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Omnia in Eo

Studies on Jewish Books and Libraries
in Honour of Adri Offenberg
Celebrating the 125th Anniversary
of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana
in Amsterdam

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Isaac de Castro, Albert Boumeester and early Sephardi Printing in Amsterdam¹

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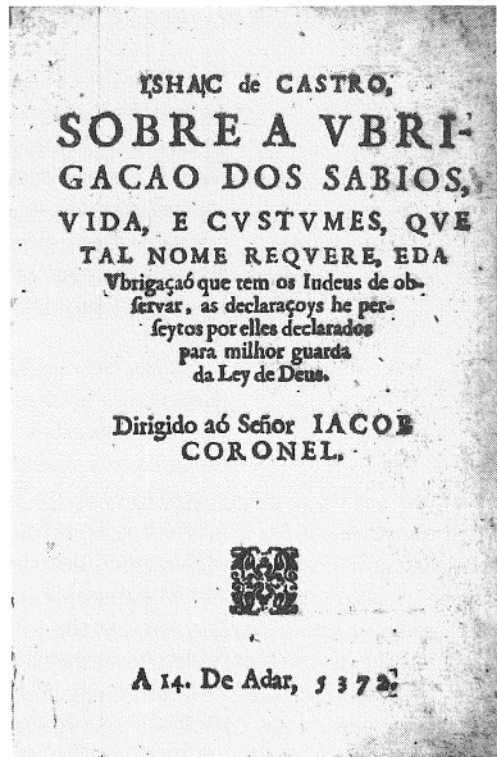
In 1932, the great collector and bibliographer Alfonso Cassuto revealed the existence of an extremely rare book written by a certain Isaac de Castro, entitled *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* ('On the beginning and restoration of the world', fig. 1),² published without printer's name or location in the year 1612. Cassuto had come across a copy of this work, which had been overlooked by previous bibliographers,³ at the Staatsbibliothek (now 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', fig. 2). Cassuto thought both works were part of a single edition and provided a short bibliographical description together with an appraisal of the historical significance of both titles in the context of early Sephardic settlement in Northern Europe.

The relevance of this edition stems from the information it provides about the initial period of Jewish life in northern Germany, since the author and other persons mentioned in the works appear to have belonged to the Portuguese Jewish community of Hamburg. Indeed, *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* may have been the first Jewish books to appear in the area. Both works are also connected to the Northern Netherlands, since around 1610 several Spanish and Portuguese books were printed in Amsterdam for Portuguese immigrants who had begun to organise Jewish communities there. The two books are at the centre of the discussion about where a number of Spanish and Portuguese volumes in which no printer or location is mentioned were actually published: Hamburg or Amsterdam. Cassuto surmised that the typographical evidence of Isaac de Castro's work pointed to the Northern Netherlands, although he thought the author and sponsor were Portuguese Jews living in Hamburg. Unfortunately, the evidence provided by Cassuto is rather general and his article was published without any repro-



Fig. 1
Title page of *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*, Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana

Fig. 2
Title page of *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*, Universitätsbibliothek, Uppsala



duction of typographical details, leaving the identification of these and the circumstances surrounding Isaac de Castro's work open to speculation.⁴ The loss of the book together with other extremely rare and unique Sephardica from the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek during the Second World War exacerbated matters, since the three remaining copies of Isaac de Castro's edition were all incomplete, lacking the companion work, *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*.⁵

Recently, while preparing the publication of a bibliography of *Spanish and Portuguese Printing in the Northern Netherlands 1584-1825*,⁶ I discovered a volume containing both *Sobre o princípio do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* in the magnificent collection of Judaica at the Universitetsbibliotek of Uppsala. From the microfilm reproduction of this valuable book provided by the library it was evident just how crucial the second title was, since it was now possible to determine where the edition was printed. This present description of both titles therefore sheds new light on early Jewish printing in Northern Europe, since the typographical details contained in *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* permit us not only to determine where the volume was printed, but also by whom.

Early Printing for the Portuguese Jews of Northern Europe

The two works by Isaac de Castro are among several in Spanish and Portuguese by Iberian immigrants to Northern Europe at the close of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. They share many of the features of these publications, notably an absence of concrete information on where and by whom they were printed. In fact the concealment or outright falsification of the printer's name and location is a significant factor in the context of early Jewish settlement in Northern Europe, as has been demonstrated in studies by leading historians and bibliographers.⁷

In his famous *Bibliographie en Historie*, Sigmund Seeligmann, as passionate a book collector and bibliographer as Alfonso Cassuto, presented an overview of the first Jewish books printed in the Dutch Republic from a reprint of a prayerbook previously printed in Ferrara (the so-called Mahzor Maguntia) in 1584, to 1627, the year in which Menasseh ben Israel founded his Jewish press. He was able to identify many of the rare editions he had personally come across or knew of, providing key typographical information on such details as paper, vignettes and type used in the editions. Thus on the basis of a particular vignette, printed prominently on the title page, Seeligmann argued that a prayerbook printed in 'Maguntia' according to its colophon, had in fact been printed in Dordrecht by the Dutch printer Peeter Verhagen, presumably for Portuguese New Christians returning to Judaism in Antwerp.⁸ On the other hand, using historical sources, Seeligmann argued that 'Franco de Mendoça et compañía', listed as editor of the *Orden de Roshasana y Kipur*, printed in 5364 (1604) was probably Isaac Franco Mendes, one of the founders of Amsterdam's Neve Shalom community. Seeligmann's exploration of some sixteen volumes 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 Melo,⁹ while Adri Offenberg and I, on the basis of newly available bibliographical data, have worked further on Seeligmann's list.¹⁰ Salomon provided a careful analysis of Jewish liturgy printed in Spanish in Amsterdam, offering insight into Melo's reasons for founding his own Jewish print shop, which published various prayerbooks in Spanish between 1617 and 1622.¹¹ On the other hand, Salomon contested Seeligmann's theory that Melo's *Salmos*, published with a fictitious location of *Franqua Forte* (Frankfurt) in 1626, were printed in Amsterdam, arguing instead that it must have come from a Hamburg press. Salomon's arguments are relevant to the present analysis of Isaac de Castro's works, since he compares the *Salmos* typography with all known extant or reported editions relating to Hamburg, mentioning details such as paper, vignettes and type used in these editions, in combination with historical data.¹² In applying this analysis, Salomon proposed that *Sobre*

o princípio e restauração do mundo and *Sobre a ubrigação dos sábios* must have been printed in Hamburg rather than Amsterdam,¹³ thus contesting Cassuto's earlier hypothesis.¹⁴

This is not the place to review all the early Jewish books printed in Spanish and Portuguese in the Netherlands and Hamburg; for the present analysis of the two works by Isaac de Castro two aspects relating to early Sephardic printing in Northern Europe are of interest: the relevance of falsification and suppression of printing details on title pages and elsewhere, and typographical evidence as an aid to determining whether a work was printed in the Netherlands (Amsterdam) or in Germany (Hamburg).

The Impressum as a Strategy

Many of the Spanish and Portuguese books printed for the Sephardic Jews of the Netherlands and Germany before the 1630s either present the reader with no information 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 fictitious locations, printers and even the year of publication. In order to discover the real bibliographical details, it is necessary to place the typographical information in its historical context to explain why this fiction was required. Several arguments have been suggested for the use of fictitious locations and printers' names. Seeligmann thought that these former Marranos intended to send books to Spain and Portugal, and that they hoped to mislead the Inquisition by mentioning cities such as Frankfurt, Antwerp or Mainz, which were still Catholic. Although he also implicitly recognised the commercial value of the Frankfurt address, with its international reputation as the home of the Book Fair,¹⁵ this argument was dismissed by Salomon,¹⁶ who instead offered other external and internal motives for the falsification or suppression of printing details, such as the wish to avoid censure from local Protestant clerics, in the case of the *Orden de Roshas-anahy Kipur* by Franco de Mendoça et Companhia,¹⁷ or even from within the Jewish community itself, as with the substitution of Frankfurt for Amsterdam on the title page of part of Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator* (1632). With respect to the latter, the *parnassim* may have reacted out of fear of Calvinist opposition to Menasseh's book.¹⁸ The fictitious location of Frankfurt adopted by Melo for his *Salmos* was intended to absolve Hamburg's Sephardi rabbinate of all responsibility, again in the context of Protestant opposition to overt Jewish practice.¹⁹



Fig. 3a
Title page of *Los siete dias de la semana*, Plantijn Moretus, Antwerp

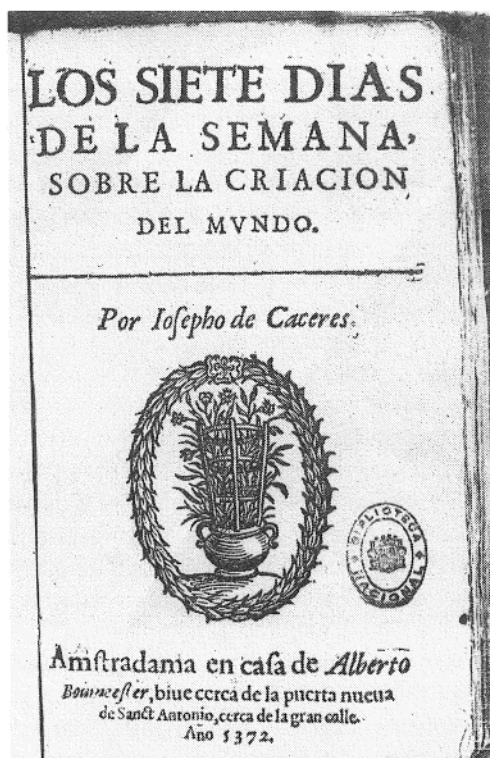


Fig. 3b
Title page of *Los siete dias de la semana*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

However attractive this argument, it cannot be applied to all the early Spanish and Portuguese editions with fictitious or suppressed locations that appeared in the Netherlands and Germany in the early seventeenth century. Some works by Joseph (Francisco) de Cáceres, *Siete días de la semana* (1612, figs. 3a, 3b) and *Diálogos satíricos* (1616/1617, figs. 4a, 4b), or the Spanish translation of Maimonides' treatise on contrition by Samuel da Silva (of Hamburg) (1613, fig. 5) appeared with different title pages, alternating Amsterdam with the fictitious locations of Antwerp and Frankfurt. While Seeligmann's argument regarding the attempt to deceive the Inquisition cannot be discounted in the case of Cáceres' publications, commercial motives were clearly a factor too. Evidently, Cáceres' international editions of non-Jewish works were intended for a non-Jewish segment of the Spanish public, whereas volumes printed overtly in Amsterdam were intended for the Portuguese Jewish market.²⁰ The case of Da Silva's *Libro de la tesuba* or *Tratado de la thesuvah*, purporting to be printed in Francaforte and Amsterdam respectively, is more intriguing. Since the sole extant copy of the latter has a manuscript title page, albeit in full typographical style, Da Silva presumably withdrew the identification

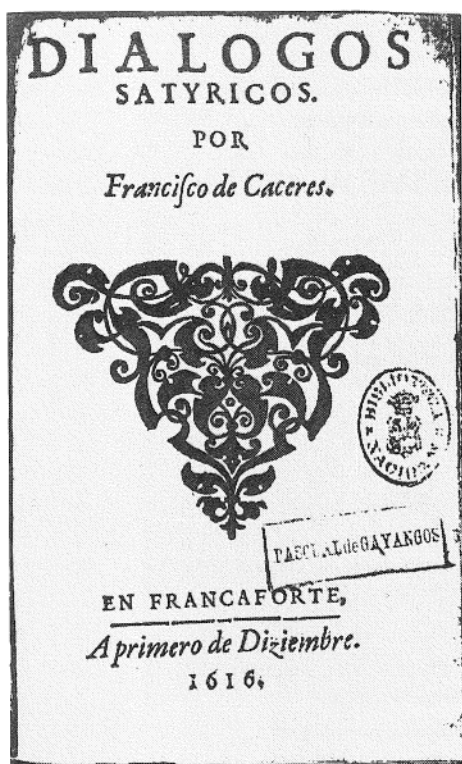


Fig. 4a
Title page of *Diálogos satíricos*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

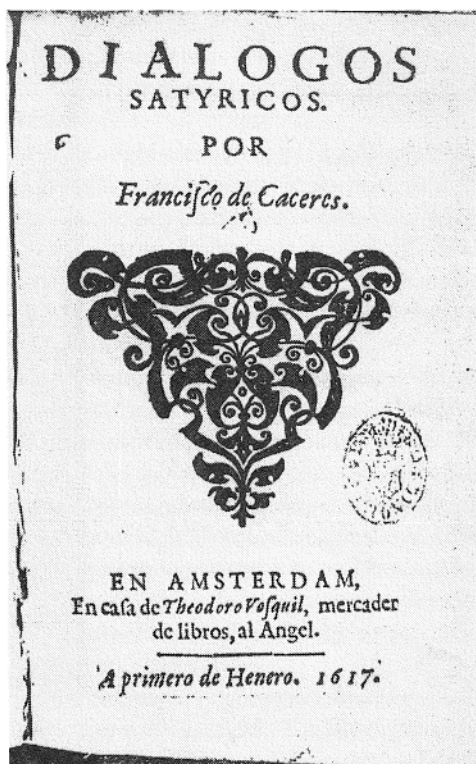
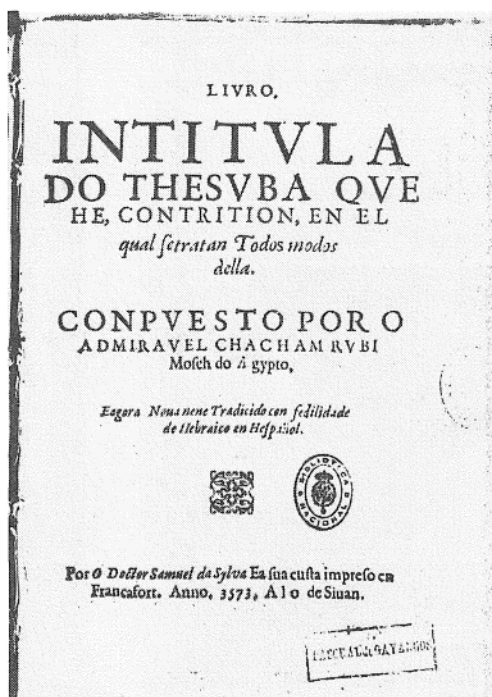


Fig. 4b
Title page of *Diálogos satíricos*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

of Amsterdam in that part of the print run destined for Portuguese Jewish readers in Hamburg. Apparently, such an overtly Jewish publication might draw attention to the close ties between the Jewish communities of Amsterdam and Hamburg, and might compromise the position of the nascent Jewish settlement in the German city, which was viewed with hostility by the Lutheran Church.

In this context, the suppression of the printing location in Isaac de Castro's two works was surely a deliberate strategy, motivated by the still insecure position of a Jewish community within a Christian environment. Whether Hamburg or Amsterdam was the actual location, the fact that the work originated in Hamburg connects it to Samuel da Silva's *Libro de la tesuba*. If *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* were printed in Amsterdam, the subterfuge was intended to protect the Hamburg Jews responsible for the edition.

Fig. 5
Title page of *Libro de la
tesuba*, Biblioteca Nacional,
Madrid



Typographical Evidence

Since Seeligmann, scholars studying early Jewish Spanish and Portuguese publications in northern Europe have used typographical evidence to distinguish volumes printed in the Netherlands from those printed in Germany. It is useful to review these typographical arguments, since they are more complex than the apparently straightforward nature of their evidence might suggest. Moreover, organising the arguments provides a solid framework for the typographical analysis of *Sobre o princípio e res-tauração do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*.

One element often cited when evaluating early seventeenth-century Dutch or German editions is the quality of the paper. The Netherlands was famous for its printing paper in this period. It is strong, clear and only occasionally affected by severe browning. By contrast, German printing of the same period is known for its poor quality paper, with its typical brownish colour, uneven wear and felt-like consistency. When examining early Sephardic editions, poor quality paper is an indicator that a volume may have been published in Germany. However, the opposite

is not necessarily true. A volume printed on good paper may still have been printed in Germany, since Portuguese Jews living in Hamburg, who maintained extensive contacts with Portuguese Jews in the Netherlands, may well have purchased Dutch paper.

Since Dutch printing was more sophisticated than German printing, and geared to large communities of foreign migrants in the Netherlands, Dutch print shops possessed the romance characters required for Spanish and Portuguese, unlike German print shops. Cassuto and Salomon regularly noted the presence or absence of movable accents, such as the *tilde* and the *cedilla* (as in ñ and ç), as evidence in determining whether an edition was printed in Amsterdam or Hamburg.²¹

The use of decorative elements such as large or small vignettes, the latter frequently combined in order to form decorative strings or borders, and of embellished initials, has also been cited as a distinctive feature. Although the argument is generally valid (most Dutch books are indeed of superior aesthetic quality), the study of vignettes requires careful analysis in which mere resemblance is never enough for sound conclusions; since vignettes and type found their way from one printer to another and occasionally also from one city to another, only where vignettes and initials reveal signs of wear from repeated use in successive editions do they offer positive evidence of a specific printer or print shop.

Finally, details such as binding and paper edging have also been cited to support a hypothesis in one or another direction.²² Clearly this kind of evidence is rarely relevant, since books could be sold unbound, and once bound they could be rebound, passing from one owner to another.

It is increasingly clear from studies on early Sephardic printing that the use of typographical evidence is far from satisfactory. It is often arbitrarily applied and no consistent method exists. The following is an attempt to offer a more systematic and conclusive approach in the context of an analysis of Isaac de Castro's *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* and his *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*.

Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo and Sobre a obrigação dos sábios

The complete edition containing *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* ('On the Creation and Restoration of the World') and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* ('On the Obligation of the Sages') is printed in small octavo format composed of 112 leaves, 104 belonging to the first title while the remaining 8 constitute the second work. There are as many arguments for considering both works as a unit as there are to view them as separate editions. The fact that the gatherings are numbered continuously (A-N8), and the author's remark that he proposed to end his work on 'Creation and Restoration' with a second small treatise, plead for the former, while the appearance of a second title page, and a discontinued foliation (*Sobre*

a obrigação dos sábios is not numbered) suggest the possibility that the second section was printed some time after the first, or that the author decided to include it during the process of printing. Either way, the works were considered different, since all five known copies have a different composition of both titles. The copies extant in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York and the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana of Amsterdam only include *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*, while the copy at the Universitetsbibliotek of Uppsala begins with *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* followed by *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*, although this copy lacks both title page and preliminaries.²³

The main work, *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* has a spectacular title page dominated by an engraving of a crowned lion seated, one leg resting on a round object - possibly the moon or globe - the right leg holding the sun. Inscribed above the lion is the word 'Ivda'. The engraving is contained in a double circle, with an inner surrounding text or lemma: *Andarão as gentes a tua lus, e os Reis ao resplendor de teu Sol*.²⁴ At the foot of the page, the date of impression appears according to the Jewish calendar 'A 14. de Adar, 5372', corresponding to 17 March 1612.

The verso of the title page contains an upper inscription *Por despeza do Señor Iacob Coronel* ('Funded by Señor Iacob Coronel') and below, an impressive coat of arms, surmounted by a knight's helmet. The helmet's crest is a lion, holding a sword, with a device divided into four squares, representing from top left to bottom right a lion ambulant, a gryphon rampant, another gryphon rampant and a keep. The inscription below the device reads: *Diriovido [sic] a Señora doña Sarah a Bravanel*. Given her apparent nobility the arms presumably belonged to the historic Abravanel family; however, no such design appears among the known Abravanel or Sephardic heraldry of the seventeenth century or earlier.

The following five unnumbered pages (leaves signed fol. 2r-4r) are the dedication proper to the *Nobilíssima Senhora, dona Sara Abravanel*, while no less than 20 unnumbered pages provide a detailed table of subjects discussed in *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* in the order in which these are presented (leaves fol. 4v-A6r). The verso of leaf A6 is reserved for errata. The work itself starts on leaf B1 and ends on M8v, foliated from 1-95, but in fact includes only 86 pages since the numbering is highly erratic. The text itself is divided into 16 chapters.

While the scope, content and context of this work on 'Creation and Restoration' is not under discussion here, *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* appears at first to be a compilation of thematically connected homiletic discourses rather than a strictly scriptural discussion. The work may be based on sermons that had actually been delivered, or a cre-stomathy of so-called *asuntos predicáveis* (preachable topics) a popular genre in (Catholic) Iberian religious literature of the period. Moral interpretations of biblical verses are occasionally enunciated in the first per-

son (by the preacher) addressing a second person (the worshipper) to encourage better conduct.

The second work, *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*, appended to the former, at least in the now lost copy at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg, starts 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 Title and the Obligation the Jews have to Observe the Interpretations and Precepts Expounded by them, for a better Observance of Divine Law'). In identical fashion with that of 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 Jacob Coronel*.

The title page lacks any kind of ornamentation, except the characteristic layout of the typography in the classic inverted triangle. A small vignette at the bottom separates the title from the address. The latter only provides 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, either on the title page or the remaining leaves as to where the work was printed and by whom.

Sobre a obrigação dos sábios comprises one gathering of eight leaves, labelled N, an indication that the author or publisher intended it to be appended to *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*. However, the numbering is not continued: the leaves of the second work bear no numbering at all. The title page's verso is blank, and the work starts on the second leaf (N2r), finishing on the final leaf of the gathering (N8v).

While the content is not under discussion here, the title is accurate, since the work concerns rabbinical authority: the respect and obedience required on the part of congregants and the moral qualities required of religious leaders in order to deserve the authority with which they are entrusted. The work seems a timely contribution amid the frequent disputes surrounding rabbinical authority in the early Sephardi settlements of former New Christians. Despite its topicality, the treatise contains no references to specific events or persons: it is more a moral discourse of a general nature.

History: Isaac de Castro, Jacob Coronel and Sarah Abravanel

The first puzzle to be solved 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 evidently erroneous identifications with Isaac Orobio de Castro (1620-1687) and Isaac Cardoso (1603/4-1683) made by early bibliographers,

including Kayserling,³⁵ the problem remains that no person called Isaac de Castro is known to have existed among the early Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam or Hamburg. Alfonso Cassuto proposed as the most likely candidate Isaac Namias de Castro (1580-1669), son of the famous Hamburg physician Rodrigo de Castro (David Namias, c. 1550-1627); he argued that while he could not find anyone by the name of Isaac de Castro among the first Portuguese Jews living in the Netherlands,³⁶ a positive identification was a real possibility among members of the Namias de Castro family of Hamburg.³⁷ In addition to Cassuto's negative argument, the Namias de Castro family is known to have been actively involved in Jewish life in Hamburg, while both *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* are manifestations of a notably zealous attitude, preoccupied with the reintegration of Iberian *conversos*. However, we know of no other work or related activity by Isaac Namias de Castro, and we have no information about him from records relating to early Jewish life in Germany.³⁸

According to Cassuto the assumption that the author came from Hamburg is reinforced by the dedication of both *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* to Jacob Coronel. Again, we can confirm Cassuto's initial conclusion that no Jacob Coronel occurs during the period in which both works were printed in the Northern Netherlands, whereas there are numerous references to a Jacob Coronel living in Hamburg at this time. This wealthy Portuguese merchant, also known as Gonçalo Lopes Coutinho (d. 1640), was an influential person who might well have sponsored Castro's books.³⁹ Coronel was co-founder of the dowry society *Santa companhia de dotar orphans e donzelas*, established by the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam in 1615, and was its Hamburg representative.⁴⁰

The most mysterious person mentioned in Isaac de Castro's works is Sarah Abravanel. Despite the appearance of a prominent coat of arms, and the title Dona on the verso of *Sobre o princípio e restauração*'s title page, together with a four-page dedication, Isaac de Castro does not provide enough detail about his patron to determine her role in the publication, not to mention Sephardic history. From the dedication we gather that he offered 'this bouquet of flowers culled from the garden of Holy Writ for you, as a descendent 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'. Perhaps she related to Dona Bienvenida Abravanel of the famous family of Spanish financiers who settled in Italy after the Expulsion of 1492.

The following analysis of the principal typographical features is intended to establish where Isaac de Castro's works were printed, supported by an examination of the illustrations and confirming the conclusions based on the study of the extant copies of *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo* and *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*.

A. Paper: In all the extant copies the paper is of a good to excellent quality. This was sufficient reason for Cassuto to maintain in 1927 that the copy he examined at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg could only have been printed in the Netherlands, although he provided no further details. Salomon, basing his conclusions on the copy at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon, lists paper among the elements which he concludes in similarly general terms, 'are typically German'.³¹ The paper used in non-Jewish books published in Hamburg at this time, such as Jacob Renecium's, *Tria controversa problemata oder Drey Streit-Fragen*, published in Hamburg by Michael Herings in 1612 or Rodrigo de Castro's, *Medicus politicus*, by Froben in 1614, or even the *CL Salmos* by David Abenatar Melo, presumably in Hamburg in 1626, is a typically brownish paper, with a felt-like consistency in the Reneccium and Rodrigo de Castro volumes, whereas the paper in all the extant copies of Isaac de Castro's work is clear and far superior.

B. Typeface: Salomon³² and Cassuto (discussing *Tratado de Herem*, which he supposed was printed in Hamburg)³³ note the defective qualities of German typography in editions of Spanish and Portuguese works. In 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 [?]' - not a convincing conclusion. Cassuto observes that in the *Tratado de Herem*, published in 1618, the printers were not able to print an 'ö', instead they used a Gothic 'o', and a special character to compensate for the absence of a 'ç'.³⁴

Although it is too soon to present a full analysis of the different roman types used in *Sobre o princípio* and *Sobre a obrigação* the general impression is one of careful typography, with a firm, regular setting. Regarding the use of a movable tilde and accents, both 'ñ' and 'ç' appear as normal, whereas the typically Portuguese 'o' with tilde 'ô' appears only occasionally, with extensive use made of *accents aigu* and *accents grave* instead (see fig. 6). Since Portuguese spelling was far from standardised in the seventeenth century and the use of accents also depended on the copy provided by the author, there seems to be no reason to identify the type used in Castro's works as a result of a more primitive German typography.

Fig. 6
Roman type used in *Sobre a obrigação*, observe the use of ñ, ç and movable accents til, aigu and grave on the vowel o, as well as the careful typography with added glosses in the margins

à Vbrigaçõ dos Sabios.

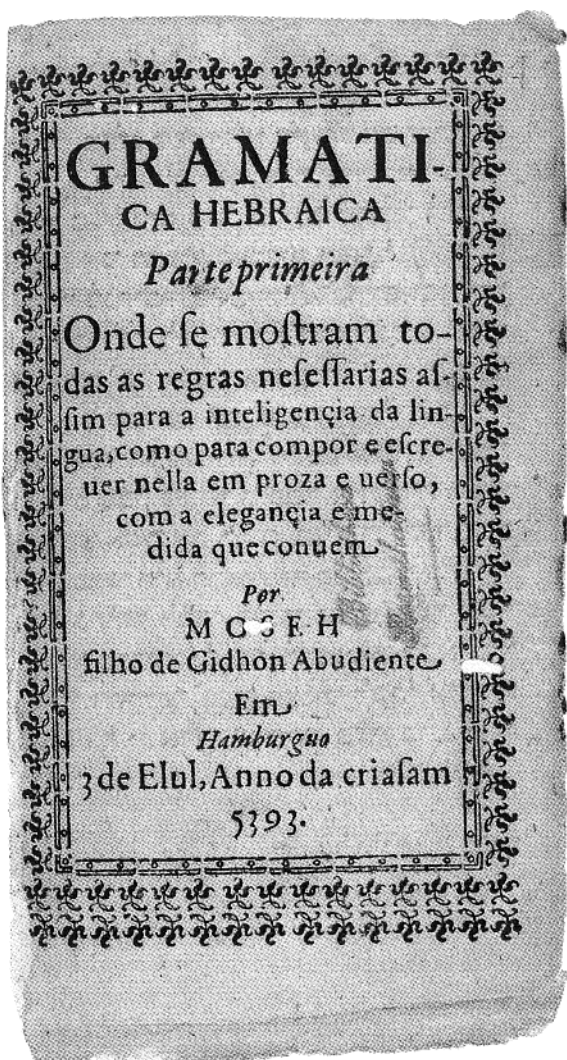
de Ierusalaim não metião carga nem trabalhavaõ mas dilo ò Señor, para mostrar aõ preguador, que quando enmendar, come se primeyro pelos grandes; posto que não ayaõ peccado, para que visto seu zelo he ygualdade, resebaõ com tanto animo as reprehensõys, he castigos sirvindolhe para enmenda. Tem mays ubriguação ò sabio preguador, he Hahaõ de Hahal, de nomear os peccados he à pena que por elles se alcança, porque o povo não peque de inorância, ó que fazendo fica sobre sua conçiência, como dis ó Señor à Ezechiel: Homé eu tepus por à talaya à casa de Israel, ouviras poys tu à Palavra de minha boca, hea moestaa loas de minha parte, quando eu dizer, aõ maõ morte moreras, é tu não no amoestares, né lhe falares, para que ó maõ seya à moestado de seu maõ caminho, para que viva, ó maõ morrera por sua maldade, mas seu sangue demandarey de tua maõ. E se tũt à moestares aõ inpio, he elle não se converter de sua maldade; é dese u maõ cominho, elle morrera por sua maldade, é tu escapalte tua Alma. Querendo ó Altissimo que todas as penas que na escriptura con rigor estaõ digua, he manifeste ò pregador, não taõ sumamente

Ezec.
3.17-
18.19.

N 4

Moreover, in all the works printed in Hamburg, whether Jewish or non-Jewish (apart from a general aspect which it is not possible to demonstrate at present), the roman type includes final characters with a kind of ornamental lower tail resembling calligraphic script, as in the 'e' and 'm' in the *Gramatica hebraica* by Moses Guideon Abudiente, published in Hamburg in 1633 (fig. 7). This kind of type is entirely absent in works printed in the Netherlands. Moreover, in Hamburg, a 'j' was often used instead of an 'i' ('Jo' instead of 'Yo' or 'Io'), unlike Dutch printing with roman letters. An analysis of the types used in Castro's works points unmistakably to the Northern Netherlands.

Fig. 7
Title page of *Grammatica
hebraea*, Hamburg, 1633.
Note the decorative tail
pieces of the ending
consonants



C. Initial Decorative Capitals: While it is not possible here to discuss the regular 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 in Amsterdam in 1612, some three weeks after Castro's works were finished. From what I have seen, the type does not seem particularly special. A minute examination of the letters would be required to establish whether an identical typeset was used.

By contrast, the decorative initial letters in *Sobre o principio e restauração do mundo* provide considerable information about the printing.



Fig. 8
Initial decorative P, in *Sobre a obrigação*. Observe the irregularity in the right upper part of the standing leg of the P



Fig. 9
Initial decorative P, in *Libro de la tesuba*. Observe the identical irregularity in the right upper part of the standing leg of the P



Fig. 10
Ending decorative tail piece vignette in *Libro de la tesuba* (Amsterdam 1613), identical with the vignette in *Siete días de la semana*



Fig. 11
Ending decorative large vignette in *Siete días de la semana* printed by Albert Boumeester in Amsterdam. The same vignette is found in *Diálogos satíricos* see fig. 4a and fig. 4b

The elegantly carved initial capitals with floral motives and vases such as the A (?)2r, D (B1r), C, (E7r) resemble Dutch printing of early seventeenth century more than German printing, as proposed by Salomon.³⁵ Although I still have to compare the two works, the initial A used in *Sobre o princípio* (on the second leaf of the preliminary section, numbered [fol.] 2r) is remarkably similar, if not identical with the initial A in the first published regulations of *Dotar orphans e donzellas*, printed in 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 in 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 in Amsterdam (fig. 9). The initials in both works have a characteristic sign of wear at the right of the standing foot of the 'P', a small missing piece that is clearly an exclusive feature. The similar arrangement of the title page in the Frankfurt edition of *Libro de la tesuba*, with an almost identical vignette printed in the same place as in *Sobre a obrigação* further strengthens the hypothesis that the two works were produced by the same printer. If this is true, a further possibility should be discussed. Since the authors of both *Sobre a obrigação* and *Libro de la tesuba* belonged to the Portuguese community in Hamburg suggests that the volumes were printed in that city, a further proof is needed if we are to establish that one or the other work was in fact printed in Amsterdam.

D. Vignettes and Other Decorative Pieces: Clearly, the most spectacular elements in Isaac de Castro's work are the engraved title page with the allegorical lion of Judah and the coat of arms on the reverse of the title page, but since these woodcut engravings appear to belong exclusively to *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*, they are of limited value in the present assessment of the typography. Probably, the irregular feature of the engraving, and the fact that its somewhat primitive nature dominates the typography of the book itself have contributed to the impression that the edition was composed in German rather than Dutch typography.

The small block vignettes used in *Sobre o princípio* (leaves C3v, C6v, E8v, F7r and K3v and the block vignette on the title page of *Sobre a obrigação*) resemble the way vignettes were used as a decorative element in other Sephardic editions of the period, notably Bahya ibn Paquda's *Libro de las obligaciones de los corazones* presumably printed in Amsterdam in 1610, and the Spanish Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1611. Similar vignettes also appear in Samuel da Silva's *Libro de la tesuba* of 1613 (mentioned above). Although all these volumes have a comparable typographical element, this does not mean that the vignettes belonged exclusively to the Northern Netherlands. Block vignettes of a similar nature are also found in German printing of the seventeenth century, and only a detailed analysis of individual vignettes, concentrating on defects or signs of wear, might establish where and possibly by whom an early Sephardic book 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) features a large characteristic vignette tail, which is found in another early Sephardic work, *Los siete días de la semana* by Josepho alias Francisco de Cáceres, published in Amsterdam between 1612 and 1613, and in Antwerp presumably in 1612 (fig. 11). 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 on Breestraat, in the neighbourhood in which the early Sephardim of Amsterdam lived. The combination of our previous conclusion that Isaac de Castro's *Sobre o princípio e restauração* 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, indicates that the latter was in fact responsible for all four editions, all realised in Amsterdam sometime between 18 March 1612 (*Sobre o princípio* and *Sobre a obrigação*) and 30 May 1613 (*Libro de la tesuba*).

Conclusion

The discovery and analysis of a copy of *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios* by the Sephardic author Isaac de Castro (possibly Isaac Namias de Castro 1580-1669) of Hamburg has finally enabled us to establish Amsterdam and Albert Boumeester as the place and printer of this author's major work *Sobre o princípio e restauração do mundo*. A brief survey of early Spanish and Portuguese printing in Northern Europe shows that a rigorous typographical study on this subject is required, despite the efforts of various eminent bibliographers and scholars. The availability of new bibliographical resources will greatly help to answer many questions, both bibliographical and historical, regarding the fascinating subject of the return to Judaism of the Iberian New Christians in Northern Europe at the start of the seventeenth century, using the religious and didactical books published in Spanish and Portuguese language.

Bibliographical Description

Castro, Isaac de. *Sobre o principio, e restavracao do mvndo*. By Ishac de Castro. [Amsterdam], f. Jacob Coronel, [pr. Albert Boumeester], 14 Adar 5372 = 17-11-1612. 8: [fols] 8 A6 B-M8 (\$5 signed); 104 leaves; ff. [14] 1-95 [=86] [1].

[title page]

ISHAC DE CASTRO / SOBRE O PRINSIPIO, / E RESTAVRACAO / DO
MVNDO. / [engraving of a crowned lion]

Content

(fol.) 1r: *title page*; (fol.) 1v: *coat of arms with upper text* 'Por espeza do señor Iacob Coronel' *and bottom text* diriovido [sic] à señora doña Sara à Bravanel; (fol.) 2r-(fol.) 4r: *dedication to the nobilissima senhora doña Sarah Abravanel*; (fol.) 4v-A6r: *table*; A6v: *errata*; B1r-M7r: *text*; M7v-M8v: *blanks*.

Copies

Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek, Rosenthaliana, Ros. 1899 F 8; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Res 125P (lacking [fol.] 1 = title page, +A7 blank, -C7); New York, Jewish Theological Seminary 260:29; Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, Obr. 53:526 (bound after *Sobre a obrigação*, lacking [fol.] 1-8 and A1-6 = fourteen preliminary leaves).

References

Mattos (1878) p. 570, Da Silva, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 232; vol. X, p. 94, Remedios (1911), p. 71, Den Boer, *op. cit.* (1988), p. 204.

Castro, Isaac de.

Sobre a vbrigacao dos Sabios, vida, e cvstvmes, qve tal nome reqvere, e da vbrigaçao 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 = 18-III-1612. 8: N8; 8 leaves; 16 unnumbered pages.

[title page]

ISHAC de CASTRO, / SOBRE A VBRI- / GACAO DOS SABIOS, / VIDA, E CVSTVMES, QVE / TAL NOME REQVERE, EDA / Vbrigaçao que tem os Iudeus de ob- / servar, as declaraçoyes he per- / seyτος por elles declara- dos / para melhor guarda / da Ley de Deus. / Dirigido ao Señor IACOB / CORONEL / [vignette] /

A 14. De Adar, 5372.

Content

N1r: *title page*; N1v: *blank*; N2r-N8v: *text*.

Copies

Uppsala, Universitätsbibliothek, Obr. 53:526.

References

Cassuto *op. cit.*, p. 213-216.

1. I wish to thank Herman Prins Salomon for his careful reading of the draft of this article and his many constructive comments.
2. A detailed bibliographical description with a reproduction of the title and title page is offered below. From hereon I shall refer to both titles using modern Portuguese spelling.
3. M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judaica* (Strasbourg 1890), S. VIII, does not mention a place of printing, nor if the work was printed; S. Seeligmann, *Bibliographie en historie: 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 Sephardi editions of the Northern Netherlands.
4. H.P. Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian, Fernão Álvares Melo (1569-1632)* (Paris 1982); H. 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 (c. 1580-c. 1820)', in: *StRos* 22 (1988), p. 97-143; *ibid.* 23 (1989), p. 38-77 and 138-177; *idem*, *Spanish and Portuguese Printing from the Northern Netherlands 1584-1825: Descriptive Bibliography* (Leiden 2003), cd-rom; A.K. Offenbergh, 'Spanish and Portuguese Sephardic Books Published in the Northern Netherlands before Menasseh ben Israel (1584-1627)', in: J. Michman (ed.), *Dutch Jewish History*, vol III (Jerusalem 1993), p. 77-96; M. Studemund-Halévy, 'Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg: erster Teil', *Lusorama* 32 (1997), p. 85-101; 'Sephardischer Buchdruck in Hamburg: zweiter Teil', *Lusorama* 33 (1997), p. 41-72; *idem*, 'Sephardische Bücher und Bibliotheken in Hamburg', in *Menora: Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 1997 (Bodenheim 1997), p. 150-180.
5. Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana; New York, Jewish Theological Seminary; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, lacking title page (i.e., -[fol.1]); Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, bound after *Sobre a obrigação dos sábios*, lacking title page and preliminaries (i.e., -[fol.] 6, -A6).
6. Den Boer, *op. cit.* (2003).
7. Seeligmann, *op. cit.*; A. Cassuto, 'Zur Bibliographie und Geschichte der portugiesischen Juden in Hamburg. I. Ein seltener nordholländischer Druck', in: *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 76, (1932), p. 215-219; J. 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, *op. cit.*; Offenbergh, *op. cit.*; H. den Boer, 'Ediciones falsificadas de Holanda en el siglo XVII: escritores sefarditas y censura judaica', in: *Varia bibliographica: Homenaje a José Simón Díaz* (Kassel 1988b), p. 99-104; *idem*, *op. cit.* (2003).
8. Seeligmann, *op. cit.*, p. 36-38.
9. Salomon, *op. cit.*
10. Den Boer, *op. cit.* (1988a); *idem*, *op. cit.* (2003).
11. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 144-154.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 155-159.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
14. 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 that they were printed in Hamburg rather than in the Netherlands, although this awaits further analysis (Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 185-186). Offenbergh does not mention both works in his surveys of Spanish and Portuguese Sephardi books published in the Northern Netherlands (Offenbergh, *op. cit.*), which implies that he does not regard them as works possibly printed in the Netherlands.
15. Seeligmann, *op. cit.*, p. 50, n. 1.
16. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 183
20. Den Boer, *op. cit.* (1988b).
21. The use of Hebrew type is not relevant in this context. Full Hebrew typesets are only found in editions later than the works by Castro. The inclusion in *Sobre o princípio* of transliterations of Hebrew words and phrases is in itself no indication that it was printed in one or the other city.
22. Referring to *Sobre o princípio*, Salomon mentions 'an imperfect copy' (presumably in Lisbon's Biblioteca Nacional), of which 'binding, paper, reddish tranches and three decorative initial letters are all typically German'. This impressionistic observation contradicts the careful typographical analysis Salomon presented earlier, regarding books printed in Hamburg (Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 159 and 156-159).
23. Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, lacking title page (i.e., -[fol.1]); Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, bound after *Sobre a obrigação*, lacking title page and preliminaries (i.e., -[fol.] 6, -A6).
24. 'And nations shall walk at thy light, and kings tot the brightness of thy sun', Is. 60:3.
25. Baltasar (Isaac) Orobio de Castro was not even born when *Sobre o principio* and *Sobre a obrigação* were printed, and Fernando (Isaac) Cardoso, apart from the obvious difference in name, was born around 1604, and did not leave Spain until 1648.
26. See Cassuto, *op. cit.*, where he mentions that no such person is reported in any contemporary historical source.
27. *Idem*; M. Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden*, (Hamburg 2000).
28. A.L. Leoni and H.P. Salomon, 'La Nation Portugaise de Hambourg en 1617 d'après un document retrouvé', in: H. Méchoulan and G. Nahon (eds), *Mémorial I.-S. Révah: Études sur le marranisme, l'hétérodoxie juive et Spinoza* (Paris-Louvain 2001), p. 263-293.
29. Cassuto, *op. cit.*, p. 215. The source mentioned by Cassuto is precisely in March 1612 and contains two persons called Jacob Coronel. See Studemund-Halévy, *op. cit.* (2000), p. 369. Cassuto mentions a Jacob Coronel who appeared in 1615 as one of the co-founders of the Dowry Society, *Dotar orphãs e donzelas* in Amsterdam and

correctly concludes that this Coronel might have lived in Hamburg in 1612; M. Studemund-Halévy, 'Die portugiesisch-spanischen Grabinschriften in Norddeutschland', in: *Aschkenas* 7, 2 (1997), p. 389-439, here: p. 425, 434.

30. Studemund-Halévy, *op. cit.* (2000), p. 369.

31. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 156-157.

32. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

33. M. 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.

34. Idem, p. 82.

35. Salomon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

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