



Pluma/Espuma: Four Sonnets in a Unicum from Ottoman Smyrna (1659) and their Historical Context

Pluma/Espuma: Cuatro sonetos en un único de la Smyrna otomana (1659) y su contexto histórico

Eleazar Gutwirth

Tel Aviv University, Israel

gutwirth@tauex.tau.ac.il

ORCID: 0000-0002-1149-9455

Cómo citar este trabajo | How to cite this paper

Gutwirth, Eleazar. (2022). *Pluma/Espuma: Four Sonnets in a Unicum from Ottoman Smyrna (1659) and their Historical Context*. *Meldar: Revista internacional de estudios sefardíes*, 3, 9-37. <https://doi.org/10.46661/meldar.6547>

Abstract

Four sonnets by Isaac Moron and Daniel de Sylva are printed in the unicum published by Abraham Gabbai at the Kaf Nahat press in Smyrna. To explain the apparently unconventional phenomenon, a historical contextualization of the Sephardi community of the printer and the poets is suggested. The general and communal history of Smyrna at this time, the culture of the consuls and the close relationship of Smyrna Jews with them and with other culturally relevant figures such as travelers or book collectors explains some of the background. Even in Hebrew texts of that time and place one can find samples of a deeper and relatively complex Hispanism than has been understood until now. The analysis of the sonnets reveals their affinity with the Spanish literature of Amsterdam, with the Iberian reception of the classical tradition and with the esthetic, stylistic and intellectual presuppositions current in the Iberian Peninsula of the 17th c.

Key words: Sephardi editors; Sephardi poets; Abraham Gabbai; Isaac Moron; Daniel de Sylva; Ottoman Sephardi Culture.

Resumen

En el único publicado por Abraham Gabbai en la imprenta de Kaf Nahat en Esmirna aparecen impresos cuatro sonetos, obra de Isaac Moron y de Daniel de Sylva. Para explicar el fenómeno poco convencional, se sugiere una contextualización histórica de la comunidad del impresor y de los poetas. La historia general y comunal de Esmirna en esta época; la cultura de los cónsules y la estrecha relación de judíos de Esmirna con ellos, con viajeros y con otras figuras culturalmente relevantes explica algo del trasfondo. Aún en textos hebreos de esa época y lugar se pueden descubrir muestras de un hispanismo más matizado, profundo y relativamente complejo del que se ha logrado entender hasta ahora. El análisis de los sonetos revela sus afinidades con la literatura española de Ámsterdam, con la recepción ibérica de la tradición clásica y con los presupuestos estilísticos e intelectuales de la península ibérica del s. XVII.

Palabras clave: Editores sefardíes; poetas sefardíes; Abraham Gabbai; Isaac Moron; Daniel de Sylva; cultura sefardí otomana.

Recepción: 06.03.2022

Aceptación: 13.06.2022

Publicación: 15.12.2022

The irruption of the Latin character printing press in Western Asia (Smyrna, 1659) occurred about two centuries after Gutenberg. It has not received an attention proportionate to its significance, compared to the interest in the Ottoman Armenian (Nersessian, 1980) the Hebrew printing press or the Arabic printing press. These first prints in Latin characters were the *Apología por la noble nación de los judíos* de Eduardo Nicholas¹ which was reprinted at Smyrna in 1659 by Abraham ben Yedidiah Gabbai together with Menasseh ben Israel's *Esperanza de Israel*.² The purpose of the following lines is to provide a historical and cultural frame for productions of markedly Hispanic texts in an Ottoman city such as the four *Sonetos* which accompany the reprints and to attempt a reading of them. This is achieved by attention to the printer's contacts; the Sephardi community; Hispanic culture in the town; the social type of the authors; and, finally, by reading and explaining significant elements in the four texts themselves.

1. THE BOOK

From the point of view of the content, the books were, of course, not completely new. As the title page of the unicum reads: "...Y de nuevo en Smirne impressa...". They are seen as reflecting the period leading to the Readmission of the Jews to England. As was to be expected, the content has therefore received a great deal of repeated attention for more than a century from a multitude of authors such as the followers of Lucien Wolf (Wolf, 1901; Hyamson, 1903; Abramsky, 1985: 281-295). To understand the significance and novelty of these apparent "reprints" in Ottoman Smyrna, one must therefore construct different standpoints. Attention to the history of the book and the printing press in Western Asia is one of these. In addition, the four poetic compositions³ included in the Smyrna unicum contrast with the rest of the book; they are not a reprint and their contents have not received the attention lavished on the other texts. These poems were written by members of the Smyrna Sephardi community.

¹ It had been printed in London in 1649.

² First printed in 1650, about two years after the author's death. Bezalel (Cecil) Roth (1952: 390-393); Abraham Yaari (1958: 99-100, n. 11). In 1657 Gabbai sent his son, Abraham, who had worked in the Livorno press, with much of their typographical equipment, to Smyrna to establish a Hebrew print-shop, the first in that city. Abraham Gabbai remained in Smyrna until 1660, when he left for Constantinople, where he printed Hebrew books for a brief period of time. Gabbai subsequently returned to Smyrna, printing until 1675, primarily Hebrew books. We find him, in 1684, in Salonika, establishing a new Hebrew press in that city, one that was active for several years, although not always under the control of Gabbai.

³ My thanks to the Library staff for facilitating my access to the texts printed in the unicum at HUC, Cincinnati. For the different case of the Hebrew sonnet in the early modern Ottoman Empire see Dvora Bregman (1998).

Some of the differences between the reprint and its *Vorlage* are evident: Menasseh's book, with its Atlantic or New World slant, meant something different in an England in constant direct communication with and transport to the New World than it meant in Smyrna. Also, the assumption that Spanish and English are equivalents and that the original language of Menasseh is a mere detail needs to be reexamined. Thus, for example, the certainty which accompanied assertions on basic facts such as "Nichols" original being in English has been impugned.⁴ A good beginning for reexamining the contents of these works, then, would be to attend to the terms implied by the title: "Esperanza" and, therefore, "esperar" (Gutwirth, 2007), "cansados" (Silverman, 1971) or even the symbolism of the color green. Someone like Menasseh, raised in an atmosphere of Iberian ex-converso culture, would have been aware of resonances of, say, *esperar* which are not present in the English.

This could have wider ramifications. The notion that the Readmission is crucial to the book is being revised. Thus, for example, Cogley⁵ has recently argued that scholars view the dispute at the core of the *Spes Israel* as a conflict over a possible Israelite migration to aboriginal America, an interpretive angle which privileges one participant in the debate, Menasseh ben Israel, at the expense of the others: Thomas Thorowgood, Hamon l'Estrange, and Edward Brerewood. His essay sees the controversy as a disagreement over two theories about the Native Americans' ancestry: the Israelite, which assumed that the Indians' putative barbarism was an acquired cultural trait, and the Tartar, which held that barbarism was their innate condition. In an analysis of poems which include the reference to Montezinos (i.e., Antonio de Montezinos or Aharon Levi) the question of the ten tribes (and therefore the origins of the Americans) cannot be easily sidestepped. Indeed, if we were to attend to the description of the book in the title page of the unicum, we would find the ten tribes to be the center of the book: "*Trata del admirable esparzimiento de los diez tribus...*".

⁴ Fernando Díaz Esteban (1999: 251-262). In reviewing the history of references to the book, F. Díaz Esteban shows that the Smyrna print was known to J. C. Wolf. Johann Christoph Wolf published his *Bibliotheca Hebraica* in Jena, 1715. Today the Smyrna print which is of interest here is believed to be a unicum, extant only in the library of HUC Cincinnati. Less attention has been devoted to the putative printer of the first edition of the *Apología* namely John Fields. The question would be whether the print could have been attributed to him at the time, whether he was an unknown or obscure printer. It would seem that he was far from being "obscure". Some of the most established mainstream publications of the period are by him. Henry Hills and John Fields are described in 1658 as "London printers to his Highness the Lord Protector" who printed by special order of the Parliament. He is also responsible for the Pearl Bibles of 1653. *A Bible appointed to be read in churches* was printed in 32o by John Fields. The large folio *Bible* of 1659 was published by John Field, the printer to the University of Cambridge, with a number of additional engraved plates that he had selected.

⁵ Richard W. Cogley (2007: 35-56). For examples of the historiographic tradition see also, amongst numerous others, the early work of Albert M. Hyamson (1903: 640-676).

One of the implications of Cogley's thesis seems to be that a proper view of the contents will be achieved in an English language frame.⁶ Something similar occurs in Rauschenbach's perspective which tries to recreate a frame in the *Republica litteraria*, i.e. a non-Hispanic Christian Hebraist background (Rauschenbach, 2012). The more glaring problem is that while all of the hypothetical frames may be helpful, the historical Menasseh was not educated and formed in an English, Dutch or Italian environment and he had a certain specific background and lived in a specific community. The conversations with Montezinos would not have been carried out in English or Dutch. A less introspective vision might therefore be helpful. This is where some awareness of the history of ideas reconstructed by the recent scholarship on works such as Miguel Cabello Balboa's, with its interests in "gold of Ophir", the New World and its inhabitants, might be enlightening (Cabello Balboa, 2011; Lerner, 2003, 2005, 2010).

And yet, the main premise is valid, namely that – whatever the original intentions – the circumstances (date and place) of the printing, the readers, the *histoire de la lecture* deserve attention. The focus thus moves from the author to the community of readers. The importance of the Smyrna poetic and original additions by Isaac Moron and by Daniel de Sylva becomes paramount. Therefore, the motor of the publication and the inclusion of the poems, the Smyrna printer, Abraham ben Yedidiah Gabbai comes to the fore. *Prima facie*, this might seem a traditional issue (Heller, 2009) which does not lead to immediately evident results. As has been clear since at least Yaari's work (1967, 1959; Roth, 1952: 390-393), this printer's past career in Livorno, immediately preceding 1659, is marked by the production of Talmudic and similar works in Hebrew characters. Even if we accept that there is a logic or a clear direction (local works from Smyrna) in his Hebrew prints in Smyrna from 1657 onwards, this does not prepare us for understanding the reprinting of the Spanish works and organizing the composition and printing of the four new, original, Spanish poems. Similarly, the works which drew his attention and investment in Smyrna (a local commentary on the Tur, for example) contrast sharply with a Spanish language tradition of history of ideas, poetic sensibilities, and aesthetic. If the list of his imprints cannot explain this Smyrna innovation, one may turn to a reconstruction of the network of his acquaintances and contacts as a way of recreating the historical background to the new poems. What kind of people would Gabbai be prepared to include in his circle?

⁶ Ismar Schorsch maintains that: "The bald truth is that England is barely mentioned in *The Hope of Israel*" and also that "In their eagerness to make *The Hope of Israel* stage one of Menasseh's readmission diplomacy, historians focused exclusively on this dedication while ignoring the total irrelevance to England of the tract itself. Furthermore, they failed to reflect on the significance of the fact that Menasseh also prepared a Spanish edition of *The Hope of Israel* which likewise appeared in Amsterdam in 1650 along with the Latin edition". He points to Menasseh's statement: "... en mi patria Lixboa". See Schorsch (1978: 187-208).

Indeed, a re-reading of two texts (by Wansleben and Galland) adduced by Hacker (1986) could help to recreate a frankly cosmopolitan, transnational, inter-confessional outlook. In his remarks, Antoine Galland (1646-1715)⁷ seems familiar with Gabbai's biography. He emphasizes the novelty of Gabbai's choices of printing. That is to say that there is a certain relation between the Jewish Hebrew printer from Smyrna and the Christian French traveler. The same is the case with the Christian traveler Johann Michael Wansleben, who is in contact and conversation with Gabbai. In addition, Wansleben also testifies as to Gabbai's close connection to Spinola, the Genoese consular resident.⁸ It could be argued that what emanates from these texts is Gabbai's and his friends' (Wansleben, Spinola, Galland) avidity for the new and the rare: the bibliophile aspect. Gabbai's choice of friends tells us something about him. Antoine Galland, in his twenties, was not yet the lecturer at the College Royale that he would become. Nor was he yet the celebrity who would introduce Europe to the *Thousand and One Nights*. So that it was neither institutional status nor celebrity which explains the friendship. But both he and Gabbai had traveled, were highly interested in different and specific languages, down to their orthography, and, above all, in reading, in rare manuscripts and in printed books. A similar case is known because Johan Michael Wansleben himself made public an account of a later journey: *Nouvelle Relation en forme de Journal d'un Voyage fait en Egypte en 1672 et 1673*, at Paris, 1677. His travels in Ottoman lands were important to him. Part of the reading history or reception of such works was linked to their usefulness for understanding the Bible.

2. CULTURE AND THE CITY

In one of its seventeenth century *taqqanot* (bye-laws), the leaders of the community of Smyrna explain a bye-law by stating that one *beth din* does not annul the rulings of another unless it is superior. Since Smyrna is not superior to Constantinople and Salonika, they

⁷ Ibid.: "...Il y a à Smyrne un imprimeur Juif qui y est passé de Liguourne depuis plusieurs années lequel a imprimé beaucoup de livres nouveaux en langue hébraïque qui n'ont pas encore passé en Europe. On peut les avoir tous pour peu d'argent..." see also *Le voyage a Smyrne: un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland, 1678: contenant Smyrne ancienne et moderne et des extraits du Voyage fait en Levant*, ed. Bauden. Paris: F. A. Miquel, 2000.

⁸ Ibid.: "Un Juif nomme Gabbai et qui est aujourd'hui Truchement de Mr Augustin Spinola Resident pour la Rep de Gennes a Cple (=Constantinople), a une imprimerie et les matrices pour faire des caracteres des langues Slavonique, Armenienne, Hebraïque, Grecque et Latine il a fait imprimer plusieurs ouvrages dans ces trois derniers Langues. Il offrit de me vendre son imprimerie et me dit qu'a Gallipoli dans la maison d'un particulier il y avoit la Bible Turque en caracteres Ebraïques et qu'il avoit vu aussi la Bible Grecque en caracteres Hebreux..."

continue, they have to follow their example.⁹ The apparent inferiority of Smyrna to the larger communities notwithstanding, there are aspects of its importance at the date of the Gabbai reprint which are not in doubt.

There were sections in the Jewish community of Smyrna which were – in the seventeenth century – relatively new and in which relatively recent arrivals, ultimately originating in the Iberian peninsula (whatever their itineraries) were prominent. This contrasted with other Ottoman communities which had a predominantly *romaniote* population. The community was anything but insular. It had economic ties with France, Holland, England which have been studied (Bashan, 1982-1986). Its emergence as a major international port around the 17th century was largely a result of the attraction it exercised over foreigners, and of the port city's European orientation (Eldem et al., 1999).

Some aspects of its cosmopolitanism are part of Ottoman Sephardi culture. This may be comprehended by attention to cases such as that of the polyglot Raphael Levi (Hacker, 1988). They could be seen as standing for a whole class of Ottoman Sephardim who, in the early modern period, were interested in awarding their children an education in modern languages including Spanish. Such educational situations or institutions have not been studied. The existence of commercial relations of Smyrna's community with Muslims or contacts with Karaites are similarly accepted. But this does not exhaust the reconstruction of the relations. Seventeenth century responsa have been found which attest to commercial networks extending from Amsterdam to Smyrna (Bashan, 1982-1986; Barnai, 1982). This becomes more significant and comprehensible against the background of the increasing importance of the role of the Dutch and their consuls, in the Ottoman Empire in general and in Smyrna in particular, at this time (Bulut, 2002: 197-230; Umunç, 2011). That is to say that there were well evidenced contacts between Smyrna and Amsterdam, that paradigm and epicenter of writing and printing Jewish literature in Spanish.

Another aspect is the very large corpus of original literature in an Ibero-Romance Jewish language which was produced in the Ottoman Empire by the post conversion Sabbataians (Attias, 1947). Although it appears radically different (in its relation to peninsular culture) than the texts studied here, it cannot be denied that this corpus represents a vernacular, non-oral, Ibero-Romance textual culture. That is to say that even in the well-known field of mysticism/messianism, there is a strong Ibero-Romance cultural component. Theories to the effect that this represents a later, eighteenth century, "decline" are not convincing. Similarly, local bye-laws/*taqqanot* – leaving aside those actually composed in Judeo-Spanish – in Hebrew contain Judeo-Spanish elements. Various precise fiscal terms current in that

⁹ For *taqqanot* and *halakha* on taxes in the Ottoman Empire see Joseph ibn Ezra (1989); Nechama Grunhaus (2008).

community at that time are in Spanish (e.g. *pecha*, *cavezaje* [Yehoshua, 1965; Grunhaus, 1997]). They recall fiscal institutions operating in medieval Spain. Onomastics of Smyrna Sephardim such as Sarmiento, Escapa, Pinto, Benveniste and numerous others are sonorous reminders of contact with, and awareness of, ultimately Iberian origins and roots. All of these facts are useful as social and cultural background to the phenomenon.

Admittedly, there were no Spanish consuls in Smyrna. But this is the century of Corneille's *Cid* based on Guillen de Castro and Moliere's *Dom Juan* based on Tirso de Molina. The foreign merchants or "Franks" were French, English, or Dutch. With the privileged trading conditions accorded to foreigners in 1620 (the Capitulations) Smyrna was on its way to become one of the foremost trade centers of the Ottoman Empire. There were foreign consulates in Smyrna (1619 is the date for the French Consulate and 1621 for the English), serving as trade centers for their nations. The city served as a port of dispatch and supply for the troops. By the end of the 17th century, its population was estimated at around ninety thousand, the Turks forming the majority (about 60,000), while there were also 15,000 Greeks, 8,000 Armenians, and 6 to 7,000 Jews, as well as a considerable segment composed of French, English, Dutch and Italian merchants.¹⁰

Smyrna experienced economic flourishing at a time of war (1648-1669) and also a time of decline in Venice. Alongside the traditional social types of the merchant and the Rabbi, there were others who might deserve more detailed attention. Dragomans¹¹ and physicians, such as those involved in the publication of the Spanish sonnets which are our subject, could provide an example.

Historians' emphasis on non-Jewish merchants and consuls is justified. The influence they wielded extended to the innermost features of the communal autonomy. Their protégés claimed franchise from *qehilla* taxes and exemption from communal statutes. Hence the need to legislate against such occurrences in the Smyrna Haskamot of the seventeenth century. These statutes serve to prove the close links between the groups. The pattern was not restricted to Smyrna. In a densely evidenced and detailed analysis of a conflict in Qahal Aragon in Istanbul in the mid decades of the seventeenth century, Leah Bornstein Markovetski (1985: 36-37) attends to the powerful R. Ahron Hamon who wielded influence in a case concerning the Villacid family. His power and influence are attributed, partly, to his links with the ambassador from Flanders.

¹⁰ C. Edmund Bosworth (2007: 218-221). Of the vast corpus of literature on Smyrna, see Daniel Goffman (1999: 79-134); Daniel Goffman (1990). On the legal status of foreigners in the Ottoman Empire, see M. H. van den Boogert (2005); P. M. Holt (1957: 444).

¹¹ Although most of his documents are late (eighteenth century and onwards) Eliezer Bashan (1993: 41-69) could be helpful.

And yet such data can produce the optical illusion that mention of commercial interests has summed up and exhausted the transnational factor in Smyrna Sephardi culture. This has the effect of minimizing the extent of communications between cultures and, at times, although unconcerned with our specific subject, produces the image of a cultural backwater as the broader non-Jewish background to the specific texts being reconstructed here. Indeed, this is the image to such an extent that not long ago it could be asserted that:

Despite the continuous Western presence, Ottoman Smyrna never became a prominent centre of Western learning in the Levant ... From the seventeenth century the Levant Company also sent chaplains to Smyrna, but the incumbents tended to be of a lesser academic calibre. For example, ... John Luke, had resided in Smyrna for seven years, but because he never published anything, he is considered an academic “non-entity” today. Another chaplain in Smyrna, Edmund Chishull, was one of the few to devote a separate publication to Anatolian antiquities – but one of the principal monuments it described was found not in Smyrna, but in Ankara... (Toomer, 1996: 270).¹²

Even this extreme case, John Luke, chaplain for two periods between 1664 and 1683, is debatable. Toomer, who draws attention to the fact that Luke distinguished himself by publishing nothing except a poem in Ottoman Turkish (1688,) seems to imply that despite the repeated evaluations and judgments, there have been no analyses of BL Harley MS 7021 containing a composition on Luke’s travels which reveals his acquaintance with local languages (Toomer, 1996: 270). In contrast, as background to Rycaut’s intellectual make up, Anderson (1989) provides useful comments on the period’s Smyrna foreign merchants’ interests in local botany and zoology and states that all the consulates held libraries for the use of the factors. Languages were taught regularly by the Capuchins. Interest in collecting MSS was paralleled by the numismatic searches and purchases. Archeological digs were common. She asserts that Smyrna was a cultural melting pot attracting those in search of literary fame. This was the broader historical cultural frame of the phenomenon of the composition and the printing of the sonnets which is our focus here.

3. SOCIAL TYPES

The four original poems in Gabbai’s Smyrna print come from circles which belong in the social type of the Dragomans and Physicians. Although some superficial awareness of Hispanicity exists and is accepted by consensus, it will be argued that a closer observation of these *rara* (i.e., the four sonnets) might help reveal more complex, nuanced and subtler links to peninsular Hispanic culture than are commonly offered. These have not been

¹² Maurits H. van den Boogert (2007: 103-121).

particularly helpful in approaching the history and culture of these Iberian Jewish communities. A sharp contrast may be found in Menéndez Pidal or María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's attention¹³ to a brief – but telling – (micro-) example of Smyrna Jewish Hispanicity, namely the detailed examination of the poetic imagery in the ballad which Thomas Coenen translated from a report about Sabbatai Zevi's Smyrna singing in Spanish in 1665. Although Pidal and Lida do not agree on everything, they could both be read as departing from the fundamental premise that examples of literary Hispanicity from Smyrna Jewish communities deserve to be studied in detail and depth no less than peninsular counterparts. Such examinations bring to the fore issues of original and translation in general, and, more acutely, problems in the case of literary translations, particularly in poetry, as for example, in the case of Coenen who gives a Dutch translation rather than the original poem.

Partly, the lack of concern about originals and translations is related not only to the rarity of the evidence and difficulties of access to the four literary compositions – available only in a printed unicum – but also to the perceptions of the social types of the Dragoman and Physician as somehow outside mainstream culture. Three evidenced and concrete examples (Yona, Paz, Díaz) might provide further specific background on what it means to be a Sephardi Dragoman or Physician in the Ottoman Empire. One is the case of a seventeenth century Ottoman Sephardi Dragoman. He hailed from Ottoman Galilee and his name was Yehudàh ben Ishaq Yonà (later Giovambattista Jona). He changed places (Warsaw, Varna, numerous Italian locations – in Piemonte, Casale Monferrato, Torino, Livorno and Pisa where he was a professor) converted to Christianity; traveled to obtain Hebrew books in Constantinople and finally was named “Lectoris Hebraicae linguae in Romano Archigymnasio, & in Collegio de Propaganda fide; Scriptoris librorum Hebraicorum in Bibliotheca Vaticana; Interpretis Orientalium linguarum, Indorum atque Aethiopum apud S. Sedem Apostolicam; et Instructoris Cathecumenorum”. What needs to be emphasized is that despite all these constant and radical changes (Fausto Parente [1981: 340] refers to his career as “*piuttosto improbabile*”) until his death in 1688, this Ottoman Sephardi retained such a strong Hispanic cultural identity that Spanish (rather than Turkish or Arabic) frequently interfered with his Italian speech. We know this from his most famous disciple: Giulio Bartolucci, who thought the fact so significant that he included it in a selective profile of his

¹³ Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1948: 183-190); María Rosa Lida de Malkiel (1949: 84-85). “Cuando lo oyó el viajero holandés...” shows that the scholar was not at her best when dealing with seventeenth century Smyrna Hispanophone culture. Thomas Coenen, a religious minister rather than a mere traveler, would hardly be present on a Sabbath morning at the Portuguese Synagogue. Nevertheless, this Hispanist's intuitions are valuable.

teacher in the Magna Bibliotheca which became a highly influential tool in descriptions of Hebrew books and Jewish literature for centuries.

A closer case is that of Juan de la Paz (Secret, 1980; Nellen, 1994). Like Moron, author of Spanish poetry in the Smyrna unicum, he was linked to the English consulate in Smyrna in the seventeenth century. And like Moron and De Sylva (the authors of our sonnets) he was also a physician. Moreover, he was also from Smyrna like them. His father had been Portuguese and had studied at Coimbra and Salamanca. Juan de la Paz had converted to Islam and was in touch with a French Jesuit in Smyrna who described him as Amet Bey. He was also in contact with Ismael Boulliau, traveler to the Levant, author of a travel narrative in Latin. François Secret – on the basis of this text – has seen Boulliau’s attention to the ex-converso physician linked to the English consulate in Smyrna, as an essay on diversity. In addition, it could also be argued that such narratives would have enhanced Boulliau’s reputation for having contacts and access to sources of information on Oriental languages and the state of the Ottoman Empire. Denise Launay has described Boulliau as “mélomane et voyageur” (1991: 269-277). Her contribution is valuable for us in that it confirms the pattern of contacts based on bibliophilia, medicine, polyglossia and similar traits which are common also to Sephardi social types of Dragomen and Physicians such as Sylva and Moron. The question of music as a bridge or a factor in social relations tends to be obscured by the conventional theological emphases. Boulliau himself had converted from Calvinism to Catholicism and became a priest in 1630.¹⁴ The case shows clearly the interest in Hispanic Jews and their culture by Christian French authors and the diversity of motivations for this. A change in perspective would allow us to value not only the European travelers’ gaze but also the Sephardi acceptance and openness to relations with such individuals; the Smyrna Jews choice of contacts and their willingness to establish relations with such Christian scholars. Even closer to the personality of the authors of the poems was Rafael Díaz. He had visited the Moron household in Smyrna and was in sufficiently intimate terms as to be shown, in Smyrna, the manuscript of the work of Abraham (not Isaac) Moron by his inheritors. Later he would communicate the information to Giulio Bartolucci who, thanks to this communication, would describe – as best he could – the *Menorat Ha-Ma’or*, in an appendix, as a commentary on scriptural passages. Rafael Díaz, the friend of the Smyrna Moron family, had also furnished Bartolucci with information on other converso/Sephardi authors/personalities such as Montalvo. Bartolucci describes Rafael Díaz as a physician, a

¹⁴ Denise Launay (1991: 269-275) “travaillait à récolter une moisson de livres anciens et modernes, manuscrits grecs, latins, byzantins même, pour le service de ses nombreux correspondants, ses amis érudits. Tres au courant des nouveautés en tous domaines, y compris celui de l’Antiquariat...”. See also Lynn Lara Westwater (2012: 67-134).

Roman, cultivating the Greco-Roman classics. Abraham Moron was the subject of his conversations with Rafael Díaz. Moron is described as a doctor, resident in Smyrna, and highly regarded.

From such a perspective, the commercial aspect – however necessary – recedes into the background and, with it, the sharp differentiations between “nations”. To be sure, commercially, the boundaries between the nations and their interests were paramount; the nation was the basis of commercial competition (Pagano de Divitis, 1986). But, culturally, these disparities between, say, the culture of the French or Italian groups and the absent Spaniards, are less significant in an age of admiration and sympathy for Spanish letters (Segre, 1983: 103-108).

The link between Sephardi Dragomans, physicians and Christian factors/consuls or merchants in the early modern Ottoman Empire, who came from cultures which valued Spain is, then, solidly evidenced. In the case of Gabbai’s links to Rycaut, the English consul at Smyrna in the 1650s and 60s, the evidence is clear. What is of interest here is the reverse of conventional narratives, i.e., what the Rycault case tells us about Gabbai rather than about Rycaut. In January 1661, a relatively short time after the printing by Gabbai of the two Spanish books with their four new, original, Spanish poems, new articles were added to the Capitulations. The Capitulations, one should remember, are not a purely bibliographic conundrum. They were the most important document for regulating the relations between the Ottoman Empire and foreign powers such as England or France (Olnon, 2003: 649-669). They were of practical interest to foreign residents, and especially to merchants, such as those of the Levant Company. Paul Rycaut, the Secretary to the ambassador of Charles II in Istanbul – Heneage Finch, Second Earl of Winchilsea – arranged and set forth the new text with the new articles of the Capitulations. He averred that he had been asked by the consuls of the factories and many merchants who were his friends for copies of these Capitulations with the Ottoman Sultan. He thought that, rather than being painfully transcribed by hand, it would be better to have them printed and avoid the troubles for the merchants in the Ottoman Empire that result from ignorance of their legal advantages and limitations. A reading of Rycaut’s remarks and version of the matter shows quite clearly that they were not addressed to the Ottomans.

For the somewhat delicate task of printing this significant document, Rycaut chose Abraham Gabbai. The resulting printed book has no connection to the repeatedly emphasized Talmudic productions. It bears the imprint “printed at Constantinople by Abraham Gabbai Chaf Nahat” in 1663, in quarto. Its title is eloquent and informative:

The Capitulations and Articles of Peace Betwveene the Maiestie of the King of England, Scotland, France, & Ireland &c. and the Svltan of the Ottoman Empire, as They Haue Beene

Augmented, & Altered in the Times of Euery Embassadour: And as Novv Lately in the City of Adrianople in the Month of January 1661 They Haue Beene Augmented, Renevved, & Amplified Vvith Diverse Additionall Articles, & Priuiledges, Vvwhich Serue Tovwards the Maintenance of a Vvell Grounded Peace, & Securitie of the Trade, & Trafficke of His Maiesties Subiects in the Leuant, by His Excellency Heneage Earle of VVinchilsea Embassadour Extraordinary from His Maiestie Charles the Second King of Great Brittain, France, & Ireland to Svltan Mahomet Han the Most Puisant Prince, & Emperour of the Turkes: set forth, and published by Paul Ricaut, Esquire, Secretary to his Excellencie the Lord Embassadour.

In it, we find a letter signed by Abraham Gabbai:

The Printer to the Reader

Courteous Reader

If in perusing these following Capitulations you find some few letters misplaced, or the letter W not so neatly formed, as were to bee wished attribute the fault neither to the Printer, nor Correctour: for the presse at Constantinople being but fildome employed, is not furnished with the uarietie of those letters, which are only proper to northern languages, amongst Which the w is of speciall use; to suly which defect, I haue beene forced to imitate that letter as well as I could beyond my own art, & profession. And if any other letters are let slip, it was in time of the Correctours urgent auocation to other employments Which permitted him not to bee so accurate, & attentue hereunto as he desired. And so hoping you Will pardon, what slight errors you may possibly meet with herein I remaine

yours at command

Abraham Gabbai chaf nahat (Capitulations, Preface)

This text, signed by Gabbai himself, is unusual precisely because there is not much of his personal writing in modern languages that has been published so far. Clearly, and contrary to common beliefs, the reprints were not the only occasions when Gabbai used Latin characters. One of the main issues is how to explain frankly different, if not contradictory, cultural features in the printers' activities: "year of our lord" does not sit easily with the extremely traditional and mainstream Jewish works – e.g., of contemporary regional rabbis and authors – which engaged his Hebrew printing activities. The poems he printed in Spanish appeal to different cultural horizons than the Hebrew works he printed. Focus on the Hebrew works, although conventional, is not particularly helpful here. Gabbai's English letter shows him as a professional interested in the details of his calling. This contrasts with the messianic emphases of today's treatments of this period's Ottoman Jews. "...the presse at Constantinople being but fildome employed" could be understood as implying that it is employed – albeit seldom – or that it is seldom employed for Northern languages which use the /w/ and are more frequently employed for printing in modern European languages which are not "Northern". Since bibliographies are based on catalogues and catalogues

reflect the collections and their collectors, it may be worth bearing in mind that the existence of unlisted Ottoman prints would surprise no one.

Another point which Gabbai's letter in the Capitulations highlights is that Gabbai seems to be a brand, rather than an individual, hence the repeated allusions to "the Correctors". The evidenced case of (his relative) Solomon Gabbai, employed as corrector to the *Chaf nachat* enterprise would be an additional point of reference. This understanding of the importance of "branding" and "the brand" is supported by the use of the *Chaf nahat* appellation in a number of his products. There is no evidence that the indexes and other aids were done by Abraham Gabbai himself. Most relevant is the existence of a network, exemplified not only in the "correctors" mentioned explicitly by Gabbai, but also in the case of the two authors who – thanks to Gabbai's exertions or organizing – contribute new Spanish poetry to the book: Moron and De Sylva. They show the links between the *arte* or *techne*, the mechanical work and the literary and cultural aspects. From such a perspective, the historical links (embodied in the case of Gabbai) between the Dragomans; the interpreters' profession and the printers' profession become more comprehensible. We now understand that all of them require polyglossia, a vocation for agency and transmission of cultures. The *Chaf nachat* "logo" carries also dynastic messages: it reminds the reader that Abraham is not the first family member to engage in the profession of printing; his is a family of scholars, as the words come from the title of his grandfather's work. And the trait of contacts with Christians in the world of books could be traced back to these ancestors' contacts with e.g., the Bragadin publishers.

Gabbai's English letter establishes beyond doubt the close relation between Gabbai and Rycaut. What does this mean for the cultural paradigm of social types such as the "Dragoman" – rather than for Rycault? Rycaut has been such a basic and widely read source for the study of the Sabbatian movement for so long – since at least Graetz – that it might require some effort to comprehend other, non-Sabbatian aspects related to the cultural background and printing enterprises in those years. One of these would be the possibility of Rycault's bonds with Gabbai that go beyond pure expedience, commerce and the putative ability to understand and conduct business "in Ladino" or read in Latin characters, but, rather, are based on a more serious commitment to Hispanicity and culture. Rycaut was no average bureaucrat. He was attached to the Porte for about six years. He published, apart from *The Capitulations and Articles of Peace between England and the Porte, as modified at Adrianople, January 1661*, also *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the most material points of the Mahometan Religion*. Rycaut was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 12 December 1666, and contributed to the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1699, a paper on the habits of 'mures norwegici' or sable mice. He also

translated part of *The Critick from the Spanish of Balthazar Gracián*, 1681; and *The Royal Commentaries of Peru, from the Spanish of Garcilasso de la Vega*, 1688.

An economic way into the problematics of the field might be the case of the *Criticón*, chosen by Rycaut for translation and thus transmission to a culture of readers who had no access to the original. The best biography of Rycaut, so helpful in other ways, seems to dismiss it as “a popular allegorical novel by a Jesuit Professor, Baltasar Gracián y Morales. The hero of this ... was a child of nature raised by beasts in a cave... and the theme was the reaction on this virgin soul of the first sight of earth, sea and sky and of a fellow human being, a shipwrecked philosopher who later guided him round Europe” (Anderson, 1989: 22-23). Less of a caricature would be offered by Gracián readers such as Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, both admirers of the Saragossan author. Manning’s recent work could be a random example of differing approaches. Speaking of it, Andrew Keitt asserts pithily:

Rather than proffering straightforward moral guidance, Gracián presented a world so out of joint that it could only result in a disillusionment (*desengaño*) that did not even hold out the possibility of turning readers’ attention to the hereafter. Gracián’s portrayal of the afterlife ... neither conformed to orthodox visions of heaven nor offered a secular version of moral redemption, and thus in the end readers were left with nothing more than “a continuous string of deceptions” ... In this disenchanted fictional world Gracián juxtaposed standard tropes lauding the glories of Spanish culture with veiled criticisms of contemporary Spanish society, criticisms that extended even to King Philip IV and his most trusted ministers. Manning argues that this structure offered readers a choice of interpretations, thereby implicating them in any subversive reading of the text and leaving the author “without blame” (Keitt, 2012: 250).

More closely relevant to Rycaut’s translation projects – in relation to commercial factors – is María Antonia Garcés’ (2006: 203) view on Rycaut’s other translation from Spanish, that of Garcilaso’s *Commentaries*:¹⁵

Sir Paul Rycaut rendered the Peruvian’s work into English. Examined for their performativity, the translations of Garcilaso’s works emerge as sites for early modern mercantile expansion and for the staging of cultural difference. The literary activities of English merchants, buccaneers, and diplomats, which contributed to the commercial success of Spanish chronicles of travel and discovery in England, are of great importance, but the Continental translations are equally important. In the wake of the boom of English publications on the New World, which began in the 1650s with Cromwell’s attack on Jamaica, the fortunes of the *Royal Commentaries* speak both to the ideological needs of an

¹⁵ On the Inca’s *Comentarios* see Chang-Rodríguez (2011). For the challenge of understanding the Inca see the comment by Mario Vargas Llosa: “Hablar de un estilo mestizo sería redundante, pues todos lo son... Pero la de Garcilaso es una lengua que tiene una música, una cadencia, unas maneras impregnadas de su origen y condición de indiano que le confieren una personalidad singular” (p. 26).

emerging modern world and to the transatlantic endeavors that marked English imperial expansion.

What such an analysis makes clear is that the purely “profit” or “commercial” factor is not sufficient to explain cultural phenomena of this complexity and magnitude and certainly not in contradiction to them. The translations have a history. The beginning of the Gracián project could be traced back to Rycaut’s stay at the Complutensian University in 1652/3. But the documented link with Gabbai was not earlier than December 1660, Rycaut’s first brief stay – three weeks (Anderson, 1989: 27) – in Smyrna is probably later. What becomes clear now is that the interest in Spain and the grasp of its culture in Gabbai’s circle was far more profound than has been realized. Any acquaintance with works of Gracián or even of the Inca would show that someone who chooses them for the challenging task of translation has an interest in the more demanding specifics of the culture. They are neither “simple” nor folkloric. Rather it might need to be taken into account also when analyzing Rycaut’s curiosity, sustained interest and detailed narrative concerning Clara’s son, the Smyrnan singer of the Spanish ballad *Melisenda* in 1665, i.e. *Sabbatai Sevi*. The question of this narrative’s dependence on Gabbai needs reassessment.

4. HISPANICITY

This evidence could lead directly to the question of the Hispanicity of Sephardi culture in the Smyrna of Gabbai. The case of the somewhat younger Smyrna sage, R. Elijah Hacoheh Ha-Itamari (ca. 1659-1729), might be enlightening as to the horizons of his Smyrna audience’s Hispanicity. He was a polygraph who produced over 30 works. Here one may attend to his *Midrash Elijahu* (Itamari, 1693) which contains eleven funeral sermons and a commentary on the Talmudic sayings relative to the Book of Esther. In it we find a “Drush Jacob Hagiz ba`al `Etz ha-hayyim” (Ibid, 16b) in which there is a reference to the *Sefer haredim*: “And you son of man raise your eyes to what was written by the pious author of *Sefer Haredim*” (Chapter VII, fol. 42 verso):

It once happened in Castile that they had appointed a bull for their games as they are accustomed to do and they tormented it and hit it. That night a Jew was visited in a dream by his father and he said you should know my son that because of my many sins after my death they transmigrated me into a bull and that is destined for the ring tomorrow to be tormented and hit in the games of the people. Therefore my son redeem me and save me so that I can escape through a certain place. Therefore my son be not parsimonious and buy the bull and slaughter it and if it be found kasher...

To captivate his Smyrna public, the preacher chooses an exemplum set, not in Turkey but in Castile. The subject is bullfighting. His attitude is censorious. He alludes to the cruelty of the custom in terms which are reminiscent in some ways of the attitudes towards hunting of Arragel and Abravanel. The question, then, may be said to be rooted in pre-expulsion Hispano-Jewish thought and texts. On the Christian side one needs to be aware that, while modern *tauromaquia* tends to trace its origins to the 18th century, there is no doubt that some form of public bullfighting or *fiesta de toros* was known at the turn of the seventeenth century. Philip III was no less an aficionado of the *lidia* than his son, Philip IV.

A similar case might be that of the *Midrash Elyahu's* sumptuary condemnations:

And how outrageous are the people who wear silk and they walk in the markets and the streets and they look at people's faces to see if they are being observed and whether people are looking at the beauty of their clothing. And such a person walks about and wastes his time and thinks everybody is observing him. And to himself he thinks how proud he is. And specially those who put on themselves the animal (named) *zamarra* in la'az. He thinks he has acquired his world and that he has reached perfection and he is an idiot (be'er) and does not know that this shows the lowliness of his worth by saying that an impure animal has raised him to quality ... (Itamari, 1864: 31 column b; 1693:22 recto, column b).

Itamari's code switching to Spanish, in a Hebrew text, draws the reader's attention to the *zamarra*. It is not an entirely simple choice of terms. Indeed, in various peninsular literary and other texts (from at least the age of the *Libro de buen amor* and onwards) the *zamarra* is iconic of the shepherd's garb rather than of luxurious attire.¹⁶ In a 1595 translation by Hector Pinto,¹⁷ King David contrasts the luxurious attire of a monarch with that of his early youth, when he wore a *zamarra*. Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century, Covarrubias (177) distinguishes between *zamarra* and *zamarro*.¹⁸ Ha-Itamari seems to be relying on his audience's awareness of precisely this difference between *zamarra* and *zamarro* (in contrast, perhaps, with the printers of his work). Such a precise and nuanced sensitivity to Spanish culture is not part of the usual reconstructions or available image of this Smyrna community.

It is in this highly Hispanic atmosphere that we find the section on one of the authors of the poems: Isaac Moron. The Smyrnan *Midrash Elyahu's* (23a) eulogy to Moron, the Smyrnan author of the Spanish sonnet in the unicum printed by Gabbai, may be briefly observed.

¹⁶ Thus: "Al hombro una *zamarra* mal doblada, / del brazo su zurrón traía colgando, / en la derecha mano una cayada, / y el blanco pie en l'arena matizando" writes Jorge de Montemayor, in his most important work of 1559 (1991: 384).

¹⁷ King David is made to say: "Señor, que fue tiempo en que yo andando guardando ganado no tenía más que una *zamarra* y un cayado y un zurrón y que vos me hicistes rey de uno de los más ricos y excelentes reinos del mundo...". See Pinto (1967: 233).

¹⁸ "traje de gente regalada hecho de pelo blanco y corto". See Francisco José Flores Arroyuelo (2004: 75-97).

Apart from a mention of his profession as physician, we are offered little by way of biographical¹⁹ or personal details about the deceased but there is nothing to support the notion that he was “a marrano”. Moron’s philanthropic activities and links to the Smyrna Fraternity for Orphans, with its vernacular (Judeo-Spanish) statutes/*haskamot*, are not mentioned. If anything, there almost seems to be the implication that Moron’s profession was of little value. The whole sermon is based on the body/soul dichotomy and develops the notion that it is the physician of the soul (Ha-Itamari himself? or Ishaq Moron in other non-medical activities?) who matters, rather than the physician who tends to bodily ailments.

5. READING THE SONNETS

Gabbai’s choice of poets and poems is based, as publishers’ choices of investment usually are, on a certain familiarity with his reading public’s cultural parameters, affinities and predilections. In this case, the Sephardim of Smyrna are the basic immediate public and the poems therefore tell us something about them as well as about the authors (Moron, Sylva) and their promoter (Gabbai). What may be assumed without comment about the community of readers in, say, Madrid, becomes a startling, new revelation, in some ways, when we change the point of view and analyze the elements of these compositions in the completely different frame of the Sephardi community of Ottoman Smyrna.

The sonnet, as a poetic form, had a surprisingly rich *fortuna* amongst Ottoman Jewish poets writing in Hebrew as shown by Bregman (1998). But our poems are not in Hebrew. All four compositions are constructed in traditional style by hendecasyllabic verses of fourteen lines. Rhyme schemes vary in the four poems, although generally the first two quartets present stable Italianate sonnet rhyme patterns: *abba abba*. The sonnets should be seen as comprising two quartets and two tercets.

Both Smyrna poets allude to bronze: “*En oro y bronze eterno de la fama*” writes Moron at the very beginning of his Soneto. Equally prominent is the location of the same image in De Sylva’s composition. It constitutes the sonnet’s culmination: “*Como Sol en los bronces esculpido / Su historia, en adornar tu sepultura*”. In Moron, bronze is eternal; it is equivalent to fame. In De Sylva, the history of the Jews (or Menasseh’s writing of it or Menasseh’s own history) is like a golden sun sculpted on the bronze of the tomb. The images used by Moron and De

¹⁹ Barnai writes: “Isaac Moron, ... (following Benayahu’s suggestion) may well have been that key figure among Sabbatai Zevi’s close Smyrnan friends usually known as ‘Dr. Carun (?)’. If this identification is correct, it provides a direct link between Sabbetai Zevi, his close associates, and the printing of the Smyrna edition of *Esperanza de Israel*” (Barnai, 1982: 121).

Sylva are, of course, not new. Their combination links death (of Menasseh) subject of all the poems; the literary fame of the author (Menasseh) and the question of time, endurance, and immortality (“*aquel bien que sin mudanza / Del variable tiempo aqui se alcanza*”). In a way, they dovetail with the epitaph upon Menasseh’s tomb in the famous Jewish cemetery at Oudekerk.

These meditations on fame and immortality, through the image of bronze, are located in a specific position: at the beginning and end of the Smyrna book. Even this location is significant and hardly coincidental. In a generalized way, it could be said that the custom of prefacing or concluding books by means of poems is ubiquitous in Hebrew Sephardi books of the time but it is also possible, indeed necessary, to view them historically. As Williams has pointed out: “There is a noticeable tendency among ancient poets to place first person meditations on their own poetic practice, generally accompanied by references to the immortality of their verse, at the beginning and end of a book or collection; among the most famous examples in Roman poetry are Horace’s...”. As in the poems of Moron and De Sylva, “In Ovid we find the concepts of fame and authorship entwined”²⁰ not to mention the specific motif of the bronze. This would mean that this custom is originally Classical rather than Hebraic.

In Menasseh’s own entourage and printing activities there were poets who were active in writing poems to be placed at the beginning of books which reflected and referred to the book itself. Hebrew examples are well documented. *Sefer peney rabah*, a Concordance by Menasseh Ben Israel, was printed with laudatory poems by Isaac Aboab in Amsterdam in 5388 (= 1628). *Sefer ha-jirah*, ascribed to Jona Gerondi, was printed in Amsterdam by Menasseh Ben Israel, in 5387 (= 1627) and was accompanied by Shalom ben Joseph Gallego’s Hebrew poem on f. 1v. An even closer antecedent is that provided by the *Tratado del Temor Divino Extracto del doctissimo libro llamado Ressit hohma, traduzido nuevamente del Hebrayco, a nuestro vulgar idioma* by Elia ben Moses Vidas. Translated by David de Ishac Coen de Lara, it was published in Amsterdam by Menasseh Ben Israel, 5393 (= 1633). Dedicated to David de Lima, it contains a sonnet by Josseph Frances dedicated to the translator: “*Al sapientissimo Señor, el Haham David Coen de Lara, en la traducion del tratado del Temor Divino. De Yosseph Frances*”. These poems reflect the book to which they are appended in a number of ways.

²⁰ Craig Williams (2002: 417-433): “I am seeking eternal fame so that I may be sung forever all around the world. Homer will live as long as Tenedos and Ida are standing, as long as the Simois rolls its swift waters into the sea. Hesiod, too, will live as long as the grape swells with its juice, as long as grain falls to the ground, cut back by the curved sickle... Cliffs and the tooth of the enduring ploughshare will perish over time, but poetry is deathless. Let kings and the triumphs of kings yield to poetry, let the kindly banks of the gold bearing Tagus yield to poetry. Let the common people admire ordinary things. To me let golden-haired Apollo serve goblets full of Castalian water; let me wear cold fearing myrtle in my hair and be read widely by the anxious lover”.

One of these is the allusion to a term, concept or category of the book in the title. Hence the references to “hope” in the sonnets in honor of the author of *Esperanza*...which were rightly noticed by Barnai although without access to the original in Spanish (Barnai, 2000).

Like bronze, “fire” as a poetic conceit appears in both, Moron’s and Sylva’s poems. By 1659, in a post-Petrarchan age, modern language poetic treatments of fire or derivatives such as “icy fire” or other variants were thought to be decorous. A particular example would be the treatment of the “butterfly attracted to fire” studied by Trueblood (1977: 829-837). It is useful in that it shows how the Greco-Roman classics, although evidently basic to the poets’ craft, cannot, by themselves, explain seventeenth century texts. Some attention to and awareness of the early modern Iberian reception of the classical tradition (especially in Hispano-Jewish frames such as the Amsterdam Academies,) is necessary.²¹

Suprema esfera, introduced into the sonnets as poetically decorous, could be justified by appeal to ibn Tofayl’s Hay ibn Yaqzan, written in Guadix, in the twelfth century. He had also written about the supreme sphere in a poem. Connected to fire, in a mystical setting, it could be found in much less distant texts, for example in the early modern peninsular Catholic homiletic literature. In his *Sermones varios de tiempo y santos* of 1688, Salvador Fornari i Peretó includes one on San Bruno. In it the preacher writes:

...procuraba con mortales ansias el amor de la esposa subir a su centro y suprema esfera que es el centro y corazon del esposo... el centro y suprema esfera del amor... (p. 438).

One of the sonnets refers to his *Esperança de Israel* as having been composed “[El Docto Menasseh ya] en la postrera / Línea vital [compuso la esperança Que consuela a Israel]”. *Línea vital*, like *esfera*, belongs in a universe of discourse which is not that of the “bronze” and the “fire”. One may recall that in the city of (Puebla de) Los Angeles, in 1583, there began the trial of Pedro Suárez accused of possessing “papeles supersticiosos de... rayas” (Pena, 2004: 59-67). The text of these *papeles de rayas* show that in the colonies there was sufficient interest in chiromancy as to lead to the copying – in manuscript – of a Spanish version of Johannes Taisnier’s *Opus Mathematicum*, the work in eight books which is

²¹ Thus: “Qual simple maripossa buelbo al fuego / De buestra hermosura do me abrasso,” in Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. In Lope we find: “...pero sin ser su centro, él mismo luego / quiso templarse en nieve tan hermosa. / No es essa, no, tu esfera luminosa” where the allusion to the sphere reminds one of De Sylva’s allusion to the sphere in his poem to Menasseh. For Gongora – traditionally thought to be a major influence on Sephardi authors – the motif of the “butterfly to the fire” is a cipher of human ambition: “ambiciosa entrega / su mal vestida pluma a lo que arde. / Yace gloriosa...” (See Trueblood). So that Sabbatean poetry [*Shirot*...] on fire for Hispanophones could be understood if, added to the usual theological data, we attempt to reconstruct the culture.

concerned with chiromancy, physiognomy, and astrology. The section on chiromancy follows the work of Cocles (or Bartolommeo della Rocca d. 1504). While the chiromantic interest is widely manifest in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe in general, the Inquisition documents show its precise dissemination in Spanish and the protagonism of the *línea vital*. Pedro Suárez de Mayorga, *el quiromántico de Tepeaca*, possessed, then, a treatise on chiromancy which begins with a sustained discussion of the *línea vital*, i.e. the concept we find in the Smyrna unicum's sonnet.

A relatively traditional Jewish Hebrew source would be Shem Tov ibn Shaprut who, in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, wrote a *Treatise on Chiromancy*. He calls it *hokhmat ha-sirtut* and asserts that he learnt it in *sifrei ha-nosrim*, the books of the Christians (Schwartz, 1992). Chiromancy is not foreign to Jewish interests in the Ottoman Empire. Moses Ben Elijah Galina, the Greek scholar and translator who lived in Candia in the fifteenth century was the author of a number of books, but his best-known work is *Toledot Adam* (Constantinople, 1515), a treatise on chiromancy and physiognomy, drawn chiefly from 'Ali ibn 'Abbas', Kamel al-Sanaat al-Tibbia and the pseudo-Aristotelian "Secretum". That is to say that the *líneas* are neither Classical nor from ancient Hebrew texts. The chiromantic element in the sonnet is, however, as coherent as the other images, because it reflects Menasseh's work. Indeed, in the nineteenth chapter of the third treatise of *Nishmat Hayyim* (Amsterdam, 1652) Menasseh rejects the opinion of Maimonides, who declared auguries to be lies and deceptions, and refers even to the Chinese and the Africans. He knows various kinds of divination including chiromancy.

Another element in the Smyrna sonnets is the parenthesis. Ishaq Moron uses parenthesis in: "El docto Menasse, en cuya frente / (Tan laureada en la suprema esfera) / Por uictoria se ponga iustamente...". Daniel de Sylva does so in: "Soys enla empresa que intentasteis fuerte / (nublados de ignorancia des haciendo) / Con todo de Israel en la esperanza / ...". And also in: "...Oh docto Menasse fúnebre espuma / (Elegíaco elogio) Altiva pluma...".

The parenthesis is usually understood as an explanatory or qualifying word, clause, or sentence inserted into a passage with which it does not necessarily have any grammatical connection. Quintilian had prescribed figures which relieve us from the tedium of everyday speech and save us from commonplace language. These included parenthesis, an interruption of the continuous flow of language by the insertion of some remark. By the age of Erasmus, the symbol for parenthesis was being referred to as *lunulae* ("little moons"). Famous examples could include the case of Polonius who interrupts his speech to King Claudius about Prince Hamlet's behavior toward his daughter, adding a parenthesis to his own parenthesis (Hamlet: 2.2. 131-135). Lamb's recent work on yet another, early modern,

vernacular author focuses on Sidney's *Arcadia*. Its parentheses, for him, are not to be ignored or found a distracting remnant of an earlier age (Lamb, 2010: 310-335).

A closer parallel may be found in the same period of Moron and De Sylva's compositions in the Smyrna unicum. Like theirs, it is in Spanish. It is, like Moron's and De Sylva's, also a funeral/elegiac composition but in prose. Diego Riquelme y Quiros' *Oración* on the death of Prince Baltasar Carlos also has recourse to the device: "quando advierto (ilustrissimo señor) el continuo sentimiento las perpetuas lágrimas con que V. S. Ilustrísima llora la temprana muerte del príncipe nuestro señor..."; or, further on "Y pues los suspiros tristes con que VS ilustrísima (en tan justo sentimiento muestra su nobilísima sangre; su rendida fidelidad y el tierno afecto con que amava a su alteza) han llegado (sin pasar) a los justos límites..." in the Prologue, or, at the beginning of the *Oración*: "Nuestro señor. Que defunto (o grave pena) yaze (o acervo dolor)" (1647, prologue). In Riquelme y Quiros the figure has almost the effect of a chorus and separate voice.

Some images contrast sharply with the re-workings of originally classical, Greco-Roman elements, although the Smyrna authors in the unicum do attempt to integrate them seamlessly into the fabric of the poem. The most evident case is *Pyra de Calambuco*. It would not be found in the Classics or in Petrarch.

Speaking of the kingdom of Cochinchina, one of the chronicles of discovery refers to the *calambuco* as fragrant and immediately follows this reference with a list of curious and precious things which are to be found there in abundance, such as silk or gold.²² Jerónimo de Barrionuevo de Peralta (Granada, 1587-1671?) wrote reports of life at court around 1654-1658 and records the visit of the Countess of Creciente to the King, in which she gave him the gift of a rosary made of *calambuco*.²³ Barrionuevo's anecdote clearly documents the semiotic frame of the material culture at that time; it was befitting for the purpose of a gift from a noblewoman to a king and it also has sacral aspects. This religious/moral aura leads to thinking about hypocrisy. In 1598, in *La Dragonteá*, written against Sir Francis Drake, Lope attempts to describe a hypocrite: Andres del Draque and he mentions Drake's "Rosario de

²² "Reyno de Cochinchina... Cría mucho palo del Águila, y otro que llaman Calambay, que también es muy oloroso: este es el que llamamos Calambuco: y en fin abunda de seda, oro, y otras cosas de precio, y curiosas..." (José Martínez de la Puente, 1681). For the question in Spanish literature of the seventeenth century see Lía Schwartz, "La transmisión renacentista de la poesía Grecolatina y dos sonetos de Quevedo" (1993).

²³ "Olvidábaseme de decir de la Condesa de Creciente otro cuento. Fué á hablar al Rey, que lo hace muy familiarmente, que es señora loca y graciosa y le trata de pariente. Dióle un rosario de calambuco guarnecido de oro, curioso y rico". *Avisos* (A. Paz y Melia, 1892-3: CLXXV).

cuentas gruesas, Madera de Alamo teñida” and “remedio de su gente propia”. This rosary is of “oloroso calambuco”.²⁴

These testimonies help to recreate the resonances of fragrance, luxury and exoticism inherent in the mentions of this wood. They also reveal the association with religion, sacrality, virtue. But unlike the Smyrna’s unicum sonnets, they do not refer to the *pyra*. Therefore, a closer analogue could be helpful. Luis Vélez de Guevara (d. 1644), the dramatists and novelist, could provide us with further precision on its use. A character in his play *El ollero de Ocaña* tries to express a woman’s reluctance to accept the advances of a suitor. She embarks on a hyperbolic list of impossibilia (which are like the impossibility of accepting her suitor) where the imagination soars to cosmic proportions including the sun, the mountains as well as Greco-Roman mythology: Phaeton, the Phoenix and the geographic references of the Spanish Baroque-drawing on the classics (*Aeneid*) such as Mongibel. The delicate “pyre of Calambuco”, in this list of impossible things, will turn into a monstrous eruption, similar to that of the Mongibel.²⁵

6. PLUMA/ESPUMA

“Pluma/espuma” is a rhyme which appears in the Ottoman print in De Sylva’s sonnet:

Esta que con affeto y dolor uierte
 Oh docto Menasse fúnebre espuma
 (Elegiaco elogio) Altiva pluma
 Al despojo dedico de tu muerte

“Pluma/ espuma” refers, then, to the Smyrna composition devoted to Menasseh in the Cincinnati unicum of *Esperanza...* It is a self-reflective poetic description of the Smyrna sonnet itself, which is *espuma* written by a *pluma*. The performance of *petitio benevolentiae* consists in an affirmation that the poem (written by a *pluma*) is as evanescent and ephemeral as *espuma*, foam. The feather and the foam of the 1659 Smyrna poem by De Sylva are two

²⁴ Lope de Vega y Carpio (1598: 262):

...hyprocresia, o santidad impropia
 con muestras de rezar, o de ofrecéllo
 por el remedio de su gente propia,
 passaba el oloroso calambuco,
 si no era acaso de Escariot sabuco.

²⁵ Vélez (2013: Acto Segundo, 155): “será imposible vencella / su pecho me declara y dice que antes el Sol, hecho segundo Faetonte, servirá de asa á un monte del hemisferio español: y de la caliente pyra de oloroso calambuco, adonde el fénix caduco para renacer expira que en vez de cenizas pardas engendra fenicios vuelos, dará ardientes mongibelos”.

disparate items. On their own, they have symbolic, metaphoric associations which can be traced back, particularly amongst the heirs of Greco-Roman cultures and of languages such as Spanish, to ancient texts. Although unaware of the rare sonnets from Smyrna, many have paid attention to these metaphors because of something else: their extraordinary significance in seventeenth century literature. As an homage to Dámaso Alonso (Bravo Vega, 1991, 35-87), Spitzer searches for and adds numerous Classical examples of such associations of the individual images. Such work can help in recovering something of the embarrassment of riches of the seventeenth century *imaginaire* concerning “*pluma/espuma*” as manifest in Gongora’s “*Soledad primera*” of 1613. Vilanova (1957: 328) documented the use of *espuma* in Ovid, Catullus and Virgil, its reception by Italian Petrarchism and its function in Gongora’s *Polifemo*. Yndurain (1968; 1969: 280-283) introduced a further precision by incorporating Spanish Petrarchism into this itinerary. The main text is as follows:

bien previno la hija de la espuma
a batallas de amor campo de pluma
(*Soledad Primera*, 1613).

The rhyme appears in Gongora’s sonnets since 1611 (but in the *Canciones* even earlier, in 1602) and it is seen by Poggi (1983: 189-222) as an exponent of the *batalla amorosa* motif, while Beverly (1973: 233-48) sees in «*campo de pluma*» an allusion to the field of writing, the page, and thus a sign of self-conscious literarity.

7. CONCLUSION

As we have seen, four sonnets by Isaac Moron and Daniel de Sylva are printed in the *unicum* published by Abraham Gabbai at the Kaf Nahat press in Smyrna. In light of the usual comparisons between “Western” and “Eastern” Sephardim, the phenomenon appears as unconventional, an oddity. A historical contextualization of the Sephardi community of the printer and the poets has been suggested. The general and communal history of Smyrna at this time, when it emerged as a major international port, was largely a result of the attraction it exercised over foreigners, and of the port city’s European orientation.

In addition, as we have also seen, one must take into account the culture of the consuls and the close relationship of Smyrna Jews with them and with other culturally relevant figures such as travelers, bibliophiles or book collectors. This explains some of the background of cultural receptiveness, which occurred at a time when Smyrna was a cultural melting pot attracting Christian Europeans in search of literary fame. Even in Hebrew texts of that time and place, one can find examples of a more varied and more nuanced Hispanicity than has been understood until now. The analysis of the sonnets themselves

reveals their affinity with several fields: the Spanish literature of Amsterdam Sephardim, with the Iberian reception of the Classical tradition and with the esthetic and intellectual presuppositions current in the Iberian Peninsula. A different perspective on this learned culture, as suggested by this article and by a plethora of concrete examples such as the relatively erudite rhyming scheme of “pluma” and “espuma”, leads to a questioning of the schematic views of Ottoman Sephardi Hispanicity as strictly bound by the limits of the oral and folkloric realms.

APPENDIX

En alabanza del Heroyco Hacham
Menasseh ben Israel de felice
memoria

SONETO

En oro y bronze eterno de la fama
Mi Menasseh, la gloria en su Esperanza
Deja esculpida ya con la fianza
De Oraculo diuino, que lo inflama
Todo Israel se enciende en sacra llama
Esperando aquel bien que sin mudanza
Del variable tiempo aqui se alcanza
Quando a sus esperantes dulce llama
Israel pues espere lo que espera
El docto Menasse, en cuya frente
(Tan laureada en la suprema esfera)
Por uictoria se ponga iustamente
La daphne que mas deuida fuera
Si uiuiera varon tan excelente

El Doctor Ishac Moron

ELEGIA

Esta que con affeto y dolor uierte
Oh docto Menasse fúnebre espuma
(Elegiaco elogio) Altiva pluma
Al despojo dedico de tu muerte
Que felizmente viven nos advierte
Los tribus sin que el tiempo los consuma
Tu grave historia. tu doctrina suma
Ni hagan trágica scena en nuestra suerte
Del mundo los boluiste a la memoria
Que siempre apartara de ti su oluido
Por ser de igual valor de igual uentura

Sirua pues para empresa de tu gloria
Como Sol en los bronces esculpido
Su historia, en adornar tu sepultura
EL D. S.

En alabanza del Il Menaseh Ben Israel

SONETO

Pyra de Calambuco se fabrica
El fénix raro en la postrera hora
Y muriendo de vida su mejora
Sy la resurecion nos certifica
La esperanza que tiene califica
En el premio infalible que atesora
Que, aunque es irracional Cierta no ignora
El poder del que muertos vivifica
El Docto Menasseh ya en la postrera
Linea vital, compuso la esperanca
Que consuela a Israel
De su ruyna Fenix su pluma fue tan altanera
Que explico una promesa sin mudanza
Llena de erudición y de doctrina

SONETO AL MISMO

Descubre las diez tribus Montesino
Cosa hasta agora apocos permitida
Y sin creerse alguno hacienda y vida
Pierde por matorrales y caminos
Vos sabio Menasseh con los divinos
Rasgos de vuestra pluma tan luzida
Aesta opinión que estava sumergida
Le dais ser, consolando peregrinos
Vno, y el otro dignos de alabanza
Soys en la empresa que intentasteis fuerte
(nublados de ignorancia des haciendo)
Con todo de Israel en la esperanza
Mas lauro mereceis, aun en la muerte
Peregrinando aquel, uso escribiendo

El Doctor Daniel de Sylua

REFERENCES

- Abramsky, Chimen. (1988). Lucien Wolf's efforts for the Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe. *Jewish Historical Studies*, 29, 281-295
- Anderson, Sonia P. (1989). *An English consul in Turkey: Paul Rycout at Smyrna, 1667-1678*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Attias, Moshe. (1947). *Sefer shirot ve-tishbahot shel ha-shabtaim*, transcribed by M. Attias, introduced by Y. Ben-Zvi, and annotated by G. Scholem. Tel Aviv: Dvir.
- Barnai, Jacob. (2000). *Shabtaut: Hebetim Hevratim*. Jerusalem: Shazar.
- Barnai, Jacob. (1982). Portuguese Marranos in Smyrna in the 17th century. In *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (pp. 85-88). Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies.
- Bashan, Eliezer. (1982-1986). Contacts between Jews in Smyrna and the Levant Company of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Jewish Historical Studies*, 29, 53-73.
- Beverley, John R. (1973). Soledad Primera, Lines 1-61. *Modern Language Notes*, 88, 233-248. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2907510>
- Biase, Carmine Di (ed.). (2006). *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401201957>
- Boogert, Maurits H. van den. (2007). Freemasonry In Eighteenth-Century Smyrna? A Critical Analysis Of Alexander Drummond's Travels (1754). In Maurits H. van den Boogert (ed.), *Ottoman Smyrna: Studies in Honour of Alexander H. de Grootmore* (pp. 103-121). Leiden: NINO.
- Boogert, Maurits H. van den. (2005). *The Capitulations and the Ottoman legal System. Qadis, Consuls and Beratlis in the 18th Century*. Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047406129>
- Bornstein Markovetski, Leah. (1985). The Jewish Community of Istanbul in mid-17th Century-Its Sephardi and Romaniote Personalities and Sages. *Michael*, 9, 27-54.
- Bosworth. C. Edmund. (2007). *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*. İzmir: Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004153882.i-616>
- Bravo Vega, Julián. (1991). Fortuna de una rima áurea: Pluma(s)-Espuma(s). *Cuadernos de Investigacion Filologica*, 17, 35-87. <https://doi.org/10.18172/cif.2299>
- Bregman, Dvora. (1998). *Sror Zehuvim Sonetim Ivriim mi-teqfat ha-rennaissance we-ha-baroque*. Jerusalem: Ben Zvi.
- Bulut, Mehmet. (2002). The Role of the Ottomans and Dutch in the Commercial Integration between the Levant and Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45 (2), 197-230. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852002760247113>
- Cabello Balboa, Miguel. (2011). *Miscelánea antártica* [Edición, introducción y notas de Isaías Lerner]. Sevilla: Fundación José Manuel Lara.
- Chang-Rodríguez, Raquel. (2011). *El Inca Garcilaso y sus "Comentarios reales". Entre la espada y la pluma*. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia.
- Cogley, Richard W. (2007). Some Other Kinde of Being and Condition: The Controversy in Mid-Seventeenth-Century England over the Peopling of Ancient America. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 68 (1), 35-56. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jhi.2007.0003>

- Díaz Esteban, Fernando. (1999). La Apología por la Noble Nación de los Judíos, de Eduardo Nicholas (1649). *Sefarad*, 59, 251-262. <https://doi.org/10.3989/sefarad.1999.v59.i2.793>
- Ezra, Joseph ibn. (1989). *Masa melekh Diney misim w-minhagim* [ed. Yaakov Spiegel]. Jerusalem: Nissim.
- Fornari i Peretó, Salvador. (1688). *Sermones varios de tiempo y santos*. Mallorca: Sastre.
- Galland, Antoine. (2000). *Le voyage a Smyrne: un manuscrit d'Antoine Galland, 1678: contenant Smyrne ancienne et moderne et des extraits du Voyage fait en Levant* [eds. Frédéric Bauden, André Miquel]. Paris: Chandeigne.
- Garcés, María Antonia. (2006). The Translator Translated: Inca Garcilaso and English Imperial Expansion. In Carmine G. Di Biase (ed.), *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period. Approaches to Translation Studies* (pp. 203-239). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Goffman, Daniel. (1999). Smyrna: from village to colonial port. In Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleo, Smyrna, and Istanbul* (pp. 79-134). Cambridge: University Press.
- Goffman, Daniel. (1990). *Smyrna and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*. Seattle: University of Washington.
- Grunhaus, Nechama. (1997). *The Taxation of Smyrna's Jewish Community in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Tel Aviv: University Press [in Hebrew].
- Grunhaus, Nechama. (2008). The Procedure and the Halakhic Basis for the Purchase Tax in the Community of Smyrna. *Pe'amim*, 116, 79-116 [in Hebrew].
- Gutwirth, Eleazar. (2007). Dialogue and the City, circa 1400: Pero Ferruz and the Rabbis of Alcalá. *Jewish History*, 21, 43-67. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10835-006-9026-z>
- Hacker, Joseph R. (1988). Raphael Levi, Ahmed Bashi, Mehemed Bashi, Louis de Bizance – The Transmutations of a Jew from Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century. In Aharon Mirsky et al. (eds.), *Exile and Diaspora*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 497-516 [in Hebrew].
- Hacker, Joseph. (1986). Louis XIV's Envoy to the Levant. *Zion*, 52, 25-44 [in Hebrew].
- Heller, Marvin J. (2009). Kaf Nahat and the First Hebrew press in Smyrna (part 3). *Los Muestrros*, 77, 7-8.
- Holt, P. M. (1957). The Study of Arabic Historians in Seventeenth Century England: The Background and the Work of Edward Pococke. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19 (3), 444-455. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00133567>
- Hyamson, Albert M. (1903). The Lost Tribes, and the Influence of the Search for Them on the Return of the Jews to England. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 15 (4), 640-676. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1450416>
- Itamari, R. Eliyah Hacoheh. (1693). *Midrash Eliyahu*. Smyrna: Hazan.
- Itamari, R. Eliyah Hacoheh (1864). *Midrash Eliyahu*. Czernowitz: Igel.
- Lamb, Jonathan P. (2010). Parentheses and Privacy in Philip Sidney's Arcadia. *Studies in Philology*, 107 (3), 310-335. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sip.0.0055>
- Launay, Denise. (1991). La musique à Venise vers 1645: Ismaël Boulliau, astronome français mélomane et voyageur [Musique Française et Musique Italienne au XVIIe Siècle]. *Revue de Musicologie*, 77, 269-277. <https://doi.org/10.2307/947424>

- Lerner, Isaías. (2003). Las misceláneas renacentistas y el mundo colonial americano. *Lexis: Revista de lingüística y literatura*, 27 (1-2), 217-232 [Ejemplar dedicado a José Luis Rivarola (Tomo I), ed. Luis Jaime Cisneros, Wulf Oesterreicher, Isaías Lerner]. <https://doi.org/10.18800/lexis.20030102.011>
- Lerner, Isaías. (2005). Saberes viajeros: las misceláneas y el nuevo mundo. In Juan José Alonso Perandones, Juan Matas Caballero, José Manuel Trabado Cabado (eds.), *La maravilla escrita, Antonio de Torquemada y el Siglo de Oro* (pp. 15-32). León: Universidad de León.
- Lerner, Isaías. (2010). La Miscelánea antártica y el origen de los pueblos del continente americano. *Edad de oro*, 29, 137-148.
- Manning, Patricia W. (2009). *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Criticón*. Leiden, Boston: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004178519.iii-323>
- Martínez de la Puente, José. (1681). *Compendio de las historias de los descubrimientos, conquistas y guerras...* Madrid: Imprenta Imperial.
- Malkiel, María Rosa Lida de. (1949). Sobre: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Un viejo romance cantado por Sabbatai Ceví. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 111, 84-85.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. (1948). Un viejo romance cantado por Sabbatai Ceví. In U. T. Holmes and A. J. Denomy (eds.), *Mediaeval studies in honor of J. D. M. Ford* (pp. 185-190). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Montemayor, Jorge de. (1991). *Los siete libros de La Diana 1559* [ed. Asunción Rallo]. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Nersessian, Vrej. (1980). *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books, 1512-1850*. London: British Library.
- Olson, Merlijn. (2003). A Most Agreeable and Pleasant Creature? Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa in the Correspondence of Justinus Colyer (1668-1682). *Oriente Moderno*, 22 (83), 649-669. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22138617-08303006>
- Pagano de Divitiis, Gigliola. (1986). Il Mediterraneo nel XVII secolo: L'espansione commerciale inglese e l'Italia. *Studi Storici*, 27, 109-148.
- Parente, Fausto. (1981). Il confronto ideologico tra l'ebraismo e la Chiesa in Italia. In *Italia Judaica: atti del I Convegno* (pp. 303-381). Roma: Multigrafica.
- Paz y Meliá, Antonio. (1892-1893). *Avisos*. Madrid: Tello.
- Pena, Margarita. (2004). Quiromancia y adivinación en la Nueva España. In Mariana Masera (ed.), *Literatura y cultura populares de la Nueva España* (pp. 59-67). Mexico City: UNAM.
- Pinto, Fr. Heitor. (1967). *Traducción de la Imagen de la vida cristiana* [ed. Edward Glaser]. Barcelona: Juan Flors.
- Pitts, Jennifer. (2018). *Boundaries of the international: law and empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674986275>
- Roth, Bezalel (Cecil). (1924). New Light on the Resettlement. *Transactions Jewish Historical Society of England*, 11, 112-42.
- Roth, Bezalel (Cecil). (1952). Ha-Defus Ha-Sepharadi Be-Smyrna. *Kiryat Sefer*, 28, 390-393.
- Rauschenbach, Sina. (2012). Menasseh ben Israel and the Christian Respublica literaria. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 102 (4), 561-588. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jqr.2012.0032>

- Riquelme y Qviros, Diego. (1647). *Oracion Funebre que en las solenes exequias que a la muerte del serenissimo príncipe nuestro señor don Baltasar Carlos hizo la Santa Iglesia Apostolica Metropolitana de Granada*. Granada: Vicente Álvarez de Mariz.
- Rycault, Paul. (1663). *Capitulations...* Constantinople: Gabbai.
- Schorsch, Ismar. (1978). From Messianism to Realpolitik: Menasseh Ben Israel and the Readmission of the Jews to England. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 48, 187-208. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3622313>
- Secret, François. (1980). Judaica oubliés, II: Juifs de France à Smyrne, et l'aventure de Juan de la Paz. In *Hommage à Georges Vajda* (pp. 380-384). Louvain: Peeters.
- Segre, Cesare. (1993). Benedetto Croce e l'ispanistica. In *AISPI [= Atti del Congresso L'aorto italiano alia tradizione degli studi ispanici]* (pp. 103-108). Roma: Cervantes.
- Schwartz, Dov; Frimer, Norman E. (1992). *Hagut be-tsel ha-emah: demuto, ketavav ve-haguto shel R. Shem Tov ibn Shaprut*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi.
- Silverman, Joseph H. (1971). Los hidalgos cansados de Lope de Vega. In A. David Kossoff, José Amor y Vázquez (eds.), *Homenaje a William L. Fichter: estudios sobre el teatro antiguo hispánico y otros ensayos* (pp. 693-711). Madrid: Castalia.
- Toomer, G. J. (1996). *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198202912.001.0001>
- Trueblood, Alan. (1977). La mariposa y la llama motivo poético del Siglo de Oro. In *Actas del Quinto Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas Burdeos* (pp. 829-837). Bordeaux: Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos, Université de Bordeaux III.
- Umunç, Himmet. (2011). The Dutch in the Levant: Trade and Travel in the Seventeenth Century. *BELLETTEN*, 75 (273), 373-386. <https://doi.org/10.37879/bellekten.2011.373>
- Vega y Carpio, Lope de. (1598). *La Dragontea*. Valencia: Patricio.
- Vélez de Guevara, Luis. (2013). *Comedia famosa, El ollero de Ocaña*. Santander: Ayuntamiento.
- Vilanova, Antonio. (1957). *Las fuentes y los temas del Polifemo de Góngora*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Westwater, Lynn Lara. (2012). A Rediscovered Friendship in the Republic of Letters: The Unpublished Correspondence of Arcangela Tarabotti and Ismaël Boulliau. *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (1), 67-134. <https://doi.org/10.1086/665836>
- Wolf, Lucien. (1901). *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell...; Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Lucien Wolf*. London: Jewish Historical Society of England, Macmillan.
- Williams, Craig. (2002). Ovid, Martial and Poetic Immortality: Traces of Amores 1.15 in the Epigrams. *Arethusa*, 35(3), 417-433. <https://doi.org/10.1353/are.2002.0030>
- Yaari, Abraham. (1958). Hebrew Printing at Smyrna. *Areshet*, I, 99-103.
- Yaari, Abraham. (1967). *Ha-Dfus ha Ivri be-Qushta*. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Yehoshua, Yehuda. (1965). *Sefer Avodat Masa*. Jerusalem: Museon Misim.
- Yndurain, Francisco. (1969). La rima como figura poética. In *Relección de clásicos* (pp. 280-283). Madrid: Editorial Prensa Española.