse in Hamburg*, Hamburg, 2. verb. und erw. Aufl. 2004, pp. 148-149.
- 24 Cassuto, *Zur Bibliographie und Geschichte* (as in note 5), p. 215. The source mentioned by Cassuto is precisely of March 1612 and contains two persons with the name Jacob Coronel. See Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches* (as in note 22), p. 369. Cassuto mentions a Jacob Coronel who appeared in 1615 as one of the co-founders of the Society for Dewry, *Dotar orphās e donzelas*, in Amsterdam and rightly concludes that said Coronel would still live in Hamburg in 1612; Michael Studemund-Halévy, „*Die portugiesisch-spanischen Grabinschriften in Norddeutschland*“, in: *Aschkenas* 7 (1997) 2, pp. 389-439, here: pp. 425, 434.
- 25 Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon* (as in note 22), p. 369.
- 26 Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3), pp. 156-157.
- 27 Michael Studemund-Halévy, „*Zwischen Amsterdam und Hamburg. Sephardische Bücherschicksale im 17. Jahrhundert*“, in: Norbert Rehrmann and Andreas Koechert (eds.), *Spanien und die Sepharden. Geschichte, Kultur, Literatur*, Tübingen 1999, p. 69-92, here: p. 82.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 Salomon, *Portrait* (as in note 3), p. 159.