

Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin Poetry Written and/or Published by Seventeenth-, Eighteenth-, and Nineteenth-Century Sephardim from Hamburg and Frankfurt (2) *

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ANTHOLOGY

For the present edition of poems, orthography and punctuation of the hand-sculpted and printed originals have been modernized, such as the use of *b*, *v*, *u*; *i*, *j*, and *y*; *h* and *i*; *u* and *ü*; *s*, *ss*, *z*, *ç*, and *c*. The following norms have been followed: 1) poems are numbered as lines of verse; 2) defective readings in Portuguese and Spanish—whether they be printer's errors or authorial misspellings—are corrected to reflect modern usage, although original readings are listed immediately following each poem; 3) dialogue as well as phraseology supposing a special understanding are set apart by the use of commas; 4) scribal abbreviations are resolved in italics; 5) tabulation is dependent upon whether a poem consisting of *mote* + *glosa* (that is, of *fronte* and *coda*; see poem no. 34) or a two-part funerary inscription are one or two independent compositions; the authors herein have decided to consider them as one; 6) numbering of poems follows scheme established in Part One.

* Continuación de *Sefarad* 2 (2000) págs. 227-253.

1. PREFATORY POEMS IN NEO-LATIN, LOCATED IN MEDICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TREATISES

29. D. Doctori / Zacuto Lusitano / Medicinae Phoenici, / Doctor Rosales, Hamburgensis, Medicus, Philosophus & Mathematicus ¹⁹.

Clio in auctoris gloriam Carmina haec aeternitati deuouet ²⁰

- Exponam dubium, o Musae, quo quaeritur, utrum
 Doctus, & expertus, doctrina, atque arte valebit
 Res aperire novas? utrum experientia doctum,
 Et mens artificem faciat? rerumque profunda
- 5] Mysteria ex his, & naturae arcana, duobus
 Fontibus exirent quondam, & quaeque alma vocantur
 Principia in Sophia, contra quae haud ulla sciere
 Argumenta datur? nomen, quod robora dictis
 Confirmat, cuncti concordi pace sequuntur.
- 10] Ast ego, quae nunquam iuravi in docta magistri
 Verba, negativam potius defendere partem
 Verius esse reor: medicinam condere sacram
 Nec Sophiam potuit, quam vis praedivite mente
 Humanum ingenium, multa experientia rerum
- 15] Sed cuncta a Domino revelata, & tradita primo
 Adamo, ac priscis genitoribus, unde docendo
 Unus quisque suum natum, prevenit ad illos,
 Qui primum scriptis medicinam tradere visi,
 Sic omne antiquum: nihil aetas invenit ulla;
- 20] Atque, nihil sub Sole novum, hoc res ordine caepit.
 Principio Omnipotens hominem sine crimine fecit,
 Perfectum in scibili, & rerum penetralia doctum,
 Postquam autem pomo labem contraxit acerbam
 Subjacet, heu, morbo, causae, & languoribus atris;
- 25] Ast Deus humanam sortem miseratus iniquam
 Domum insigne homini infudit, traditque medendi
 Arte ministerium, quo cum producere vitam
 Contra causarum, morborumque agmina possit.
 Haec docet Adamus natos, natiq̄ue nepotes
- 30] Ore tenus. Sophiamque omne, voluentibus annis,
 Hac serie ad primos certum est venisse parentes,

¹⁹ 'To Doctor Zacutus Lusitanus, Phoenix of Medicine, [from] Doctor Rosales of Hamburg, physician, philosopher, and mathematician'. In ZACUTUS *Historiarum: Liber Tertius* 1637 ff. 6v-7v.

²⁰ Clio, song muse of history, second in dignity after Calliope (GRIMAL 1984: 368b).

- Sic Chaldaea sapit, sic quondam Aegyptia tellus,
 Floruit imperio doctrinae, ac denique puram
 Persae agnoscunt Magiam, & sapientia Graecis
 35] Sat doctis steterat: nam cuncti a flumine doctas
 Hauserunt undas, primisque docentibus illos
 Antiquis patribus, quibus ipsa scientia nata est²¹.
 Hoc fuit antiquum natale, & origo sciendi,
 Hinc medicina fluit, dicta ars, quae antiqua resarcit
 40] Non nova, quae condit, cum nil sub Sole novetur,
 Inventum, medicina, novum nullum, omnia quondam
 Traderunt prisci, sed dens consumpserat aevi
 Fortassis multa, atque ideo medicina labascit,
 Et Sophia in pejus: nam tempore perdita rerum est
 45] Scientia, longeque sumus, quod cernis, ab ipsa,
 Qua quondam *Hippocrates* scivit, tenuitque *Galenus*,
 Sed quae firma satis fuit haec sententia menti,
 Unus, qui medicam scribendo restituit rem
Zacutus dubiam fecit, namque ecce nitorem
 50] Doctus, & expertus medicinae reddit ovantem
 Mille inventa novat, noviterque; en perficit artem;
 Ingenioque suo naturae arcana recessae,
 Illustrare valet, quae hucusque obscura latebant,
 Sic nudat; quod pene oculis ea cernere possis:
 55] Ergo viri menti concessa scientia rerum
 Quin alibi adveniat. Dubium sed solvitur omne
 Si dicas propriam *Zacutos* esse scientes
 Naturam, quid mirum si tali e stirpe creatus,
Zacutus tanta exponat, doceatque vicissim,
 60] Plura referre potest; nam plura e semine tanto
 Spiritus intus habet, docta que e mente manebunt
 Queis medicina nova auxiliis ditescere possit ²².

²¹ The attempt to combine pagan knowledge with Jewish law dates back to the translation of the *Septuagint* by the Jews of Alexandria.

²² 'Clio consecrates these poems to eternity for the glory of the author. Oh Muse, shall I, expertly, intelligently, and based on doctrine and art explain what causes doubt and what has the power to open new worlds? Is it possible for experience to make one wise and for the mind to make one an artist? ¹⁵Life's deep mysteries and the secrets of nature emanated from these two sources a long time ago, and that which the soul knows as principles of Philosophy, is there no argument against it? The name, bolstered by the word, confirms its strength, and pursues peace of all things in harmony. ¹⁰That notwithstanding, I never swore an oath to the words of the Master when he was defending the negative, [for] I trust [mine] is the true way: [that is], the human mind (no matter how intelligent it may be) is not sufficient enough to explain sacred medicine nor philosophy. Much experience about things

doctissimis, & omnium calculo celebratissimis vitis mihi aliquando occasione praestari ad studia redeundi, quae me in adolescentia maxime recrearunt. Inveni in eis non modò quae ad medicinam cognitionem plurimùm conferunt, sed Philosophorùm sententias doctas, atque eleganter abs te explicatas, & in veriorè lucè eductas, quam in classiorum libris perlegantur. Quares non mediocrè mihi spem afferit, fore ut aliquando, medicina universa, quae jam pridem apud chymicos, & chymica existit, Zacuti acutissimi operà, Hippocratica, & Galenica sit facta, immò ovans, & triùphans efflorescat, & reviviscat. Cum enim Zacutina opera, diu, noctuque perlustrò, attentè pensito, perlego ad unguem, non ex illis solum, sed ex ipsa tua ratione scribendi, salùm illud reperio quod iactavit *Lucretius* de senibus

Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaque, mensque
Imò còtra verissimùm illud alteri, boni poetae veteris,
Quod periti sumus in vitis, atque usu callimus magis
te in juventute strenuam medicinam militem agnovi, in curativa methodo gratiosum, dexterrimum, felicissimum, nunc ad idem vestrum recognosco, inter eruditissimos, & peritissimos nostrae artis duces, & coryphaeos, primumque, cuius elaborata opera applausu sunt accepta in tuo Belgio, in Europa, imò in orbe toto. Cura ergo ut valeas, ut unà tecum sanitatis columna valeamus semper. Vale ergo lectissimè, & amicissimè Zacute, cui felicissimos exitus, & opto, & spero. *Hamburgi anno 1637. mensis Martii. die. 17.*

Docto.

Doctõris Rõsãlis, Medici Hamburgensis celeberrimi, In Laudem, & æternam famam
Variæ, reconditæque lectiõnis vitis, Zacuti Lusitani, Polyhistoris
solertissimi.

Ode Saphicum.

A Scid expoli modulis sonorâ
Tibiam, & plectrum meliore elio,
Omnia ad cantum patris, ac sororum
Robora sume.

Nam saphum, ac famnum medicum canemus,
Cui dedisti nunquam similem potentis
Martis, & diva Cythera in arte
Sidus olympi.

Vir bonus nobis, sapiensque Musa,
Necisur, versu celebrandus alma,
Nempe Zacutus, fator ille scire,
Atque salutis.

Principum exponit Medicum sub usu
Praxiis, in hoc quarto omniferam theatro,
Febris insidius ubi perdomari
Cogit habentis.

Attulit primus Prometheus ignem
Cordi inherendam, Phaetorvè curras
Patris aurigæ indocilis, carminis
Assuat orbem.

Horrida hinc febres populantur auram
Pabuli vitæ, variegue clades
Palliant, simplex, putridus, malignus,
Hellicus ardet.

Atta.

Abraham Zacutus Lusitanus, «Ode Saphicum», in *Historiarum: Liber Quartus* (Amsterdam 1637) ff. 5v-6r.

30. Doctoris Rosalis, Medici Hamburgensis celeberrimi, In Laudem, & aeternam famam Variarum, reconditaeque lectionis viri, Zacuti Lusitani, Polyhistoris solertissimi. Ode Saphicum²³.

A sciam expoli modulis sonoram
Tibiam, & plectrum meliore clio,
Omnia ad cantum patris, ac sororum
Robora sume.

in life,¹¹⁵if not all, was revealed by God and transmitted to the first man (Adam) and to the ancient sages, from which, taught from father to son, the art of medicine was then codified in writing. Thus, everything is old; no age has made any startling invention.¹²⁰There is nothing new under the sun; by the [divine] order the universe is governed. In the beginning, the Omnipotent One created man without sin, perfect in knowledge and wise in the order of things. But, because the apple caused man's fall, then followed disease and black languor.¹²⁵But God had mercy on an unjust human condition, and founded for man a glorious abode and provided him the art of medicine with which he could then produce life and defend against the causes of disease. This Adam taught his sons and the sons of his sons¹³⁰by word of mouth and on a continuous basis. With the passing of time, it is certain that the first fathers received a set of philosophical tenets. The Chaldeans knew them, as did the Egyptians, who flourished in the power of its doctrine. Finally, the Persians learned the sacred magic, and¹³⁵the wise Greeks also appropriated this body of knowledge: all of them followed the learned waves of this river, having learned their lessons from the ancient patriarchs, for whom science was born. This was an ancient beginning, the beginning of knowledge. From here flowed medicine, the aforementioned art that was strengthened by the ancient art,¹⁴⁰[but] not by the modern [art]. Medicine has not developed any new invention or cure, for there is nothing new under the sun. All has been learned from the ancients. But the [gnawing] tooth of the age has most likely consumed many things, and with it medicine and philosophy, which suffered greatly. Alas, physical science was gone from us¹⁴⁵for a long while. What you might think about it Hippocrates and Galen already knew a long time ago. But this belief was certain in the mind. One who has restored medical science and its perplexities in writing was Zacuto,¹⁵⁰for he is learned in beauty and an expert; he returns the joy and wonder to medicine, he is the epitome of innovation, and he perfects the art of medicine. With his genius the darkness of the secrets of nature are revealed: secrets hidden in the deep recesses. He uncovers them; they can hardly be detected by the eye.¹⁵⁵Thus, the science of life was given to the brain of mankind not to used somewhere else, but to solve all doubt: all that is necessary is to call all the wise men of nature Zacutos. Why be surprised, if he has been created from such a bloodline? Zacuto explains so many things, he teaches us so often and¹⁶⁰is able to refer to so many subjects. Thanks to such a seed, the Spirit possesses many things inside it and they will remain to benefit the knowledgeable mind. Thanks to this aid one can now say the medicine is indeed new'.

²³ 'From Doctor Rosales, celebrated physician from Hamburg, in praise of the eternal fame of the many and profound lessons of the man Zacuto Lusitano, mas-

5] Nam Sophum, ac summum medicum canemus,
Cui dedit nunquam similem potentis
Martis, & divae Cytheraeae ²⁴ in arte
Sidus olympi

Vir bonus nobis, sapiensque Musa,
10] Nectitur, versu celebrandus almo,
Nempe Zacutus, sator ille scire,
Atque salutis.

Principum exponit Medicum sub usu
Praxim, in hoc quarto omniferam theatro;
15] Febris insultus ubi perdomari
Cogit habenis.

Attulit primus Promethaeus ignem
Cordi inhaerendum, Phaetonve currus
Patris auriga indocilis, caminis
20] Aestuat orbem.

Horridae hinc febres populantur auram
Pabuli vitae, variaequae clades
Pullulant, simplex, putridus, malignus,
Hecticus ardor.

25] Attamen quae illi temere patrarunae
Facta, vel nobis furiuntur istae,
Ecces Zacutus reparat procellis
Stella refulsit.

Doctam ignitam ferulam sciendi
30] Cordibus figit, placido Tonante
Phaebi equis fraenat fuga, nec timetur
Torrída Zona.

ter of polyhistory. Sapphic Ode'. In ZACUTUS *Historiarum: Liber Quartus* 1637 ff. 6r-7v. The strophic metrical pattern characteristic of the Sapphic Ode is,

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{∟} \cup \text{∟} \text{ - } \text{∟} \quad \parallel \quad \cup \cup \text{∟} \cup \text{∟} \text{ X} \\ \text{∟} \cup \text{∟} \text{ - } \text{∟} \quad \parallel \quad \cup \cup \text{∟} \cup \text{∟} \text{ X} \\ \text{∟} \cup \text{∟} \text{ - } \text{∟} \quad \parallel \quad \cup \cup \text{∟} \cup \text{∟} \text{ X} \\ \text{∟} \cup \cup \text{∟} \text{ X} \end{array}$$

where ∟ represents a long stressed syllable, - a long un-stressed syllable, and ∪ a short syllable.

²⁴ Κιθαίρων, mountain in Boecia, where the Muses appeared to the poet Hesiod (GRIMAL 1984:108b).

Namque Zacutus meritis, Apollo est
 Cujus aegrotis ope convalescunt
 35] Membra, & indoctis, radio corusco
 Corda foveantur.

Hinc homo expulso genuino calore,
 Nempe febrili, furiaeque mentis,
 Perficit tanto, sibi profutura
 40] Dona Magistri.

Sed mihi, dic Musa, quibus repellit
 Tot malum dirum auxiliis, nec olum,
 Nec modo expositis, nisi & ille dicat
 Cognita nunquam.

45] Ast facit tantum superi profunda
 Mens viri, rerum penetrans recessus
 Abditos, causas pate facit omnes
 Conscius Heros.

Deinde per multos studii labores
 50] Pectus experti redidit, medendo
 Par viro, qui cuncta scit, atque in usu
 Practica adaequat.

Ocium tollit, grave veritatis
 Arduae rebus studium potitur
 55] Quae duo humanis sua saepe cunctis
 Pectora vertunt.

Hincque ducentas replicat medentis,
 Dulce narratum, Historias Galeni
 Principum vero totidem; Ast ab istis
 60] Demite bis sex.

Celsus affertur, celebrisque largus,
 Paulus, & terrae Aetius Leandri,
 Tuque Oribasi, neque Tralliani
 Scripta reliquit.

65] Caelius, Graecis Aretaeus oris,
 Tandem & Actuarius liber explicatur,
 Mira ubi narrat sibi visa quondam
 Tristibus aegris.

- Maximus Princeps Arabum, Cathedram
 70] Dicitur primam, occiduis Iberis
 Hic quoque a nostro medicinae Atlante
 Iure refertur.
- Rhasis, & scripta a sene glorioso,
 Deinde & istam Alzharius palestram
 75] Fertur, experti manus Albucamcis
 Docta Chirurgi.
- Vir quoque Abenzazi, oculus scientis
 Graeciae, & multis celebrandus abbas,
 Hisque Zacutus medicam efficacem
 80] Condidit artem.
- Quaeque ab his olim invigilata cunctis
 Multa, doctrinam, aut minus absolutam,
 Aut minus tersam, variisque linguis
 Sparserat aetas.
- 85] Colligit, lustrat, legit, osculatur,
 Limat, enodat, memorat, rependit,
 Polit, emendat, superaddit, ornat,
 Perficit, aptat.
- Unicum nostri ingenium magistri
 90] Bregmate a summo, pedibusque sursum
 Infimis, morbos miseri universos
 Corporis affert,
- Explicat, curat, docet, atque in uno
 Hoc viro, cunctam invenies medendi
 95] Ac rei occultae Sophiam, refusam
 Colligit artem.
- Arte phaebae a latus imperator
 Hujus incultum nihilum relinquit,
 O Decus nostrum! O Coriphaee doctum!
 100] Numinis instar.
- Vive in aeternum, memori sub aevo,
 Fama Zacuti celebranda vivet:
 His, novem libris tibi Mausolaea
 Machina surget.
- 105] Ergo mi Clio, cane, plectra sume,
 Dic virum tantum, dominum, ac amicum,

Tolle magnatem, sapientem, ametque
Ipse Rosalem ²⁵.

²⁵ 'By the metric patterns can I recognize the melifluous flute and the lyre better than Clio. All the power of the father's and the sisters' and the song merge. ⁴⁵Let us sing the praises of the wise man and excellent doctor! To him the star of Olympic Mars and the divine ones on Mount Cytheron never made another one similar in art. For he is a good man in our eyes and a wise man to the Muses. ¹⁰⁰It is decided; he is to be celebrated in verse that gives sustenance. And, yes, Zacuto is he who cultivates science and health. He explains the most practical and modern medical theories known in the fourth theater. ¹¹⁵He is able to stop a fever in its tracks. It was Prometheus who first took the heart's fire, but it was Phaeton who recklessly drove his father's chariot and ¹²⁰burned the earth with it. For that reason, torrid fevers invade the aura that natures life and cause different types of death: a simple burning, a putrid, malignant and vigorous one. ¹²⁵Deadly [fevers] are afraid of him. That is why the deadly fevers become furious with us. Zacuto makes things better and makes a star shine when one is in pain. He is able to point the lighted wand of knowledge at the heart. ¹³⁰Thankful, the god of thunder halts Phoebus' impetuous horses and the Torrid Zone no longer is afraid. Zacuto, for his merits, is Apollo; his strength brings health to the convalescent, ¹³⁵and his brilliance sends fear into the hearts of the unschooled. That is why this man has accomplished so much. He has expelled genuine heat and feverish heat and the furies that attack the mind. ¹⁴⁰The master's future gifts are his for the knowing. But please tell me, oh Muse, how is it that he was able to repel such grave illnesses, never entirely understood nor completely explained? Unless he explained them they would never be known. ¹⁴⁵However, as man's mind attempts to delve into the recesses of the deepest objects of knowledge, reaching toward the highest level, penetrating into the most profound recesses, the Conscious Hero [= Zacuto] makes things accessible. And finally, after much study and thought, ¹⁵⁰the heart of the expert makes accessible his all-encompassing knowledge, curing mankind and making the medical practice handy. He gives meaning to pleasure time as well as to the deep study of the truth; by his arduous dedication is he able to control life. ¹⁵⁵He combines pleasure and truth with humanity. For that reason, he narrates [explains] the sweet principles of two-hundred of Galen's precepts. But he reduces these by twelve. ¹⁶⁰He cites Celsus, generous with his fame, and Paulus Aetius, from the land of Leander, and you [?] from Oribasus and neither from Trallianus. He disregards the writings. ¹⁶⁵Finally, he explains the work of Celius, Aretius of the Greek coast, [and] Actuarius when he narrates great events witnessed by the very ill. He teaches the greatest lessons of the Arabs ¹⁷⁰(at the time when the Iberians had already died off) in his first lesson. This is quite evident to us in medicine, armed [as we are] with Atlante's law. Rhasis and the writings of the glorious ancient [are then explained]; and then Alzharius is introduced to the arena ¹⁷⁵as well as the wisdom of Albucamcus the surgeon, famous for his manual dexterity. And also Abenzazi, the greatest student of the Greek men of science and the abbot acclaimed by many. With all of these [great scientific minds] ¹⁸⁰was Zacuto able to establish an efficient medical art. This well-kept knowledge and doctrine was hidden from us until it was disseminated by time in various languages and in a more accessible manner (in word as well as in style). ¹⁸⁵[Zacuto] recovers it, shines it, reads it, coddles it, refines it, explains it, recalls it, revives it, improves it, amends it, goes beyond it, adorns it, perfects it; he makes it accessible. The unique genius of our master ¹⁹⁰(following the great Bregmate) with his feet up [as

DOCTORIS
IACOB. ROSALIS,
Hamburgensis, Medici Hebraei,
Poculum Poëticum in ZACVTINAS. Laudes.

Accipe, mi ZACVTE, tui tibi poculum Poëtae,
tibi in æternam Clio sat grata propinat,
re vocat Sacrae Ambrosiæ, labraque fige grata,
Nec timeas illo pocula sacra necis,
nam cum sis supero numine conditus,
Integer vitæ, sophiæque plenus
hoc donaris optimo
munere tantæ
præmiâ mentis,
Hic est ille Magister
qui nihil invidens sibi,
ô Clio, sed cunctis docens
illustrat omnes ingenij focos
quare jam dapibus mensa Poëticæ
à Pelopis nato libera, mortis iners
sternitur tanto domino, nectare sempiterno
rescatur, nos quoque caput madefacta liquore,
membra ferat, si quidem æternis æterna meretur,
ZACVTVS meritis, Elyseis rivibus imperet
vate me; Nam Magna queunt, Hæc quoque habere vates,
Ast cum efficacem condidit scientiam
ZACVTVS, & scriptis fulgeat aureis,
laurea donetur Appollinari,
exempla ferat, profundo
pectore, sæpè discas,
menteque serua,
condeque praxi,
His firmantur artem,
Beatus ergo qui usibus firmus suis
exerceat populo, suisque quiritibus
hujus iussa viri, & cura salutis erunt,
Utneque ad æthereos latices, nectareosque olympi
Accedat conviva, bibat, nec vina nocebunt,
Nam sunt ingenij, & ZACVTVM tollat ad asira.

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GATA.

Abraham Zacuturs Lusitanus, «Poculum Poëticum», in *Historiarum: Liber Quintus* (Amsterdam 1637) fol. 7r.

31. Doctoris Iacob Rosalis, Hamburgensis, Medici Hebraei, Poculum Poëticum in Zacutinas Laudes <sup>26</sup>.

Accipe, mi ZACUTE, tui tibi poculum Poëtae,  
 quo tibi in aeternam Clio sat grata propinat,  
 te vocat Sacrae Ambrosiae, labraque fige grata,  
 Nec timeas illo pocula saeva necis,  
 5] nam cum sis supero numine conditus,  
 Integer vitae, sophiaeque plenus  
 hoc donaris optimo  
 munere tantae  
 praemia mentis,  
 10] Hic est ille Magister  
 qui nihil invidens sibi,  
 o Clio, sed cuncta docens  
 illustrat omnes ingenii focos  
 quare jam dapidus mensa Poëticum  
 15] a Pelopis nato libera, mortis iners  
 sternitur canto domino, nectare sempiterno  
 vescatur, nostroque caput madefacta liquore,  
 membra ferat, si quidem aeternis aeterna meretur,  
 ZACUTUS meritis, Elyseis ruribus imperes  
 20] vate me; Nam Magna queunt; Haec quoque habere vates,  
 Ast cum efficacem condidit scientiam  
 ZACUTUS, & scriptis fulgeat aureis,  
 laurea donetur Appollinari,  
 25] exempla fert, profundo  
 pectore, saepe discas,  
 menteque serva,  
 condeque praxi,

he reclines in his chair?] studies [approaches] the universal maladies of the ailing human body, and explains them, cures them, teaches about them. In him lies all medical knowledge, <sup>95</sup>for he can cure unknown disease and revive ancient medical learning. With the art of his Phoebus [Apollo], the winged emperor leaves nothing unknown. Oh greatest of harmony! Oh wisest Chorippeus! <sup>100</sup>You are like God! May you live eternally in modern time! Zacuto's fame must be celebrated now; with these books once again comes forth a machine-like Mausoleum. <sup>105</sup>And so, Clio, sing for me, take up your lyre, call such a man [my] friend and lord, elevate this great and wise man, and may he love Rosales!'

<sup>26</sup> 'From Doctor Jacob Rosales, from Hamburg, Jewish physician, a poetic goblet in praise of Zacuto'. In *ZACUTUS Historiarum: Liber Quintus* 1639 fol. 7r. For studies concerning Baroque and more contemporary metametrics, see ADLER 1982, ADLER - ERNST 1987, CORNU 1983, CÓZAR 1991, D'ORS 1977, DEONNA 1926, DíEZ BORQUE 1992 and 1993, FLOR 1997, GANDELMAN 1986, GRILLI 1985, HATHERLY 1995, HOCKE 1959, LIEDE 1963, and PRAZ 1964.

His firmantur artes,  
 30] Beatus ergo qui usibus firmus suis  
 exercet populo, susque quiritibus  
 hujus jussa viri, & cura saluiis erunt.  
 Tuncque ad aethereos latices, nectareosque olympi  
 Accedat conviva, bibat, nec vina nocebunt,  
 35] Nam sunt ingenii, & ZACUTUM tollat ad astra <sup>27</sup>.

32. Don Jacob Rosales, Hebraei, Mathematici, Philosophi, & Medicinae Doctoris. Epos Noëtikon Εποσ νοητικον Sive *Carmen intellectuale* <sup>28</sup>.

#### Sectio I

Primo homini quondam Sophiae penetralia magnae  
 Omnipotens aperit; scireque cuncta dedit:  
 Edocuit Deus Ipse hominem genus omne sciendi,  
 Et tanto exornat pectora nostra bono;  
 5] Ut scitum omne sacrum, sic tandem e fonte sciendi  
 manavit sacro, quo quasi divus homo est;  
 Non ex se didicit: quid enim mortale valeret?

<sup>27</sup> 'My Zacuto, accept this goblet from your poet, with which Clio for all eternity willingly hosts you and calls to you from the divine ambrosia. Moisten your loving lips; fear not that it contain poisonous venom. <sup>5</sup>For when you have been recalled by the supreme inspiration, complete in body and full of wisdom, you will be rewarded with the greatest of gifts for your mind's offerings to us. <sup>10</sup>Oh Clio, he is the master who desires nothing for himself; he wishes merely to teach us all and illuminate us with the burning brilliance of his intelligence. And that is why he already dines on poetry as if banqueting <sup>15</sup>at a table free from Pelops' son. May poetic inspiration flow; lifeless before death it issues forth with a song of the man. It is nourished with eternal nectar and with our liquor the head carries the humid parts of the body. If anyone is eternally worthy, it is Zacuto, [may] you live forever in the Elysian Fields <sup>20</sup>with me as your poet. Great things can accomplish wonder, so can the poets. Since Zacuto established an efficient medical science and dazzles by his gilded erudition, he will be crowned with the Apollinian laurel <sup>25</sup>and he, with proud and heavy chest, sets an apt example for posterity. Oft times we learn with our servile mind until a practical method has been established. This is how the arts are affirmed and supported. <sup>30</sup>Happy is he who is firm in the ways and serves the public, and the healthy citizens of the republic will have access to the cures prescribed by this man. Then, may the banquet include the ethereal waters and Olympus' sweet nectars; drink! The wines do no harm, for they spring from genius and elevate Zacuto to the stars'. [V. 15: At a banquet, Pelops' vengeful son Atreus quartered, cooked and then served his own three nephews Aglaus, Calileonth, and Orcomenus to their father, Atreus' brother Thyestes, who inadvertently devoured on his own sons (GRIMAL 1984:62-63).]

<sup>28</sup> 'Don Jacob Rosales, Jew, Mathematician, Philosopher, and Medical Doctor. Distiches about the Dark Side / *Intellectual Poem*'. In BEN ISRAEL 1639 ff. N2r-N9v. Note a comparison between (especially) books 7, 8 and 10 of *Proverbs*: knowledge proceeds from the Godhead; the unjust will be punished, etc.

- Non nisi divinum, vel sibi, tale parit:  
Ex rectore poli producta scientia; rerum
- 10] Causas, atque vices noscere Ipse dedit:  
Corpoream aeternus vitam intellectus agebat,  
Absque labore tenens munera tanta Dei.  
Hac luce efficitur corpus mortale, sciendo,  
Immortale, datum dum sibi pergit opus.
- 15] Sicque videbantur mixta inferiora supernis;  
Ingenium, sensus, abdita mensque viget:  
Donec scire volens exse, exaudire magistrum  
Impatiens, sapere & Numinis instar avens;  
Infusum aspernit munus; Deus usque videri
- 20] Ipse studet Sophia, scireque Marte suo.  
Ast nova peccantem en capit ignorantia; crimen  
Abstulit ex oculis conscia dona suis:  
Efficitur nudus rerum, qui cuncta sciendo  
Ante, ex doctrina, ut syndone, comptus erat.
- 25] Jamque animi victum, & vestes, (quibus absque ferinis  
Moribus, ut campi bellua, fata gerit),  
Sudore assiduo, studio, atque laboribus altis  
Quaerit, & inquirit, sed nihil inde capit:  
Vel nihil assequitur, vel fusa inventa maligno
- 30] Condidit ingenio, futile mentis opus.  
Hinc coeli, & terrae, magna ruit inclyta strage  
Cognitio; Sophiae hinc limina clausa viris.  
Hinc viget in mundo pro rebus Opinio; proque<sup>29</sup>  
Virtutum appposito, dogmata falsa, loco.
- 35] Hic nostrae cunctos comprehendit originis error;  
Unicuique, sibi cognita sola placent;  
Sic tenebrae invasere orbem; sic lucis olympi  
Porta solo clausa est, noxque timenda ruit,  
Inde meum, atque tuum studii, turbare sciendi,
- 40] Et morum incepit tunc violare decus:  
Dum vult quisque sibi sapere, ignorantia regnat;  
Haec hominum proprio nascitur arbitrio;  
Dum vult quisque sibi virtutibus indere nomen,  
Fallitur; & vitium pullulat inde malum:
- 45] Non est, qui agnoscat verum, antisophismate mundus  
Obruitur falso; his nec via certa datur:  
Nulla quies menti. nam nusquam adipiscitur illam:  
Qui sapiat vere nomina, nulla adest.  
Degenerant homines in mente carentia bruta,

<sup>29</sup> In the Platonic sense of *doxa* (δόξα).

- 50] Externa ingenii lumina dum renuunt:  
 Hi tenebras pro luce tenent; hique aethera dicunt  
 Noctem; quodque malum est, asserit ille, bonum.  
 Undique confuse procedunt omnia; nusquam  
 Lux veri existit; frausque gubernat ouans:
- 55] Hinc sectae venere omnes sub Palladis umbra,  
 Quae se interficiunt dogmate, & ense suo.  
 Hincque superstitio, & fidei simulatio fictae,  
 Ausa, loco *Domini*, ponere turpe Nihil;  
 Externumque Dei cultum, & libamina sancta
- 60] Impia describit mens, sine jure, viri:  
 Sicque profanarunt, sacras cumulantia mensas,  
 Unguibus Harpyiae vina, dapesque, feris;  
 Sicque bonum, & verum tandem deperditur; unde  
 Imperat adversi circulus ecce mali <sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> 'Section One: Some time ago, the Omnipotent opened the doors of wisdom to the first man. He gave him everything to know; God taught man all kinds of knowledge and adorned our breasts with all good things. <sup>15</sup>Because all sacred things have to be known, finally, so, the spring of science sprang with the sacred, so that man is almost divine. Man did not learn anything by himself. For, what mortal thing has value? Had it not been for the divine, he [man] could not invent such things. Thanks to the rector of the heavens, science was born. <sup>10</sup>The cause of all things and their fortunes were given by Him to know. The eternal intellect treated the corporeal life, and with work maintains all of God's gifts. By this light, the mortal body becomes immortal through knowledge, whilst the given work continues. <sup>15</sup>And so the inferior things seem to be mixed with the superior ones. Wit, sensibility, and the hidden mind rule. But if one wishes to know for himself, impatient to listen to the Teacher, glad because of knowledge as much as because of God, the infused gift goes out. <sup>20</sup>Even God Himself puts effort in being seen in knowledge and in knowing with His battle. On the other hand, the new ignorance captures the sinner, [and] this crime takes away from his eyes the gift of knowledge. A knot of things appears, that before, when everything was known through doctrine, was woven like a sheet. <sup>25</sup>And defeated in his soul and clothes (without which he conducts his life with the morality of wild animals, like a beast in the field) with continuous sweat and effort and deep works he asks and inquires, but gets nothing in return. Either he achieves nothing or <sup>30</sup>with malevolent wit mixes confused inventions, [and this is] futile work of the mind. Because of this, knowledge about the heavens and earth is destroyed in a holocaust. Because of this, the door to knowledge is closed to mankind. For this reason the world wins by Opinion rather than by deeds, and in place of virtue win over false dogmas. <sup>35</sup>This error of our origins engulfs us completely. All are pleased by the only knowledge. And so darkness descended upon the earth. And so the window to light from Mount Olympus is invisible to man alone. And terrible night falls. That is why your and my studies start to blur science <sup>40</sup>and violate the virtuous decorum. As long as everyone wishes to know something for himself ignorance will rule. It is born of the decision of men. As long as everyone wishes to give name to virtue by himself, it will not succeed. That is why evil abounds. <sup>45</sup>No one recognizes the truth that the world falls apart because of this false antisophism. Right is denied

## II

- 65] Ast inter tot caeca hominum, noctisque profundae  
 Damna, quibus mundus volvitur esse chaos;  
 Millibus e totis solus vir praestitit unus  
 Abrahamus, magnus corde, & amore Dei;  
 Qui menti haud fidens propriae, exaudire docentem
- 70] Gaudet ab antiqua traditione Semum <sup>31</sup>;  
 Nam postquam infusa amisit virtute, sciendi  
 Donum, sub pomi crimine, primus homo,  
 Indumenta animae, natos, docuitque nepotes,  
 Quae quondam ex summi Numinis ore capit;
- 75] Qui nati pietate valent, dictata sequuntur;  
 Quique mali ex proprio discere corde petunt:  
 Hinc est, quod, certum quaecunque ars dia sciendi,  
 Voce datam existit, traditione viget;  
 Prudentes, sanctique viri sincera sequuntur
- 80] Tradita, & interna religione colunt;  
 Ast animo elati, scioli, per cuncta Gigantes <sup>32</sup>  
 Se reputant, nec eis haec data dona valent:  
 Omnia librari propriam ratione trahuntur;  
 Sed foedant habitum, quo datur omne, novum;
- 85] Dumque his concutitur mundus, regnantque nocentes,  
 Unicus ecce Semus tradita verba docet;  
 Huncque nepos audit, primusque ad publica duxit  
 Lumina justitiam, magnus & ille fide;  
 Dicitur unde pater populorum, omnisque magister
- 90] Artis, & omnimoda cognitione potens:  
 Sed major virtute micat; parensque Tonanti,

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to those. There is no tranquility of the mind. Nothing is attached to it. No one exists who truly knows the names. Man degenerates in his mind because of the ugly void <sup>50</sup>whilst the external light of wit is denied him. These have darkness as light and call ether to the night, and they assert evil deeds as good. For that reason everything proceeds with confusion. The Light of Truth is nowhere to be found; deceit governs happily in its place. <sup>55</sup>And so all the cults sprung under the shadow of Pallas exterminate themselves with dogmas and sword. From there, superstition was generated as well as the simulation of fictitious faith, and, instead of God, to clumsily put Nothing. <sup>60</sup>The impious mind of man describes the external cult of God and the sacred libations without law. And so men profaned the sacred tables, the cumulation, the wine, the banquets and the festivals with the nails of the Harpies. So finally goodness and truth are lost. And that is why the circle of real evil governs'.

<sup>31</sup> Allusion to the Alliance between the God of the Hebrews and the Jewish people *Sem / Shem*, eldest son of Noah, father of the *Semitic* peoples.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps an allusion to the giants who attacked Olympus. Cfr. also *Prov* 14:6.

- Sic quoque concilii dictus amore sui:  
 Ishakus hoc natus, tenet hic & natum Jacob,  
 Ille patris fama, hic nomine dignus avi:  
 95] Quapropter benedixit eis, prolique futurae,  
 Aeterna que replet nobilitate Deus;  
 Scilicet ignorans maledicti ut stigmatis error  
 Auferri a populo, quem legit Ipse, queat;  
 Sic hominum Omnipotens sortem miseratus iniquam,  
 100] Luce parat, lucis jam reparare malum;  
 Veraque cernatur regnare scientia terris,  
 Ganheden <sup>33</sup> pateat conscia porta, cupit <sup>34</sup>.

## III

- Ergo Coelicolum magnam stipante coronam,  
 Terraque ad Domini visa tremante sui;  
 105] Descendit Genitor mundi, montique propinquat;  
 Quo statuit taedas concelebrare suas:

<sup>33</sup> יְדֵן גַּן 'Paradise'; literally, 'the Garden of Eden'.

<sup>34</sup> II. <sup>165</sup>Nonetheless, amidst man's great blindness, amidst the damning of utter darkness through which the world returns to chaos, amongst the thousands of men, one stands out: Abraham, great of heart and in love of God. [Abraham] was wont not to trust his own mind <sup>170</sup>but was content to listen to the Master via the ancient tradition of the Semus. Then, after the first man [Adam] lost the gift of knowledge combined with virtue because of the sin of the apple, he taught his children and his grandchildren the cloth of the soul which long ago he received from the mouth of the highest spirit. <sup>175</sup>These children prosper because of piety and because they follow the dictates. The evils ones attempt to learn through their own hearts. But it is true that each bit of knowledge exists through the given voice and is strong through tradition. Wise and holy men follow the <sup>180</sup>sincere traditions, and cultivate religion of the soul. But the arrogant ones, men of little wisdom, who consider themselves giants, to them these presents are of no good. With their own powers of reason they try to find explanations for everything, but in so doing make the new dress ugly, in which everything is given. <sup>185</sup>As long as the world is run by them and the pernicious ones govern, only Semus will impart these traditional words. The grandson listens to him and first brings justice to public light. He is also great in his faith. That is why he is known as the father to the people and the teacher <sup>190</sup>of all the arts, and is skilled in all kinds of knowledge. The great one is humbled by virtue and obeys the Tonans. So also does he speak with love to his counsel. Isaac was born of him; this one will have Jacob as son. The first through the father's fame, the second through the name of the grandfather will be worthy. <sup>195</sup>For that reason God blesses them and anoints their future descendants with nobility. Of course, the mistake of ignorance, according to Him, can separate them from those cursed by a stigma. And so the Omnipotent One commiserates with the unfair fate of men and <sup>100</sup>prepares to repair with light the disease caused by light. One thinks that true science will reign over the earth and one desires that paradise will open the door to knowledge'.



- Ex alio occurrit populus glomeratus in unum,  
 Anticipatque Deum, cum, Faciemus, ait:  
 Queis commota movet cupidi praecordia zeli  
 110] Dulcis amor populi, sub sua corda Dei;  
 Circuncisa patrum soboles, seu Virgo decora,  
 Conspicuo electi stabat honore gradus:  
 Regna Sacerdotum, sanctorumque agmina, parsque  
 Rectoris dicta, & munera summa poli,  
 115] Electorum divini adipiscitur ignis,  
 Haeres, namque haeret faedere, sola Dei,  
 Auditumque addens, & verbis credere firmans  
 Divinis, Sponso tradita Sponsa suo est;  
 O quam pulchra (refert) mihi sunt tua, suavis amica,  
 120] Ubera! Quam gratum velle, tuosque sinus!  
 Quam dilecta manes aeterno in pectore! quamque  
 Grata viro conjux semper amata tuo!  
 Te thalamo junxi per tot mea saecula; timere  
 Desine: namque manent praemia multa tibi:  
 125] Me numquam inspicias aliena in brachia ferri;  
 Haud nostri accipiet altera, jura thori:  
 Tu mihi semper eris populis; Deus Ipse tibi que,  
 Reddant haec homines mutua pacta Deo;  
 Et cape jam nostri precii sponsalia; signum,  
 130] Quo, populi aeterno nector amore tui<sup>35</sup>;  
 Ecce scientifico praegnantem lumine Legem,  
 Quae Sophiae, atque horti pandere, claustra queat,  
 E coelo adduxi mecum; me cernite in illam,  
 Nam praecepta tenent, quae mihi sola placent:  
 135] Haec lignum est vitae aeternae, fructusque scientis,  
 Quo bonus, & sapiens dicitur omnis homo:  
 Haec est, quae absterget peccatum ab origine vestrum,  
 Restaurans hominem, conciliansque Deo:  
 Haec est, ut comprehensa loquar, mea sancta voluntas;  
 140] Anne voluntati, robora pauca Dei?  
 Quidne repugnabit, quin justae facta sequantur,  
 Si cupit Omnipotens, Sanctificatque Deus?  
 Ergo cape aeternam legem, quae pignus amoris  
 Sit nostri, & quicum in saecula vivus eris:  
 145] Gens dilecta Deo, genuit quam Sanctus Jacob,  
 Despotico accepit jura ferenda jugo.

<sup>35</sup> Allusion to the alliance with Moses.

Hinc servus, natusque simul, seu natus amore  
Ducitur, ut fidus servus amore timet <sup>36</sup>.

## IV

Binae insculpuntur Tabulae, scribitque volumen  
150] Divini interpres, scribe, propheta, chori:  
Sed cum perdiderit cupido esu, ausuque sciendi,  
Os hominis, fuse scire, docente Deo;  
Ut tandem subeat merita, infinita sciendi,  
Lex ori, scriptae vox, quasi lingua, datur <sup>37</sup>:  
155] Lex oralis adest, oris quae crimina soluat,  
Quae corpus reddat Mentis ubique capax,  
Haec est, Scripturae, quae nobis explicat alta  
Secreta; & factis sensa profunda docet;

<sup>36</sup> III. <sup>105</sup> Consequently, fitted with a great crown of Heaven, and with the earth trembling at the sight of her Lord, the Creator of the world descends and approaches the mountain in which He instituted the celebration of His wedding. From elsewhere, the people arrive in one group and anticipate God by saying: «So shall we do». The heart, moved by the zeal of desire, directs them to <sup>110</sup>the sweet love in God's heart. The circumcised offspring of their ancestors or the honest virgin was standing at the steps of the chosen with conspicuous honour; [so too] the queen of the high priests, the column of holy men and the part recounted by the rector and the highest gifts of heaven. <sup>115</sup>The heir is added to the chosen by divine fire; then she will inherit by the covenant, the sole daughter of God. And adding what she heard and making firm the beliefs in the divine words, the wife is brought to her husband. He says, «Oh how beautiful for me are your breasts, my sweet friend! <sup>120</sup>How lovely your hair and your breasts! May you remain a favorite in the eternal bosom! May you always be loved by your husband as a loving wife! I united myself to you in the wedding bed for eternity. Have no fear. Many gifts are yours. <sup>125</sup>You will never see me embraced in foreign arms. No other will receive the rights of our wedding bed. Amongst the peoples you will ever be mine. God is yours». Let men bring to God the mutual pact and [may God] accept already the wedding of our prize, the sign <sup>130</sup>by which you unite yourself with eternal love of your people. With the scientific light, the pregnant law (which is Knowledge) can expand to the closed part of the garden. From heaven I brought it with me; consider that I am in it. Then, my principles stand firm—the only ones that please me. <sup>135</sup>These are the tree-trunk of eternal life, the fruit of science through which each man is considered good and wise. These are the ones who cleanse your original sin by restoring man and by reconciling him with God. That is, I shall speak so that you can understand my own holy will. <sup>140</sup>Is the strength of God willingly small? What may He not attack so that the righteous ones may follow the deeds, if the Omnipotent One so wishes and if God sanctifies it? In fine, accept the eternal law which is a signal of our love and through which you will survive the centuries. <sup>145</sup>God's chosen people, to whom holy Jacob gave birth, accepts the oath to be taken with despotic yoke. For this reason the servant is at once the son or the son is led by love, and the truthful servant fears with love'.

<sup>37</sup> Allusion to the Torah as well as to the Talmud, that is the oral and written codes of the rabbis.

- Hanc vitam assumit vitarum litera; fitque  
 160] Spiritus, ut proprie jam queat ipsa loqui:  
 Haec est, eloquium coeli, quod credidit olim  
 Omnipotens populo, & tradidit ore suo:  
 Hic sapor est rerum, quem victu perdidit Adam;  
 Quem nunc restaurant tradita verba cibus;  
 165] Hic cibus, hic sapor, haec nobis lux denique mentem  
 Perlustrat, doctis restituitque Sophis;  
 Haec est Traditio, quam nata scientia mundo,  
 Qua vis naturae sentit, & arte sapit <sup>38</sup>.

## V

- Non equidem evertit rationem, ast perficit illam,  
 170] Ut valeat, propriis viribus addit opem.  
 Nec ratio, sensusque probant contraria, namque  
 Hanc debent, veri ut cardine, luce regi;  
 Et quae secreta, & rerum occultata latebris,  
 Naturae haud fuerant cognita rite oculis;  
 175] Os legis de more docens sic explicat alte,  
 Ut mentem, & sensus pace, fideque liget;  
 Principium mundi, nunquam quod mente repertum est,  
 Lex docet, ex templo mens quoque dicta probat;  
 Approbat expertus tanto jam lumine clarus;  
 180] Caetera naturae sic tibi lege patent <sup>39</sup>;

<sup>38</sup> IV. 'Two tablets were inscribed. <sup>150</sup>The interpreter, the script, the prophet, the choruses of God write the volume. But when man's mouth is closed because of the desire to eat and the daring of knowledge, knowing is confusion even if it is taught by God. Finally, when he overcame his merits, the infinite pieces of knowledge, the oral law, the voice of scripture like a tongue was given to him. <sup>155</sup>Oral law is present to solve the sins of the word, to return the body entirely so that it serves the Mind. This is the Scripture that explains to us mighty secrets, and teaches us the profound sense in deeds. The letter assumes this life of lives, and becomes <sup>160</sup>Spirit, such that it can properly speak already. This is the word of heaven with which at once the Omnipotent One credited the people and exchanged with them by word. This is the taste of things, which Adam lost when he was defeated; now the exchanged words restore as does food. <sup>165</sup>This food, this taste, this light finally illuminates the mind and returns to the learned philosophers. This is the Tradition through which science is born on earth, [the Tradition] through which the strength of nature feels and knows with art'.

<sup>39</sup> V. 'Surely it does not avert reason, for it makes it perfect, <sup>170</sup>such that it is worthy, and with its own strength attracts riches. Neither reason nor the senses prove the opposite; then, these should be governed by the light as a true beacon. And the secrets of nature and of the things hidden by darkness were not known to the eyes according to the rites. <sup>175</sup>The word of the law teaches according to custom, proclaiming how it binds mind and senses with peace and faith. The principle of the earth (never uncovered by the mind) is taught by the law, [though] the mind pro-

## VI

- Haec cuncta Omnipotens, & plena prophetica rerum  
 Notitiis, populo tradit habenda suo:  
 Namque prophetiae, ut morum Sanctissima vestis,  
 Sic Sophia ante fuit cognitione potens;
- 185] Praeterea accedens verbum divinitus afflans;  
 Tota scientifero lumine corda replet;  
 Doctrinam regnare petit; fitque undique prudens  
 Rex Salomon, *Domini* dum sibi verba sonant;  
 Cumque his agnovit naturae arcana latentis:
- 190] Namque datum coeli, continet omne, sciens.  
 Inde sacri vates dum dia, humana sciebant  
 Alta quoque. Haec illis sub sua jura jacent.  
 Ex his coelestes, omnisque ex ordine rerum  
 Fundamenta artis, quilibet hausit Heber<sup>40</sup>;
- 195] Haec nati natorum, & qui nascuntur ab ipsis,  
 Jure, caballaeam traditione tenent:  
 Haec primum Aegyptum Sancti docuere Parentes;  
 Principium hoc illi scire, caputque dedit:  
 Judaeis hausere alii potiora magistris;
- 200] Terra sub hoc omnis semine docta fuit:  
 Vana quoque aeternas bibit, ex hoc fonte, sciendi  
 Graecia, quas proprias turbida fecit, aquas:  
 Altera namque fuit, quam passa scientia, clades,  
 Verba magistrorum dum sibi quisque rogat:
- 205] Hoc faciunt Graeci; Sophiamque erroribus altis  
 Defaedare ausi, ut nomen ad Astra ferant;  
 Autores primos prorsus delere solebant,  
 Verbaque mentitis jungere sancta suis;  
 O facinus! Quid non mortalia pectora, cogis
- 210] Famae sacra fames, ambitioque sui!  
 Nuncque Giganteos sciolos exempla sequuntur;  
 Quam facile, alterius crimina, cuique sequi, est!  
 Non sic sub populo, qui coeli Numen adorat,  
 Evenit; a patribus discere solus amat:
- 215] Grande nefas reputat, si quid mutetur in ipsis,  
 Traditio in cunctis immaculata manet:  
 Quaeque animae quondam *Domino* promissa dederunt,

ves the saying from the temple. The expert illuminated by so much light approves.

<sup>180</sup>And so all of nature through law becomes real for you'.

<sup>40</sup> «(1) Heber son of Beriah son of Asher son of Jacob (*Num* 26:45) was among those who accompanied Jacob to Egypt (*Gen* 46:17). He is the eponymous ancestor of the Asherite clan Heber (*Num* 26:45)» (*EJ* 8:10, col. 1).

Observant, legis dum sibi pacta ferit:  
 Quapropter meruere omnes, caelestia nosse,  
 220] Postque sub humano corpore, scire sua <sup>41</sup>.

## VII

Nec mirum: nam fixa animae Deus indidit olim  
 Rerum astra, & species, queis sibi viua fuit:  
 Si nihil inscriptum foret, immortale subire  
 Haud poterat donum, a corpore corda tenens;  
 225] Nonne vides hominis multus dum membra Lyaeus  
 Occupat, ignotum ex mente referre sonum?  
 Delirumque simul Sophiae praecepta supernae  
 Nunquam audita sibi, & mira futura loqui?  
 Quidnam haec ostendunt, nisi quod mens intus habebat  
 230] Rerum harum species, nec sibi inanis erat?  
 Ecce lupum fugit agnellus, nec viderat unquam:  
 Ast aderat species insita, eoque timet;  
 Spiritus humanus bruto inferiora tenebit?

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<sup>41</sup> VI. 'All this and the prophecies replete with news the Omnipotent One exchanges with His people. The wisdom of prophecy, like the holiest dress of custom, used to be strong in knowledge. <sup>185</sup>Having access to the rest, the Divine inspires the Word and fills the entire heart with scientific light. It directs the Doctrine to reign. That is how King Solomon became knowledgeable, while for him the words of the Lord resounded and in hidden things he recognized the secrets of nature. <sup>190</sup>It is a gift of heaven; it contains all knowing. From here the sacred poets knew the Divine and things human, but also loftier things. These lie for them under their oaths. Through these Heber emptied at his own will the heavenly [attributes] and all the fundamentals of art from the order of all things [created]. <sup>195</sup>These, the children's children and those born of them will have because of the Law, the tradition of the Talmud [or Cabala?]. Firstly, the sacred ancestors taught it in Egypt. This principle imparted knowledge to it by way of the head. To the Jewish teachers it [the principle] [gave] better ones. <sup>200</sup>The earth became learned thanks to this seed. Vain Greece, also, drinks from this well, from these eternal waters which the turbid well [= Greece ?] made her own. Then science was defeated once more, even though everyone asks himself the words of the sages. <sup>205</sup>This the Greeks do; they dare besmirch Wisdom with egregious errors while at the same time they name the stars. They were accustomed to completely destroy the first authors and to unite the sacred words to their lies. Oh crime! Which mortal breast do you not entrap? <sup>210</sup>Your sacred hunger for fame and ambition [is] on its own! And now the gigantically little wise men follow the example. How easy it is for one's sins to follow another's! Not so to the people who worship the Numen of heaven. It only loves to learn from the fathers. <sup>215</sup>It thinks it is a great sin if something is changed in them; the tradition remains immaculate forever. These souls guard the promise they once gave to the Lord, while it carries in it the covenant of the Law. For that reason, all these deserved to know the heavenly matters, <sup>220</sup>and after that, under [the weight of the] human body [they] know their own things'.

- Principium externum cognitionis erit?  
 235] Nullumne internum? est equidem; nam fertur imago  
 Esse Dei, exacte qui sine mole sapit <sup>42</sup>:  
 Obtinet internam species ab origine fixas,  
 Sed tacet in mundo cuncta, jubente Deo  
 Dum subiit corpus, non illo, ast crimine pomi  
 240] Perdidit infusum scire, manetque rudis;  
 Utque opus excutiat, sitque intellectus in actu,  
 Indiget ingenii fulcra docente sui;  
 Indiget aetheream, quae mentem luce coruscet,  
 Totque inter noscat spectra, tenere viam;  
 245] (Indiquit, nam labe malum fit corpus ab esu,  
 Appetere ast vetitum sub vice carnis inest);  
 Hoc facit, hoc praestat domuique, animaeque vicissim  
 Lex, & traditio; format utrumque sibi:  
 Qui veri, atque boni, (specie virtutis, & umbram  
 250] Nam fallit vitium), perdocet illa modum:  
 Insuper ut corpus studio, mentisque labore,  
 Se linquens, totum, Spiritus alter, agat:  
 Sic namque aeternum, seu forma videbitur ipsa,  
 Illius auxilio, haec aethere lapsa venit;  
 255] Ingenio praestant, nigram qui bile redundant,  
 Spiritus his sacri lumina vatis habet;  
 Sed causas natura docet; quia pauca ciborum?  
 Paucum animae, multum in mente requirit opus.  
 Corpus item parvo assuetum, convertitur omne  
 260] In mentem, innatam quae vice deinde micat;  
 His studia accedunt, & qui labor omnia vincit,  
 Ut discat formae terra sub-esse suae:  
 Ambo intelligere, ut tandem sit vita duorum,  
 Suppositum, ac actus, jam simul unus adest  
 265] Unus homo vivit, qui formam, & corpore constat,  
 Unus homo sentit, cordeque docta sapit,  
 Hoc sub mole sequi, supero descendit olympe  
 Forma, ut eo redeat conditus unus homo;  
 Sic mortale valet reddi, quod cernere tecum est,  
 270] Aeternum, corpus spiritus utque manet;  
 Perficitur citius quidam, corrumpitur alter  
 Juxta subjecti facta, modumque sui <sup>43</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Allusion to Platonic philosophy supporting Jewish ideas regarding knowledge.

<sup>43</sup> VII. 'There is nothing to wonder about: then God at once introduced in the soul of things the fixed stars and the idea that was alive in them. If nothing had been written, the immortal gift could not have ascended, tied to the body by a rope. <sup>1225</sup>While the multiple Lyaeus occupies the limbs of man, do you not perceive an unknown sound emanating from the mind? Do you not perceive the

## VIII

- Virtutes, animique habitus, producere vitam  
 Corpoream, ut talem fecerat ipse, queunt;  
 275] Vivere, vel sapere, (hoc rerum sine corpore vita est),  
 Quodlibet in corpus spiritus intus agit;  
 Illud temperiem servat, cum laude, beatam,  
 Si formae inservit, per bona facta, suae;  
 Obruatur vitiis corpus, jam signa salutis  
 280] Amissae existunt, binaque damna feret;  
 Haud homini invigilat; crescet pinguedine corpus,  
 Athletaeque aderunt certa pericla sui;  
 Cumque intellectu, vitae jam vincula perdet;  
 (Forma hujus, memora, quod sapere ante fuit),  
 285] Quapropter Lex sancta potest producere vitam,  
 Nam sapere adducens, est quoque vita, salus.  
 Praeterea vita est *Domini* benedictio, quicum

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delirious talk of unheard-of laws of divine knowledge and future marvels? What does this prove, if not that the mind is full and not empty. <sup>1230</sup>The lamb flees the wolf, never having seen it before. But there was an inborn idea, and that is why it demonstrates fear. Will the human spirit be inferior to an animal? Will there be an external principle of knowledge <sup>1235</sup>and not an internal one? But there is one! Then it is said to be the image of God, which knows all and is abstract. The internal idea will obtain the fixed ones from the beginning, but everything will remain silent in the world, God commanding it, while the body descends, not because of it, but because of the Adam and Eve's sin <sup>1240</sup>which lost infused knowledge; thereafter it will remain rude. For the work to appear and for the intellect to be active, it lacks the aid of wit to teach him; it lacks the ethereal way that runs through the mind with light, to know so many spectra. <sup>1245</sup>It was indicated then that because of the fall, the body goes bad from eating, yet, on the other hand, it is interesting to approach the forbidden, instead of the flesh. This exposes the abode and the soul to the law and to tradition. Each forms itself. The latter merely teaches what is true and good <sup>1250</sup>(with the concept of virtue, vice then always fails with darkness). And the other Spirit abandoning itself, it leads everything inside the body with effort, in the mind with work. And so the eternal [attribute]; or it will appear like the idea itself and come to its aid, once fallen from the ether. <sup>1255</sup>Those who abound in black bile direct the wits; the Spirit possesses the light of the sacred for these poets. But nature instructs the causes; why is there little to eat? It requires a little work on behalf of the soul [and] a great deal of the mind. Then the body is accustomed to little, but it is turned into everything <sup>1260</sup>in the mind, which, afterwards, also diminishes what is innate. Study has access to these things, and work wins everything for the earth; [we] learn that underneath exists her form. Understanding both things, such that there is life for both, at once there is one, the hypothetical and the accomplished. <sup>1265</sup>As one, man lives who is made of body and soul or idea. As one, man feels, knows his teachings in his heart, the idea descends from high Olympus to continue under this weight so that there appears one man incarnate. So can it turn the mortal into the eternal (which is a matter of thought), so the spirit remains body. One is quick to become perfect; the other is corrupted, subject both to just deeds, and only to His'.

Stat res; hanc crescit, promit & esse sibi:  
 Dixit, & ecce orbis; voluit benedicere, vivunt  
 290] Ecce creaturae, semina perque manent;  
 Sed nostri praecepta Dei, sibi dicta vocantur  
 Sat bene; vitarum munera cuncta tenent;  
 Stamina vivendi sunt naturalia, vitam  
 Observata trahunt, sed violata negant <sup>44</sup>.

## IX

295] *Terminus* unde homini vitae, vel denique nulli  
 Praefixus, factis vel moderandus erit;  
 Implet mensuram, sibi quam natura requirit,  
 Dum mala corrumpunt, perficiuntve bona;  
 Ast haec naturae, vel morum facta vocantur,  
 300] Haec animae vitam, corporis illa regunt:  
 Attamen inter eos vis mutua saepe refulget,  
 Alter in alterius concutit acta, vices,  
 Pondere librantur, numeroque ea crimina certo,  
 Quae formam, aut corpus perdere, jure valent:  
 305] Certa Haemorrhaeis olim numerantur iniquis,  
 Queis *Domini* fisco subdita regna forent:  
 Rebus in externis quicquid pro robore agentis,  
 Prove statu passi, vel mage, fitve minus;  
 Vivere non aliter memora; nam criminis una  
 310] Vis magni exercet fata timenda necis;  
 Et contra virtutis opus producet in aevum  
 Fundamenta esse, & vivere saecula dabit:  
 Sed respectu hominis, (namque illi cuncta geruntur),  
 Talia quis noscet, vel merita ipsa sciet?

<sup>44</sup> VIII. 'Virtues, the soul's garb, can produce the corporeal life, as He made such. <sup>275</sup>To live or to know what it wants (then this is the life of lifeless things), the spirit does inside the body. It maintains happy temperance without praise if it serves his idea/form through good deeds. The body is destroyed by vices; already there exist signs of lost health. <sup>280</sup>It brings a double harm; it does not care for the person. The body grows obese, sure dangers befall the athlete. With intellect the ties of life are already loosened. (His form, which before was to know, is now a remembrance.) <sup>285</sup>That is why the sacred Law can produce life, then health, [and] knowledge which is also life. Furthermore, life is a blessing from God, through Whom things stand. These things grow and discover to be for themselves. He said, «And here are the things of the world». He wanted to bless, «And here live the creatures and through seed they survive and multiply». The precepts of our God, given by His words, are sufficient. They will not have all the gifts of life. The stamina for life is natural; if precepts are observed, they bring life. If violated, they deny it'.



- 315] Cum vix temperiem, aut causas per signa patentēs  
Vitae, sat doctus non ita scire queat <sup>45</sup>.

## X

- Certum equidem, (nunc magna cano),  
quod origine forma  
Divinam, ante fuit corpore nata prius;  
320] Descendensque Deo, partes transire coruscas.  
Jussa, quibus praesunt *Nomina Sancta* polis:  
Induit hinc vestem varii, sacrique coloris  
Virtutis, terrae qua venit ipsa tegi:  
Coelestisque globus, coelo qui pendet ab illo,  
325] Tali disponit munere, corpus iners;  
Hinc forte existit non uno jure beandos  
Omnes esse, suos sed sibi habere modos:  
Haud est dispositum vel idem, aut unum: Ipse beatos  
Nam *Deus* in variis, omnibus esse dedit.  
330] Factum hominem mundus vitales ducit ad auras;  
An ideo dices talia sata viris?  
Tunc locus est operi, sed quod sua cuique voluntas  
Arbitrio sumat, velque recuset iners:  
Et si corporeis, quae adsunt, dominarier astris  
335] Aethereum nequeat, forma coloris abit;  
Donum insigne Dei deperditur: homine tristi  
Amittet proprii vincula sancta poli:  
Qui virtute valent, vitae indumenta coruscant;  
Vitam supremis inferiora ligant.

<sup>45</sup> IX. 'The end of the life of man is neither fixed for anyone's benefit, not has it been moderated by deeds. It feels the measure that nature requires for itself. In the meantime, evil deeds corrupt and good ones are made perfect. But these control the life of nature, also called moral deeds. <sup>300</sup>These [control] the life of the soul, and those [the former] [the life] of the body. But in-between them a mutual strength often shines. One collides with the actions of the other, and vice-versa. These sins balance each other equally, which either the soul or the body destroy, [and] with certain number [and] through law are strong. <sup>305</sup>Once the sure things are counted by the unfair Haemorrhage, the reigns will be subjected to God's treasure. And in the external things, anything instead of the strength of the agent, instead of the state of the passive, becomes bigger or smaller. To live is nothing but remembrance. <sup>310</sup>Then, the only strength of great sin is to exert the destiny of death that has to be feared. To the contrary, the work of virtue makes it possible for the fundamentals to exist throughout time, and will give to life throughout the centuries. However, concerning man (then this governs everything), who knows such things or knows these merits? <sup>315</sup>Not even temperance nor the causes of life shining through the signs can he know even if he is learned'.

340] Ergo propositi summa est, *Beverovice* <sup>46</sup>, nostri  
 Quae dixi; & parvo carmine, musa canet:  
 Stat sua cuique Dies, non fato, ast undique factis,  
 Terminus his vitae, & pendet ubique necis <sup>47</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> In ZACUTUS *Historiarum: Liber Sextus* 1638 fol. 5r, Beverovicus, «Senator, ac Medicus Dordrechtanus» pens a praiseworthy poem in Greek to Zacuto, and in the *Liber Septimus* 1641 fol. 23, Johannes Beverovicus writes to Zacuto: «Clarissime, ac sapientissime vir, literis tuis, copia, aut eruditione non satisfaciam: nam aetas gravis, continua Studia, & maximi labores ita animi vigorem debilitarunt, ut jam nec amicis satisfacere, nec ea praestare possim quae maxime vellum. Omissis igitur laudibus quas pro tua in me benevolentia, nec ullo tamen meo merito mihi tribuis, pro commentariis quos in libros de universa mulierum Medicina conscripsi, exemplar de Medico Politico ad te politissimum Medicum transmitto. Fuit senectutis lus, in quo, quae inter seria Studia, occurrerunt, quae ve longa dies mihi monstraverat, posteritati communicare decrevi. Immortales vero tibi praesto gratias pro primo *de Medicorum Principum Historia*, libro, in quo alios quinque de eodem argumento polliceris. O quam suavis, elegans, & Reipublicae Medicae utilis est, Professoribus jucundus, Praxin exercentibus necessarius. Dubia sunt electa, quaestiones novae, arduae, difficiles, explanatio Historiae certa. Me ergo tui Studiosissimum solita benevolentia prosequi non desistas. Hamburgi. 16. Iulij anno 1630». Signed «Ioannes Beverovicus» to «Zacuto Lusitano. Dordrechtii. 11. Calen. Octob. 1639». ('Most wise and famous man: I cannot compete with your letterwriting, your copious productivity nor your erudition. Alas, advanced age, continuous study and an incessant workload have diminished me in such a way that I am unable to satisfy my friends nor [may I] devote myself to that which I love the most. For that reason, setting aside your kind words of praise for me which are unwarranted, I, political M.D., remit a copy to you, wisest doctor of medicine, of my commentaries on the entire medical corpus on women's diseases for which you bestow on me words of praise. It was a trick of old age that prompted me to reserve for posterity those things which had occurred during my years of serious study and that a long life has taught me. Naturally, I eternally thank you for the first volume, *History of Medical Principles*, in which you promise five forthcoming volumes with the same argument. O how elegant, how sweet and useful it is for the Republic of Medicine, how pleasureable for the professors, and how necessary for those who practice medicine! Your reservations are well taken, your inquiries new, painstaking, daring; your explanation of history accurate. Please do not cease your accustomed benevolence toward me, for I am your devoted student. Hamburg 16 July 1630. Johan Beverovicus to Zacuto the Portuguese, from Dordrecht 11 October 1639'.)

<sup>47</sup> X. 'It is true, though, (Now I sing of great things!) that the original Divine form was born prior to the body. <sup>1320</sup>And descending from God, it crosses the bright parts to the orders through which the Sacred Names are in heaven. He wears the garb of varied and sacred color of virtue and of the earth that he comes to cover. And the heavenly sphere that descends from the sky <sup>1325</sup>possesses such a gift, while the body remains unfit. That is why there does not exist by chance through law that everyone has to be happy, but that everyone should have his own ways. And the display is not the same nor just one: then God Himself gave to everyone to be happy in different things. <sup>1330</sup>The world brings incarnate man to the life aura. Do you say that such things are enough for men? This is the place to work, but what

Rosales includes a critical apparatus designating his sources:

- *Notae*: In *Carmen intellectuale*, ab ipso auctore ad marginem positae ('With autographs in the margin').
- Sectio I. Primo h. q. Sophiae, *nulla necessitas animae, convertendi se ad phantasmata in statu innocentiae, lege Scotum in 1 dist. 3.q.3* ('The soul need not, by converting itself into a burning apparition; Scotus' law').— Ibid. ut scitum, *Quod per suas causas perfecte scitur, & respectu scientis est divinum* ('Because by way of their causes it is known perfectly, and with respect to divine wisdom').— Ibid. Qui sapiat, *Cognoscere rerum nomina, est scire perfecte* ('Knowing the names of things is perfect knowledge').— Ibid. Externumque Dei cultum, *Cultus externus, vel religio, qua Deus debet coli, non est hominis, sed ipsius Dei ut explicetur* ('The external adoration or religion by which God receives adoration is not for man to explain, only for God Himself').
- Sectio II. Ast inter tot caeca, *Quae in hac sectione continentur, docentur in nostris exer. 1. Philos. & 2. Theol. & 2. Apologetica* ('What is contained herein is explained in our Exercise 1 Philosophy and 2. Theology').— Ibid. Nam postquam infusa, *Post homo perdidit intelligere absque phantasm, illa, quae a Deo dederat, docuit posteros, & hae sunt rerum scientiae verae* ('After man lost the ability to comprehend the image or spirit emanating from God, [He] instructed the wise, and this is the true science of things').— Ibid. Unicus ecce semus, *Abrahamus didicit ex Sem* ('Abraham learned it from Shem').— Ibid. Luce parat, *Lex, vocatur Lux* ('The Law is called light').
- Sectio III. Reddant &c. pacta Deos, *Dei in nomine Elohim vocantur homines* ('Men call God Elohim').— Ibid. Despotico accepit, *De imperio despotico, lege Arist. I. polit. cap.3 & 1. Ethic. ultimo* ('Concerning despotic power, see Aristotle I, *The Politics*, chap. 3 + 1; [also] the *Ethics*, final [part]').
- Sectio IV. Os hominis fuse, *Thora sebaalpe, vel lex oralus, & ejus differentiae, a nobis diffuse probantur contra Finum & sequaces in 2. exer. Apologetica* ('The Torah she-be-'al pe or the oral law and its difference, as shown convincingly by us, as opposed to Fino and his followers in 2 exercises [in the?] *Apologetics*').

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does His will add to each mercy, or He being unable, does he reject? If I am subjected by the corporeal stars that exist <sup>335</sup>and the ether can not exist, the form of color will disappear. The famous gift of God is lost. The sacred ties of heaven abandon the unhappy man. Those who are worthy because of their virtue make the cloth of life brilliant. The lower beings tie the supreme ones to life. <sup>340</sup>That is why this is the summary of our proposal, Beverovice, whom I mentioned: with a small poem let the muse sing! Everyone has his day, not because of destiny, but because of the deeds anywhere; this is the end of life. Death awaits everywhere'.

- Sectio VI. Namque prophetiae. *Vide Rabenu Mosem in direct. dubit. p. 2. cap. 32. & in tract fundam. leg. a cap. 7. ad 10* ('See Rabbi Moses in ...').— *Ibid. Vana quoque, Vide Iona. Henricum encyclop. Lib. 1. cap. 2.* 'See Jonah Henri ...').
- Sectio VII. Si nihil inscriptum, *Contra Arist. desputamus exer.2. philos. ubi Iudaeorum sententiam & Platonis esse veram circa haec offendimus* ('We disagree with Aristotle, Exercise 7, *Philosophy*, where we attack the remark about the Jews and Plato as being true').— *Ibid. Occuput, ignotum, Garcia de locis disp.13.c.10. ait, hoc fieri a Daemone, sed non recte ait* ('García [Disputation 13.10] claimed that this was attributed to the devil; but it is untrue').— *Ibid. Nunquam audita. Arist. 13. Probl. 9.1. Cicero 1. de divinatione. Paulus Aegineta cap. de melancholia. Vide Garc. de locis disp. 13.c.11* ('See the following authors ...').— *Ibid. Ecce lupum, Hoc referunt philosophi ad instinctum naturae, sed quid sit, non bene explicant Suares.1. Methap. disp. 23. Sect. 10. n.14. Garcia in Avicenam sen 1. disp.47.c.2. n.21.* ('By this the philosophers refer to natural instinct, but what it is precisely is explained in the following authors ...').— *Ibid. Illius auxilio, Hoc modo diluas rationes Thom. a Conimb. in 3. de Anima c.8. q.1.art.3.rat.3* ('Cfr. the following authors ...').— *Ibid. Corpus, item, Ita probo in fragm.2. exer philos. dicendo eximio Domino Doctori Zacuto Lusitano, viro equidem in medicina consummatissimo* ('This is proven in fig. 2, philosophical exercise, in which I cite Dr. Zacuto the Portuguese, a consummate physician').
- Sectio VIII. Virtutes animique, *Hae & sequentes sectiones, ingeniis nobilibus exponuntur, ut ab illis ventilentur: continent enim mira, & gravia secretioris Philos. & Theolog* ('This and the following sections are explained with noble genius in such a way that they are clear; for they contain admirable and grave things dealing with the secrets of philosophy and theology').
- Sectio X. Divina ante. *contra. 3. assert. Conimb. in com. 2. Lib. de anima c.1.q.3. art.2. & omnes qui ex Traduce vel aliter animas creari tradunt* ('Against ... and all who say that the souls are created by Traduce [?] or by other means').

**33. Panegyricus [by Jacob Rosales] In laudem eximii & praestantissimo Sapientis, nobilis que viri, Menasseh Ben Israel** <sup>48</sup>.

Sin autem meliora cupis, si magna videre  
Tanti argumenti; & juvat exaudire latebras

<sup>48</sup> 'Panegyric in praise of the extraordinary and most illustrious, wise and noble man Menasseh Ben Israel'. In BEN ISRAEL 1639 fol. N10r.

- Naturae, luci expositas; & stamina vitae,  
 An praefixa homini existant, cognoscere nostrae;
- 5] Consule communi venerandum laude magistrum,  
 Arte admirandum tota, Sophiaeque parentem  
 MENASSEH, qui terram colit, quem suspicit orbis,  
 Ob sceptrum studii, & nobis tot scripta, profundo  
 Ingenio; quo magna valet superare scientum
- 10] Pectora, vel tota quamvis sat plena Minerva.  
 Nam parvo, sed mente, gravi, quem conspicias, isto  
 Libro, cuncta docet, distinctoque ordine casus  
 Exponit dubios, quod nil jam deesse videtur  
 Heu lecta absorbe; atque oculis vigilantibus ultro
- 15] Perlege doctrinam, trutina, & mirabere tantum  
 Perfectum sine labe virum; nam culmine sacrae  
 Mentis ut excellit, sic est sub gentis honore.  
 Nobilitate domus, antiqua & origine stirpis  
 Judaeae illustris, proprium super aethera tollit
- 20] Nomen; nec superat minus *Abravanellia* conjux  
 Heroe ex sapiente Ishak cognomine ducens  
 Sanguine cum claro: sic jungunt colla duorum  
 Nobilitas, & diva simul prudentia in unum.  
 O decus! o fulgor Sapientum! o gloria saeculi!
- 25] O quam felices, qui te genuere parentes,  
 Illustrem, doctumque simul, nam nomine vivent  
 Ii quoque (jure) tuo: tali se prole beatos  
 Decantent, radientque ad tanti fulgura nati.  
 Nos quoque felices, qui te nos tanta docente
- 30] Accipimus, fruimurque tuae *tam* nectare dulci  
 Doctrinae, ut fugiat rudis ignorantia nobis.  
 Quos modulos pro laude valent proferre Camenae,  
 Si tua devincunt vel tota encomia laudum,  
 Et sis major honore soli? Tua scripta, tuique
- 35] Sanguinis excellens nomen laudare valebunt  
 Te solum; & notum facient a cardine coeli  
 Ejus ad oppositum, ut tandem post fata revivas.  
 Haud etenim occumbet, dederat qui lumina vitae,  
 Exponens, quo fixa modo dicenda videntur.
- 40] Ergo vive tibi, & nobis, vir magne, futurisque.  
 Omnes namque tuo vitae de fonte bibendo  
 Existunt docti, famam super astra ferentes:

Haudque tui immemores, MENASSAE nomina dicent.  
 Ut grati reddant laudes, & vota magistro.

45] Nos, si saecla tui poterit dare Musa ROSALIS,  
 Te quoque perpetuum quod erit, donabimus aevo.

Tuus ut suus, Iacob Rosales Hebraeus Mathem. Philos. & Medicinae  
 Doctor <sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> 'If you desire to see something better and something grand from such an argument, and you rejoice in listening to the secrets of nature exposed to light, and in knowing the endurance of our life if these [secrets] might exist fixed beforehand for men, <sup>15</sup>with praise for the common consul has the teacher to be venerated, with all art has he to be admired by us, the father of wisdom, Menasseh, whom the earth possesses, whom the world receives, for the scepter of study and so many writings for us and his profound wit. How much is possible to overcome the swollen breasts of the wise men <sup>10</sup>even if all Minerva may be enough! Then in this book may you now see, small but serious concerning the mind now, how he shows everything and exposes in clear order the doubtful cases, because nothing seems to be missing; absorb if you will the reading. And with watchful eye, <sup>15</sup>explain, scale the doctrine further and you would be admired as perfect man without failure. Then as much as he excels through the pinnacle of the sacred mind, so he has honor among people. Because of the nobility of the house, the ancient origin of the famous Jewish kin, he elevates his proper name above the ether; <sup>20</sup>and his wife Abravanellia does not excel in less, for it is she who has the family name of the hero Ishak, of famous bloodline: so were united in one the necks of both, the nobility and, at the same time, the divine prudence. Oh reverence! Oh brightness of knowledge! Oh glory of the centuries! <sup>25</sup>Oh how happy the parents who gave you birth, illustrious and learned! Then they also live in your name (by law). May they sing themselves happy because of the offspring who shine through the brightness of such a son! And we also [are] happy, the ones who receive so much from you when you taught us <sup>30</sup>and [we] enjoyed the nectar of such sweet doctrine, so that ignorance will flee from us uncultivated ones. Which small ways do the Muses use to sing instead of praise, if your ways defeat all *encomia* and praise, and you are the greater in honor than the sun? Your writings <sup>35</sup>and the excellent name of your bloodline are enough to praise you alone and will make you known in the north of the world and in its opposite, so that finally you will live again after death. He has not succumbed nor has he passed away, he who exposed the light of life in the way that seems that the destined things have to be said. <sup>40</sup>In consequence, live with yourself and us and all future men, you great man! Then may all the learned live drinking from the spring of your life, taking your fame farther than the stars: and they do not mention the name of Menasseh without remembering you, because appreciatively they return the praises and promises to the teacher. <sup>45</sup>We, if the Muse of Rosales has been able to give you to the centuries, will grant you perpetuity that will exist eternally.— Sincerely yours, Jacob Rosales, Jewish mathematician, philosopher and Medical Doctor'.

## 2. LOVE POEMS IN PORTUGUESE

34. Quatro décimas minhas [by Abraham Meldola <sup>50</sup>] com as quais respondí a meu Amigo antedecente <sup>51</sup>.

## Mote

Se de mim vos intentais despedir  
 muito vos errais, meu Amigo,  
 quem no coração vos soube imprimir  
 por força sempre vos tem consigo <sup>52</sup>.

[Motte; 1 [despedir.

## Glosa

Muito pouco me valuais  
 se depois de vos conhecer  
 credes vos possa esquecer  
 por mais que d'aquí vos ausentais;  
 5] é força que de mim creais  
 que ignoro quanto valeis  
 chegando a crer que vos podreis

<sup>50</sup> For Meldola, see STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1997d:90: «Der in Amsterdam geborene Kantor, Übersetzer und Notar Abraham Meldola wirkt in Altona und Hamburg, verbringt aber seine letzten Lebensjahre in Amsterdam, wo er auch beerdigt wird»; also in 1997e:61, 2nd col.: «Abraham Meldola wird 1754 als Sohn des Amsterdamer Rabbiners und gelehrten David Meldola in Amsterdam geboren. Nach dem Studium in Leiden und an der Talmud Tora in Amsterdam läßt er sich 1773 in Altona und seit 1784 in Hamburg als Kantor, Übersetzer (Hebräisch, Portugiesisch, Spanisch, Niederländisch) und (kaiserlich) notar wider. Wenige Jahre vor seinem Tod kehrt er nach Amsterdam zurück, wo er am 25.11.1826 stirbt». Concerning this same work, see KÖRNER 1992 and 1994.

<sup>51</sup> In MELDOLA 1785 pp. 668-669.

<sup>52</sup> Meldola first cites this anon. text as the starting point for his own work: A (p. 668) «Mote: Em sinal de agradecido».

## Glosa

A Deos, Senhora, me ausento,  
 forçoso é que vos diga,  
 êste a Deos por despedida  
 posto que me da tormento;  
 5] diminuiréi meu sentimento  
 com ver que levo comigo  
 no coração e sentido  
 vossas pessoas e agrado,  
 confessándome obrigado  
 10] em sinal de agradecido.

5 [diminuirey; 6 [commigo.

por algum modo desvincular  
de quem vos soube bem estimar  
10] e conhece quanto mereceis.

4 [auzentais.

Neptuno seja quem o diga  
se seus golfos, portos, e mares  
conheceis? Ceres que prosiga  
se as terras todas meditais?  
5] Apolo publique se a mais  
a poesia as influências?  
Obtendo vos pois estas potências  
por mais e mais que vos ausentais  
para mim sempre presente estais  
10] louvândovos estas eminências.

8 [auzentais.

Qué direi da docilidade  
e amor com que a todos tratais?  
São partes da vossa integridade  
e mostras que a virtude a mais;  
5] quem será por mais que vos ausentais  
posto que na Líbia, ou Norvega,  
ou em terras que se não navega  
voz quizerdes do mundo ocultar  
que de vos se não saiba recordar  
10] e sempre presente vos entrega.

3 [sam; 7 [nam; 8 [quizerdes.

Largai pois o vos querer despedir  
de quem vos estimou, e estimais,  
e crede que se não deixa ouvir  
que a distância no que bem amais  
5] desune o que nas almas ligais;  
lembraivos que vos venho advertir  
se de mim vos intentais despedir  
muito vos errais, meu amigo,  
pois por força vos terá comsigo  
10] quem no seu coração vos imprimir <sup>53</sup>.

1 [dispidir; 3 [nam; 7 [despidir.

<sup>53</sup> Other more prosaic and posthumous publications by Abraham Meldola (although this individual may be a son) are: *Der comptorist in besonderer hinsicht auf Hamburg* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1829); *Tulpen und Staatspapiere* (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1830); *Abraham Meldola's Allgemeiner comptorist der sammtlichen*



## 3. PREFATORY POEMS INCLUDED IN PRINTED BOOKS

3.1 *Authored by known Sephardim*35. Del Ilustre Señor Emanuel Nehamías<sup>54</sup>, muy amador de las letras, íntimo amigo del Autor [Menasseh Ben Israel]; Soneto<sup>55</sup>.

Único fénix de inmortal memoria  
que por suaves medios, sin mudanza,  
(con magnánimo pecho y confianza)  
vuelves los textos de la sacra historia.

5] De hoy quedas alcanzando la victoria  
y venciendo del todo la esperanza  
del premio y lauro que por sí se alcanza  
adquistando en el mundo eterna gloria.

Elévese de honor el alto pecho  
10] que pisa de Platón el rico estrado  
por llamarse Divino entendimiento.

De aquesto quedo yo bien satisfecho,  
que estime el orbe todo en sumo grado  
tal ser, ciencia, arte y pensamiento.

36. Carmina Hispanica ab amicis authoris hujus libri scripta<sup>56</sup>. Del Señor Emanuel Nehamías al Autor [Menasseh Ben Israel]; Soneto<sup>57</sup>

Venturoso el padre a quien el cielo  
en premio del cuidado y sufrimiento  
le dio en don de su merecimiento  
quien su nombre eterniza acá en el suelo.

*handelsplätze nach alphabetischer Ordnung* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1830); *Calculations—tabellen für alle colonial-und manufactur-waaren von England, Frankreich, Holland, Spanien, Russland, Portugal, Brasilien, Nordamerika, Dänemark, Italien ...* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1832); *Die produkten- oder colonial-waaren-Kunde* (Hamburg: Literatur Comptois, 1836; Hamburg: L. Giese, 1847).

<sup>54</sup> This individual must have been a member of the distinguished De Castro family, whose name for the synagogue was Nehamías. For a bibliography concerning this family, see STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1994: 51-52 (nos. 793-796).

<sup>55</sup> In BEN ISRAEL 1632 n. p.

<sup>56</sup> 'Poems in Spanish included in his book and written by a friend of the author's'.

<sup>57</sup> In BEN ISRAEL 1635 fol. 7r.

5] Venturosa la madre en su desvelo,  
pues le paga con número sin cuento  
en tan sublime y alto pensamiento  
haciéndole vestir de inmortal velo.

Si luego en la virtud ilustre y clara  
10] pocas veces el hijo se adelanta  
ni aun iguala al padre su memoria.

Tú, que en tu obra tan felice y rara  
muestras ser rama de tan divina planta,  
¿quién duda te corone eterna gloria?

### 3.2 Authored by physicians of possible Sephardic lineage

37. Celeberrimo omniumque doctissimo Ferdinando Roderico Cardoso <sup>58</sup> professori olim primario, nunc vero Regio proto-medico. Antonius Gonzalez e Lima, Licentiatus <sup>59</sup>.

Lysiadum Cardose decus, cui rector Olympi  
Artis Apollineae noluit esse parem.  
Abstrusas rerum causas, & luce carentes  
Cui dedit, & media nocte videre diem.

5] Thesaurus iam pande tuos, fugiantque tenebrae  
Ingenii post hac, quae monumenta tui.  
Ut reliquos superas, ipsum te vincere fas est,  
Sic reliquis maior, te quoque maior eris.

<sup>58</sup> «Fernão Rodrigues Cardoso, natural de Santarém e filho do Dr. Pedro Fernandes obteve os graus de Bacharel em Artes em 24 Fev. 1565, de Licenciado em Artes em 9 junho 1566 e Mestre em Artes em 1566, de Licenciado em Medicina em 14 junho 1573 e Doutor no mesma Faculdade em 21 junho 1573. Veio a ser Professor da Faculdade de Medicina entre 1572 e 1585» (*Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*; Information kindly provided in a personal letter from the curator of the AUC, Ana Maria Leitão Bandeira, 99/09/06). Ángel MARCOS DE DIOS, «Índice de portugueses en la Universidad de Salamanca (1580-1640)», *Brigantia (Revista de Cultura)* 13 no. 1/2 (Jan./Jun. 1993) p. 106, lists another Fernando Cardoso (the famous Isaac Cardoso), who studied medicine from 1617-1620, and who must be related to the former. See YERUSHALMI 1971:52 n. 5, and 74-85. Yerushalmi cites August HIRSCH, *Biographisches Aertze aller Zeiten und Voelker* (Vienna - Leipzig 1884-1888), who admitted that the Fernando Rodrigues Cardoso and Fernando Cardoso were most likely two distinct individuals. The Fernando Cardoso of the *Arte Apollinea* died in 1608.

<sup>59</sup> 'To the very famous and erudite among all Fernando Rodrigues Cardoso, former university professor and now royal physician. Antonio González de Lima'. In CARDOSO 1620 fol. 5r.

- Multaque; cum miseris noceant mortalibus, apte  
 10] Quae prosint, vel quae sint nocitura, doce.  
 Quid somni, aut vigiles minuentes corpora curae  
 Tristitia, ira, dolor, sollicitudo, metus,  
 Quidque cibus, potosque; & aer, motusque, quiesque  
 Quid plenum valeat, vel quid inane iuuet<sup>60</sup>.  
 15] In lucem prodire iube, quod si facis, unum  
 Quod facis ipse, licet, quod licet ipse facis.  
 Magna tibi, maiora aliis da munera; charae  
 Sic patriae, & cunctis, sic tibi gratus eris.

Vale <sup>61</sup>

38. D. Roderico a Castro Lusitano, Ludovicus Nonius [Luis Nunes] Doctor Medicus Lusitanus <sup>62</sup>.

- Civica si civi servato a morte corona  
 Sit data, & est lauro virgine cincta coma,  
 Si quibus hostili rorabant membra cruore,  
 Contigit, & multa caede triumphus erat:  
 5] Innumerae umbrabunt merito tua tempore lauri  
 A Castro, & lambet multa corona caput,  
 Innumeros homines solus nam subtrahis orco,  
 Et facis invita vivere posse colo.  
 Ipse fugas imo latitantes corpore pestes,  
 10] Agmina morborum disjicis arte tua,  
 Disjicis arte tua, Pandora quidquid in orbem,  
 Saeva tulit pixis; quidquid & ira Deum,  
 Mortaleis artus crebra ne tabe faciscant  
 Efficis, & diro soluis ab interitu.

<sup>60</sup> Cfr. *Prov* 14,25.

<sup>61</sup> 'Cardoso, decorum of the Lusiads [Portugal]; to whom the lord of Olympus did not want to make an equal in the Apollinean art. You are able to understand the abstruse causes of things [maladies] and the ones that lack light, and [you] shed light where there is darkness. <sup>15</sup>As you open your treasurehouse of intelligence, darkness flees: that is your legacy. In the same way in which you conquer other causes, it is necessary for you to always excel. Oh how much greater are you than the rest and how you will be consistently superior! Since so much disease afflicts unhappy mortals, make people benefit from your science <sup>10</sup>or teach about disease. How many nightmares or anxious worries embattle the human body, sadness, hatred, pain, worry, fear! What food and drink and air, movement and tranquillity fortify the fullness or which helps fill the void! <sup>15</sup>It is ordained that you lead one to brightness; what you do is appropriate; what is appropriate you do. Give the rewards that are great for you but greater for all others. To your loving nation, to its people, and to yourself you will give pleasure. Farewell'.

<sup>62</sup> 'To Doctor Rodrigo de Castro Lusitanian, [from] Luis Nunes, Portuguese MD'. In CASTRO LUSITANI 1617 fol. b1r.

- 15] Nec Roderice satis, quod per te annosa Charontis  
Cymba fuit toties ludificata senis,  
Ni postquam Lachesis rumpet subtegmina vitae,  
Sentiat ex calamo pluria damna tuo <sup>63</sup>.

4. RHYMED FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SEPHARDIC  
CEMETERY BETAHAIM, ON THE KÖNIGSTRAÙE, HAMBURG

39. Sara Miriam Coronel <sup>64</sup>; [Octava].

- Aquí onde a vaidade é acabada,  
o Senhor, yo o mando e hajam glória,  
aquí Sara Miriam foi sepultada,  
d'aquí foi a gozar da eterna glória.  
5] «O poço de Miriam» serei chamada;  
aquí meu nome ficua por memória,  
aquí em flor cortada serei nova  
quando o etéreo tal sobre mi chova.

1 [Aqy, vaedade, he; 2 [ajam glorya; 3 [aqy, Myryam; 4 [daquy; 5 [posso, Myryam, serey, chmada [sic]; 6 [aqy, fyqua, memorya; 7 [aquy, serey; 8 [eteryo, my, ghova.

40. Sara Mazaod <sup>65</sup>; [Octava].

De uma alma pura e não contaminada  
no corruptível e corpóreo laso

<sup>63</sup> 'If the civic crown is awarded to the citizen who is saved from death, and if one's hair is wreathed by a virgen laurel, if [the laurel wreath] could touch those whose limbs were gnarled by hostile blood and [life] were to triumph over worldly destruction, <sup>65</sup>the innumerable [wreaths] in your time will provide Castro with shade for your worthy laurel wreath, and many crowns will grace your head, since you alone retrieve from death so many men and allow them life. It is you alone who expels plague and bodily disease. <sup>10</sup>By your art you destroy the pillars of disease; by your art you expel Pandora from this world, and what is pitch black cruel hatred offers to God. You are able to achieve cures so that the body be not swollen with decay; you cure a difficult intestine. <sup>15</sup>And, as if that were not enough, Rodrigo, you have deceived old Charon's hated bark and with your pen so often that you have deprived Lachesis's power to destroy the thread of life'.

<sup>64</sup> Died 16 Nisan 5394 (4/4/1635). The following prose inscriptions are found (1) along the rectangular border of the tombstone and (2) below the poem: (1) «Aquy repouza *Abenturada* memorya da pagyrtada [*panegirizada* 'panegyriized' (?)] Dona Sara Myryam Senyor Coronel mulher que foy da Yshac Senyor Coronel a quem el Dio chamou em 2 dya de Pesah anno 5395»; (2) «Sepultura de Sara Myryam Senyor Coronel e a chamou *Nosso Senyor* para sy de ydade de 25 annos en 4 abyrl [sic] 1635».

<sup>65</sup> Died 22 Shevat 5392 (13/2/1632).

a memória se morta eternizada  
 pelo obrar de virtude nunca escasso;  
 5] Sara Mazaod, no mundo nomeada,  
 já abitadora do empíreo passo  
 nesta clausura fúnebre se encerra,  
 leve lhe seja a carregada terra.

1 [hua; 4 [escaso; 6 [ia; 7 [enserra; 8 [seia.

**41. Ángela Miriam Abendana Mendes <sup>66</sup>; [Copla + 2 Cuartetos].**

Víuvas, órfãos pobres,  
 vinde aquí e chorai,  
 sendo que aquí reposa  
 vosso anjo, vossa mãe.

Reposa tua alma, e goza da Glória,  
 que já cumprido tens com tudo teu deber,  
 pois nunca tem faltado a uma memória  
 o que a teu marido havias de ser.

[Copla is repeated]

5] Em 42 annos que com êle estavas  
 jamais não esquestes de manifestar  
 quer mais que a ti mesmo lhe amavas  
 e era teu major gosto de lhe honrar.

Copla: 1 [orphaos; 4 [vosso May.— Cuartetos: 2 [tems, todo; 3 [hua; 8 [maÿor.

**42. Eliau Semuel Israel Baruch <sup>67</sup>; [Sextilla].**

Aquí repousa no seno da terra  
 aquêlê que com retidão  
 jugava sem que seu coração  
 cada & aquêlê que era;  
 5] se os boms gozão do céu  
 êle certo o mereceu.

*Sua Alma Gose De Glória*

2 [rectidão; 3 [seo; 4 [hera; 5 [ceo; 6 [elle, serto, merceo.

<sup>66</sup> Died 16 Heshvan 5569 (26/10/1809).

<sup>67</sup> Died 6 Shevat 5573 (7/1/1813).



43. Jacob Álvares de Vargas <sup>68</sup>; [Quintilla + Decimilla].

Aquê  
 que aquí chegar  
 note que pera  
 alcançar  
 5] o sumo bem que é  
 a glória se do mundo  
 quer vitória aí  
 saiba sofrer  
 e callar

Paga o tributo a terra,  
 vai gozar da claridade,  
 vai ver a suma bondade  
 do mão mundo se desterra  
 5] pera o mundo da verdade.  
 Em sua boca a verdade,  
 em o coração amor,  
 major que o en esta idade  
 dos pobres consolador  
 10] com a os ricos proximidade.

Quintilla: The five vv. end in *chegar, alcançar, glória, vitória, callar*; 4 [alcansar; 5 [hé; 7 [victória.— Décima: 1 [ho; 5 [ho, mudo; 7 [ho; 8 [ho, est hidade; 10 [coalhos.

44. Rahel Rodrigues Mendes <sup>69</sup>; [Octavilla].

Como a rosa é cortada  
 quando está mais cheirosa  
 e assombra que passa presurosa,  
 tal foi arrebatada  
 5] e passou a imortal vida  
 de virtudes cingida  
 a donzella preciosa  
 que jaz debaixo desta losa.

1 [hé; 2 [coando; 3 [asombra; 4 [foy; 5 [immortal; 6 [cengida.

<sup>68</sup> Died 17 Tebet 5383 (20/12/1622). A prose inscription follows the *quintilla*: «Aquí descansa o bemaventurado de Jacob Álvares de Vargas, oje 17 de Dezembro 1622 anos, cuja alma goze da glória pera que foi criada. Amem 5383». Inscription: [Iacob; oie; cuia; foy.

<sup>69</sup> Died 20 Nisan 5452 (6/4/1692).

45. Rahel Hana Abudiente<sup>70</sup>. [Inscription:] Fala uma caveira. [Decimilla.]

Acabouse este portento,  
 este sol já eclipsou,  
 esta flor já se muchou,  
 já se acabou este alento;  
 5] como a vida foi um vento,  
 inda que correu tão forte,  
 acabou de tal sorte  
 que sendo com seu ornato  
 ontem da vida um retrato,  
 10] hoje em triunfo da morte.

*Sua Alma Gose De Glória*

Inscription [hua.— 5 [foy, hum; 6 [inda; 9 [hontem, hum; 10 [oj, triumpho.

#### FIRST-VERSE INDEX

A sciam expoli modulis sonoram (30), Jacob Rosales  
 Acabouse este portento (48), Anon.  
 Accipe, mi Zacute, tui tibi poculum Poëtae (31), Jacob Rosales  
 Aquêle / que aquí chegar (46a), Anon.  
 Aquí onde a vaidade é acabada (42), Anon.  
 Aquí repousa no seno da terra (45), Anon.  
 Civica si civi servato a morte corona (41), Luis Nunes  
 Como a rosa é cortada (47), Anon.  
 De uma alma pura e não contaminada (43), Anon.  
 Exponam dubium, o Musae, quo quaeritur, utrum (29), Jacob Rosales  
 Largai pois o vos querer despedir (34e), Abraham Meldola  
 Lysiadam Cardose decus, cui rector Olympi (40), Antonio González de  
 Lima  
 Muito pouco me valuais (34b), Abraham Meldola  
 Neptuno seja quem o diga (34c), Abraham Meldola  
 Paga o tributo a terra (46b), Anon.  
 Primo homini quondam Sophiae penetralia magnae (32), Jacob Rosales  
 Qué direi da docilidade (34d), Abraham Meldola  
 Reposa tua alma, e goza da Glória (44b), Anon.  
 Se de mim vos intentais despedir (34a), Abraham Meldola  
 Sin autem meliora cupis, si magna videre (33), Jacob Rosales  
 Único fénix de inmortal memoria (38), Emanuel Nehamías  
 Venturoso el padre a quien el cielo (39), Emanuel Nehamías  
 Víuvas, órfãos pobres (44a), Anon.

<sup>70</sup> Died 2 Iyar 5530 (27/4/1770).



## APPENDIX

1. [*Manuscript holograph letter* <sup>71</sup> *directed to Augustus Junior, Duke of Braunschweig and Wolfenbüttel*] <sup>72</sup>

Serenissime Princeps:

Dum ante .22. annos, in aulam Hispaniorum Regis, eius fratrem Infantem Cardinalem Ferdinandum, in Mathematicis instruerem; labor ea, (mihi dixerat semel Rex) ut in his Infans ita eruditus euadat, quemadmodum Celsissimum Principem, Ducem Brunsvicensis AUGUSTUM JUNIOREM, in omni scibili esse perfectissimum audimus. Postquam autem ego, in has regiones, maioris libertatis avidus, perueni. *Vostram Serenissimam Celsissimam* fama ipsa superiorem esse, certo comperi. *Atque* ita *Vostrae Serenissimae Celsissimae* non despliciturum spero nostrum opus mathematicum cujus indicem humiliter offero, ut in supplici prae loquio promiseram.

*Vostram Serenissimam Celsissimam* submisso oro, ut postulata in eo contenta, nempe Consensum, et auxilium, mihi concedere dignetur. Consensus respicit, quae particulariter tracto, Tom. .2. part .1. cap. 7. Tractat unico cap. 17. namque ss. [seguentes] 4 iudicium Thematis *Vostrae Serenissimae Celsissimae* explico, ostendens, quomodo cum ipsius Principatus principio Astrologico, optime conueniat: deinde constellationis adduco, quae, Astrologice Loquendo, Heroicas *Vostrae Serenissimae Celsissimae* actiones, illustriores reddunt, ita in Celsissimis Antecessoribus feci: quapropter ita haec digna uidentur, ut in publicum exeant, Futuri euentus (ut ex Astris licet colligere) Serenissimam prolem, *exaeque* Principem futurum Regentem, ditorem fore, amicitiamque nouam cum Regibus, proficuum futuram, non sine maiore spe, ostenduntur.

Alterum a nobis postulatum, et in rerum hoc misero statu, magis necessarium, auxilium existit, ut Serenissimus Princeps, ex sua clementissima, liberalissimaque munificentia, nobis succurrere velit, pro subsidio Tanti Operis, ne prae defectu excudi nequeat. Deus Optimus Maximus

<sup>71</sup> Contained in the printed text, *Regnum Astrorum Reformatum, Cujus Fundamentum, Caelistis Astronomiae Praxis. Tomus Primus*, Bound with *Status Astrologus. Anacephalaeosis I. Monarchiae Lusitanae. Doctoris Ummanuelis Bocarri Frances y Rosales*. Olim 10. Maij, Anni 1624. Ulyssipone (HAB 4.1 Astron. 21).

<sup>72</sup> The Herzog (Count) August the Younger established at Wolfenbüttel the greatest science library in Europe at the time, today a major research center and world-class repository devoted primarily to the European Baroque and Rococo: «August der Jüngere, Herzog, Dannenberg 10.4.1579. d. Wolfenbüttel 17.9.1666, erhielt 1635 das Hzgt. Wolfenbüttel und suchte vorbildlich die Verwüstungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges zu beseitigen. A. war einer der gelehrtesten Fürsten seiner Zeit und sammelte in seinem Schloß Hitzacker der Grundstock der späteren Herzog-A. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel» (*Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* 2:83).

Dum ante 22. annos, in aula Hispaniarum  
 Regis, eius fratrem Infantem (cardinalem Ferdin-  
 nandum, in Mathematicis instruerem; Labora,  
 (michi dixerat semel Rex) ut in his Infans ita  
 eruditus evadat, quemadmodum Celsissimum Prin-  
 cipem, Duem Brunsvicensem AUGUSTUM JU-  
 LIUM, in omni scibili esse perfectissimum audie-  
 mus. Postquam autem ego, in hac regione,  
 maioris libertatis avidus, perveni, Vram Ser-  
 ven<sup>m</sup> Cels<sup>m</sup> fama ipsa superiorem esse, certo com-  
 peri. Atq; ita Vra Ser<sup>m</sup> Cels<sup>m</sup> non simpli-  
 citurum spero nostram opus Mathematicum,  
 cuius iudicium humiliter offero, ut in supplici  
 loquio promissum.  
 Vram Ser<sup>m</sup> Cels<sup>m</sup> submisse oro, ut postulata  
 in eo contenta, nempe Consensum, et auxi-  
 um, mihi concedere dignetur. Consensus re-  
 picit, quae particulariter tracto, Tom. 2. part. 1.  
 cap. 7. Tractat. unico cap. 17. namq; 54 iudici-  
 um thematis Vra Ser<sup>m</sup> Cels<sup>m</sup> ex pto, ostendens  
 quomodo cum ipsius Principatus principio Astro-  
 logico, optime conveniat, deinde constellationes  
 adelicis, quae, Astrologice loquendo, Hieronius

Appendix 1, fol. a.

Vix Sine<sup>ma</sup> Cels<sup>my</sup> actiones, illustriores reddunt, ita  
 in Celsissimis Antecessoribus feci: quapropter  
 ita Sæc digna videntur, ut in publicum exeant  
 Futuri eventus (ut ex Astris licet colligere)  
 Serenissimam Præsem, ex eaq<sup>q</sup> Principem futu-  
 rum Regentem, ditiores fore, amicitiamq<sup>q</sup>  
 novam cum Regibus, proficiam futuram, non  
 sine majoris spe ostenduntur.  
 Alterum a nobis postulatum, et in unum hoc mi-  
 sero statu, magis necessarium, auxilium existit,  
 ut Sæc<sup>my</sup> Princeps, ex sua clementissima, li-  
 beraliq<sup>q</sup> munificentia, nobis succurrere velit,  
 et subsidio tanta Operis, ne præ defectu exu-  
 di nequeat. Deus Optimus Maximus Vicem  
 Sæc<sup>my</sup> Cels<sup>my</sup> incolumem, et prosperam cum  
 Subditorum felicitate tueat, et servare velit.  
 etc. Hamburgi 12. Augusti ann. 1644.

Vro Sereniss<sup>ma</sup> Cels<sup>my</sup>

Humilimus, obedientissim<sup>us</sup>

Doctor Manuel Borario-Caney

Appendix 1, fol. b.

*Vostram Serenissimam Celsissimam incolumen, et prosperam cum Subditorum felicitate, tueri, et seruare uelit. etc. Hamburgi. 12. Augusti .ann. 1644.*

*Vostrae Serenissimae Celsissimae  
Humilius, obedientissim  
Doctor Manuel Bocarro frances y Rosales* <sup>73</sup>

2. [*Autographed letter from Abaham Zacuto to Dr. Rodrigo de Castro*] <sup>74</sup>

Doctori Roderico à Castro, medico arte hyppocratica dignissimo. suus.  
D. Zacutto. S.P.D.

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<sup>73</sup> 'To the Most Serene Prince: For 22 years, at the Court of the King of the Spanish Empire, I instructed His brother, the Prince Cardinal Ferdinand, in mathematics. In this task (as the King himself once told me) the prince became so erudite in this [field of enquiry] as your Highness Prince Duke of Braunschweig, Augustus Junior, [of whom] we hear that you are most perfect in all knowledge. But, afterwards, I came to these regions avid of more freedom, and understood for certain that your Most Serene Grace was superior to your fame. For that reason, I hope that our [= my] mathematical work will not displease your Highness, the index for which I humbly offer as promised in the prior supplication. I submit this [to your Grace] so that the theories included in it are found by your Grace worthy of recognition, not only for your consensus, but also for your [financial] assistance. In respect to the consensus, I particularly deal with this in Volume 2, part 1, Chapter 7, Sole Treatise, Chapter 17, then [also] in Section 4, [where] I explain to your Highness the thematic judgement showing how, in accordance with the astrological principle, your government will best succeed. Then, I introduce the constellations which, astrologically speaking, reflect the heroic actions of your Highness more brilliantly, as I did [also] with your exalted forebears. That is why they appear worthy of public knowledge. Future events are shown (as far as they can be studied from the stars): your Grace's offspring from which the Prince Regent will become even richer and the new friendship with monarchy and future benefices, [and] not without greater instances of hope, as it is shown. We pose an additional request, in this miserable state of affairs, [it is] necessary [that] aid exist [= be given] so that your Gracious Prince, by your most liberal and favorable munificence, be willing to help us with a subsidy for such a work [as mine], unless it cannot be completed because of failure. The ultimate God is willing to protect and ensure your Grace's health and prosperity with your subjects' happiness, etc.— In Hamburg, 12 August, year 1644.— To your Highness Most humble and most obedient Dr. Manuel Bocarro Francês y Rosales'.

<sup>74</sup> HAB MS. 13 Gud. Lat. 21 [Extravagantes = Miscellanea] No. 69, 3rd text from end. K. Brown has located a «new» manuscript by Zacuto, «Tratado sobre medecina», in the United States National Library of Medicine (Bethesda). In Portuguese, it appears to be a practical treatise written for a son of his who was leaving Hamburg for Brazil in mid-seventeenth century.

Explicatur causa quare pulsus bonus, et urina bona, aegro tendente in mortem in Peste uideantur, contra Aurc. interpretaetes, gentilem, nicolum, amatum, mercurialem, altimarum, et alios medicos praestantissimos.

Is est, tui animi candor, eruditissime Castro, ea morum tuorum suauitas, una cum candidissimis <sup>15</sup>disciplinis coniuncta id subtilissimi ingenii tui acumen, ut quo magis te, uelut ex delphico tripode praesentem exaudio, eo plus me, tuarum uirtutum, studii, benignitatis, scientiae suspensum teneat admiratio plurima enim contra iuniores argumenta, uelut directissima Secula in tua eleganti, et affabre [afable?] composita epistola ad me missa effudisti, quod calumniam, falso, galeno praetexuerint, <sup>10</sup>et tanquam de malignitatis essentia, ac natura non recte sentientem redarguerint. At, ductu opinor orationis, non multum referre scire, an galenus malignitatem ueram agnouerit, pronuntiasti, quod dictum (pace tua dixerim) piaculum uidetur magnum ille enim plus de medicina scit, qui plus de galeno scit, ut docuere Rabbi Mosses in suis aphorismis, oribus. in Lib. collect. in praesat, auer. Lib. 5 in praesati, et ex alienis Justianus in proaemio ff., Eusebius <sup>15</sup>caesariensis lib. 5. hist eccles. Angel. consil. so, Antonius coccius Lib. 4. Anaeid. et post insignis tiraquel Lib. 1. de nobil. eleganter id confirmant, nam ut ait Seneca Lib. 7. epistol. infaelicis ingenii est relictis fontibus riuulos insectari; neque enim solum oportet agnoscere, quid sit malignitas, et in quo illa consistat, de quo argumento passim scribentes, inter sese digladiantes. huc, illuque euripi modo agitati, ad rauimusque decertant sed num de ea medicorum antesignanus <sup>20</sup>galenus fuerit exacte loquutus, et eam cognouerit; nam tunc recte curabimus morbos malignos. cum galenum cognoscentem malignitatem, et eam curantem fuerimus imitati.

quod uero de pulsu in tui confirmationem affers exemplum, quem dicis hyp. non cognouisse, et medici eum explorantes, illi tanquam signo minime omnium fallaci animum attendunt, respondeo non esse consonum rationi asserere hyp. pulsum non cognouisse, quidquid <sup>25</sup>gal. 3 oris. et Lib. 3 epyd. Sect. 3, et Lib. de praecognit ad posthum, a pluribus perperam intellectus, in contrarium adducatur quoniam per venarum pulsationes, arteriarum pulsus intelligit, quem cognouisse testis est locupletissimus gal. 2. de dis. puls. et Lib. 1. de Tumorib. et 6. epyd. Sect. 6 et alibi passim, galeni uero locum ex. 3 ... s. prima fronte aduersum cum gal. ipso concilia ex ludouico lemasio Lib. 3. de optim. praedic. rat. eleganter, egit ergo hyp. de pulsu <sup>30</sup>ut Ludou. mercat. tom. 2. suor. o per. Lib. 1. de pulsib. affirmat. idque eta uenim esse allatis ipsius gal. pluribus testimoniis latissime asseuerat, quoniam egit etiam de respiratione, actione pulsui simillissima.

Similiter (liceat sic disputando loqui), non quadrat, quod facis; argumentum, an galenus animae immortalitatem ignorauerit, nam hoc sapit

diuina, quae ipse deorum cultor, sempiterni <sup>135</sup>creatoris cognitionem non habens, caeca gentilicorum rituum caligine obrutus consequi non potuit: At nos medica tratamus, de iis agimus, de malignitate loquimur, quam ipse vir tupenda doctrina insignis, admiranda facundia clarus in suis libris exaratam, ac graphice deliniatam promulgauit, quare disparibus non debuit fieri illatio.

In fine tamen orationis, boni ducis munere, dubium quoddam in postrema acie collocasti, <sup>140</sup>id meo putans subtilius. cum tamen de eo plerique suas fecerint quaestiones, id tamen fecisti, ut tentares ingenium? norunt enim omnes quam sis acuto ingenio, et quam rectissime de aliis semper sentias. Argutius ergo existimas agere de dubio dicto, quod quaerit, quare pulsus bonus, et orina bona uideantur in peste, et aeger tendat ad mortem. cuius triplicem proponis solutionem, quam iuniorum plures amplectuntur, et probant. Ego autem *eas ficulneas* <sup>145</sup>esse, et nullius usus et putai semper, et puto.

Excellentissimus Galenus Lib. 3. de praesag. ex pulsib. & uidetur sane quibusdam perplexa, et incognita uia et caet, in grauiori peste pulsum bonum, et urinam bonam apparere cum festina morte non semel inculcat. Sequntur, et experimento probarunt Auic.1.4.ttt.4. & et quandoque est et caet. et. 2.4.ttt.1. & et quandoque est urina in aegritudinibus pestilentialibus et <sup>150</sup>caet., Auenzoas Lib. 3. thei sir ttt. 3. Auerro.4. collig., rarius io ad almans; et aliis, qui id fidissime confirmant, et licet hoc uideatur durum, cum pestis sit quieta exterius, perturbet tamen interius, auctore Av. 1.4 ttt.4. unde pulsus inaequalis debet esse, et in aliqua differentia deficere est necesse, et eo maxime cum pestilens calor ab aliis per putredinis excellentiam differaetur 6. epyd. Sect. 1, quare si pestis summe putrida est, in pulsu, et urina putredinis notae adesse debent, <sup>155</sup>etsi in peste spirituum uitalia temperies est euersa, copia diminuta, et fere extincta, cur pulsus bonus?

Si discidentes huius euentus, tuique dubiis causas, et pro eo conciliando neotericorum sententias narrare aggrediar, in libellum aurescet epistola, cum in eius explicatione scindatur incertum medicorum studia in contraria uulgas.

<sup>160</sup>Auicennae interpretes in uarias abiere opiniones dicunt enim primae sententiae fautores, quod natum tanto malo oppressa, quasi deuicta non audet aggredi pugnam contra morbum, sed potius, ueluti perterrita ad operationes naturales se conuertit, unde apparet pulsus bonus, et urina bona; est textus optimus ab omnibus non citatus, qui ipsorum opinionem confirmare uidetur, sic enim ait Gal. Lib. 3. cris. hoc autem accidit ubi plurimum natura a morbo superatur, tunc enim <sup>165</sup>neque certare aduersus ipsum aggreditur. Sed horum demiror ingenium (plurima enim

praeter, citatos, nempe iacobum de partibus, ugonem, thadaeum, et alia congerunt conciliator, et gordonius lib. 1. de te 6), qui in re apertissima multipliciter peccant. [dis. 54, cap. 10] primo, quoniam tunc fieri pulsum bonum, et urinam bonam existimant (licet uerenum adsit in corpore), quod natura id debellare non contendat, non aduertentes quod licet hoc ita esset, ipsum cordis <sup>70</sup>temperiem euertere, et uiuificos spiritus corrumpere, et extingere est necesse, unde pulsus inaequalis, et urina pessima. 2° qui fieri potest, ut natura tanquam miles strenuus, ut semper solet, uenenum non auersetur. et e corpore expellere non contendat? en quo conflictu, et dimicatione pulsum reddi inaequalem, et in aliqua differentia deficere par est, nonne natura est morborum medicatrix, et quae cor, caetera *que* praecipua uiscera semper inita contra morbum pugna <sup>75</sup>ua-lentissime defendit, munit, ac tuetur? et quanuis afficta tanto*que* malo oppressa, non eo robore certamen subeat, ac quando superior erat (quo pacto Gal. supra citatum in Lib. 3. cris. Intelligendum puto); erit tamen ea ui factum, qua potest. Vide, si placet, quae de hoc argumento praeter citandos scripserunt franciscus ulmus Lib. 4. de urinis cap. 6. Angelucius Lib. 1. de feb. maligna. cap. 6. Schaliger exercit. 32. de subtil aduersus cardanum, rodericus e fonseca lusitanus <sup>80</sup>in methodo curand. feb. a Jachino omissarum cap. de sign. feb. pestil.

Gentilis 2ae factionis defensor in com. cit. loc. Ausa cum Nicolo. Serm. 2. tt. 2. Sum. 4. distinct. 6. cap. 9, hoc accidere asseuerant, quoniam humor delaeterius aliquando delituit in parte ignobili, tempore autem crisis motus, et agitatus ad partes principes ruens interficit. Sed redarguuntur, nam cum uenenum se deocculat, et aeger tunc dicitur laborare febris pestilenti, <sup>85</sup>pulsus tunc non potest esse bonus, et urina bona, cum mota maligna aura, et cor feriente omnia immutari contingat.

Sic etiam corrui illorum opinio dicentium idcirco urinam bonam in peste apparere, quod laesio non sit facta in hepate, sed in corde, nam laborante corde illico hepar in actionibus debilitari est necesse, cum hoc uiscus, sicut et caeterae partes principes a cordis influxu <sup>90</sup>dependeant, ac conseruentur.

Clarissimus mercurialis Lib. 3. de excrementis [cap. 8. in fin] hoc euenire affirmat, quod febris pestilens sit haectica, in qua pulsus est aequalis, et similis sano, quem sequuntur amatus 3. cent. [schol. 74] Altimarum 3. de feb. oddus de oddis lib. de peste. Sed haec solutio dubitationem non tollit, nam galeus agit de pulsu bono, et nihil deficienti a naturali, haec tiorum uero pulsus <sup>95</sup>frequens est et non exacte bonus cum febris adsit.

Plures, quos longum, et superfluum, esset recitare ad tempera mentorum repugnantiam in corde confugiunt, cum uidelicet cor calidius est, humores autem in ventriculis eius contenti frigidiores, aut e contra, tunc

enim ex hac contra operantia extremorum fieri pulsum medium, et temperatum sibi persuadent, et in sui subsidium addueunt galenum lib. 3 de praesag. ex pulsib. <sup>/100</sup>Qui ex hac pugnancia tempera mentorum, (quam cum gal. posse dari non dubitamus) fieri in peste pulsum similem temperato manifeste pronuntiat, ut ex eius uerbis liquido constat. at galenus loquitur de pulsu simili temperato, nos de pulsu bono, temperato, et sano, quo pacto isto perperam galenum suam confirmare sententiam, arbitrantur. ut ex textus serie manifeste apparet. addiderim. humores hos in sinibus cordis imbibitos, continuo, uenenosa qualitate cor ferientes, <sup>/105</sup>non posse ita aequaliter pulsum alterare, ut in aliqua differentia non immutent.

Vera ergo sit sententia usu, experimentoque confirmata, pulsum fieri bonum, et urinam bonam in pestilenti lue[?] quando ipsa uenenosa qualitate, et non putredine cor fatigat, dari autem pestem citra putredinem constat, nam de ratione pestilentis morbi non est quod sit putridus, sed quod sit perniciosus malignus, et plurimos interficiens. de inde longe aliam, et diuersam a <sup>/110</sup>putredine esse causam existima, quoniam pestilens constitutio hyemi, ac aestate, sicco, aut pluuiiali caelo, bene temperato ae inaequali, plenumque citia [vitia?] putredinem invadit, ita obscure, furtimque, ut minime internoscatur et maxime cum nulla putrida, aut intemperantior aeris constitutio possit in uarias mundi regiones euagari, in illis uigere, at pestis tam inimaniter occulta quadam abdita, caeca, ac iletem totum pene orbem occupat, tam frigiditas, quam calidas <sup>/115</sup>quouis anni tempore corripit, ac fatigat.

Preterea si putredo a peste esset inseparabilis, explicari non potest, quae ratio sit eius putredinis, quae bobus, uel cuibus, uel hominibus solis sit infensa, ergo si id intellectu orse [?] capi, nec animo consequi potest, ad occultam causam reduci debet.

Quam ob rem pestilentia a putredine saepissime est se iuncta, et morbis epydemicis <sup>/120</sup>occultim quiddam in est quare non admiremur si pulsus adsit bonus bonaque sit urina, quia solum maligna, et. delaeteria qualitate cor ferit, premit, et lancinat, eaque nec ardore mordax, nec siti uehemens est, animi tamen deffectione, syncope, pulsu paruo, debili, ac pussilo, assidua uomitione, uigilis, inquietudine, corporis iactatione, uirium prostratione summa, plenique sine sensu doloris, et putredine ulla, inopinato hominem rapit, quod est truculentum pestis genus, tunc <sup>/125</sup>enim uenefica qualitas altis est de fixa radicibus, et quieta apparet ex pulsu, et calore externo, et perturbat, uexatque sine putredine interius. Ex quibus ad argumenta solutio patet. haec est dubiis propositi exacta explicatio. Si placuerit tibi, gaudebo nimis, sin minus tu uenis acusandus qui petiisti, non ego qui amicissimo obtemperauis, et maxime cum in obscuris dictionibus, et ambiguis dubiis licitum sit cuique quod uelit opinari, ex. gal. lib. 1 porr het., sect. 2, et lib. 7. <sup>/130</sup>aph. cum nulla lex sit transcribentibus posita.



Quod uero attinet ad meorum dubiorum solutionem (sucessitam, pro ut illorum dignitas, et difficultas expostulabant), non moror, cum uel auctores (licet plures, uel omnes, crede mihi, perlegerim), hos medicinae proceres, ut citauit, nullo amicitiae uinculo unire potuerint; sed quoniam promittis, te aut filium tuum doctissimum matrisiori consilio (ut par est pro tantarum <sup>/135</sup>difficultatum elaborata magis, ac accurata explicatione) iis fore responsuros, taceo, limatiorem tui ingeniis limam expectans.

Et ut ad tuam primam solutionem pateat aditus, negamus aquae super infusionem in tetano (positis conditionibus ibi citatis ab hyp), esse optimam, sed cur paulo tantopere suspecta sit, qui easdem considerauit condiciones (quod patet ex uerbo / quemadmodum ait hyp.), non <sup>/140</sup>explicas, in cuius explicatione totius dubiis solutio consistit. ut paulum, hyp. et galens uigilantissimum interpretaem non spernamus. et licet amice sit conciliandus, non tamen in hoc dubio, qui tantopere est illis contrarius. ergo aut paulum damnare est recepte, aut solutione alia cum in hyp. amicitiam reducere debemus.

Similer ad huc stat illud dubium de phlebotomia facienda in pleuritide usque ad animi <sup>/145</sup>deliquium, quam hyp. exequer dam contra Actiis, omniumque medicorum decretum imperat ob dictas causas, quod dubium, licet Mathaeus peritus afferat cap. de pleuritide; tamen intelligendum esse de uenae sectione factam usque ad mutationem coloris asseuerat, nos uero de ea quae fit usque ad animi deliquium cum hyp. ibi loquimur.

de 3<sup>a</sup> uero dubitatione dicis, non tantam esse, nec tibi uideri contradictionem in uerbis <sup>/150</sup>galeni, quantam lacuna, et valletius existimant, quos ego oculatissimos, et acutissimos fuisse ex istimo, ille enim in facunda, ac uasta galeni doctrina fuit uersatissimus, hic acutie ingenii, ac mentis perspicacia est insignis, et ambo tantam contradictionem hanc, ut pote manifestissime repugnantem esse unanimiter asseruerunt. cum enim in omnibus locis abscindendum esse caput, et caudam uiperae doceat. eum usum mutare in lib. de simpl. contendit, sed non uides quo iure <sup>/155</sup>(ut tuis uerbis utar [?]) quod ius si explicares intimius. antinomiam dissolueres, quam caeteri enodare non potuerunt. quae res ergo, rogo, amicissime castro, aliam ... solutionem tantis ambagibus conformem.

Libellum de medico politico a te politioris scientiae, et eruditionis reconditae medico refertissimo conscriptum tabellarius traddidit. ui dici potest quam eius doctrina, et suauitate <sup>/160</sup>animum meum a recreauerim, eum in delitiis semper habebō, quo mea biblioteca maxime ornabitur, cuius erit castrum, et fortitudo forma, nec dubita, nam inter praecipua nostrae scientiae uolumina, tuum de medico politico librum, utile miscentem dulci, primum locum obtinere fatebuntur omnes, qui illius pomaeria abstrusa nouerint ad unguem. pro tanto beneficio ingentes tibi ago gra-

tias. dilectissimo filio tuo hanc etiam uoueo, atque dedico. Vale uir politissime, <sup>165</sup>doctissime et expertissime, et si quid habueris noui nobis ne pigeat impartiri. et me, te amantem redama. Ex augusta urbe Amstelrodamensi, 2. Septem. 1626.

te summe amat. tui amicissimus.

Doctor Abrahamus Zacutto Victoria<sup>75</sup>

[On dorso of preceding folio:] Domino doctori Roderico de Castro, medico eruditissimo, expertissimo, Appolineaeque artis antesignano mae-ritissimo salutem. Amburgum.

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<sup>75</sup> 'To Doctor Rodrigo de Castro, greatest of all physicians in the Hippocratic art, yours Dr. Zacuto, SPD'. What follows is a schematic explanation of the correspondence. Herein the letter's author explains the reasons for which one's pulse and urine may appear healthy in a sick man who is on the brink of death by pestilence, in opposition to the opinions of Aur., Gentil, Amado, Nicolo, Mercurial, Altimaro and other famous physicians. The letter begins with words of praise for Castro. His human and scientific qualities are emphasized (4-7). Castro had written a letter to Zacuto in which he explained many arguments contradicting the young [physicians], who attempted to defend their stance by misappropriating lessons from Galen. But 'he who knows more about Galen knows more about medicine', as is evident and is confirmed by various authors (12). It is important not only to recognize the illness and its symptoms, but also to know exactly what Galen wrote about how to cure it (20). Zacuto then expresses his disagreement with Castro on the latter's opinion concerning Hippocrates. He demonstrates this by citing various authors (34). Zacuto does not accept Castro's triple explanation concerning why one's pulse and urine appear healthy in an infirmed patient. This opinion of Castro's was accepted by the youngbloods, but Zacuto thinks they deserve an injurious and offending hand gesture (45). Medical opinion is divided on the issue: Galen teaches that one's pulse and urine remain healthy in the patient even just before death. This opinion is widely accepted (49). Avicenna, on the other hand, states that upon death the pulse must be irregular and the urine must begin to putrify. How can one reconcile these opposing positions? (55). Zacuto then presents the opinions of the interpreters of Avicenna (60-80), Gentil (81-90) and Mercurial (91-95). It is superfluous to mention any others (96-102). Galen merely speaks of a 'temperate' pulse (103) but Zacuto speaks of a 'good, healthy and temperate' pulse. The pulse and urine appear good when the heart is not affected by the disease (104-120). Different symptoms are named for the affected heart (121-130). Arguments against Castro's solution are: water is not an optimal solution for Tetanus. Castro does not explain the conditions for this (138-143). Zacuto expresses his doubts about phlebotomy, following Hippocrates' doctrine (144-148). Zacuto then attempts to reconcile with Castro after the criticism. Castro's opinion is not so much in direct contradiction to Galen's as some would think but, rather, it is suggested that Castro seek a solution in conformity with the digressions (150-157). Zacuto thanks Castro for the book he sent him, and promises it will occupy a place of honor in his library. He bids farewell with affection (158-167).

3. [*Autographed letter from Dr. Abraham Zacuto to Dr. Baruch de Castro*]<sup>76</sup>

Scientissimo Domino Doctori Benedicto a Castro, Medico celebri, et omniscio

Nulla te precor, vir solertissime, admiratio teneat quod hominis nullius nomen, tanquam auctoris huic epistolae legas conscriptum. Quid mirum? non enim humanus affectus, uerum ueritas ipsa tecum in praesentia loquitur. Sed haec non inermis, non nuda incedit, at argumentationum arguiis, aculeisque muncta, et sententiarum, ut reor, ornamentis induta, quin potentissima, omniumque pulcherrima ante ingenii tui solertissimi radios se repraesentat. Huius ductu, et ope neo-tericorum falsas opiniones pro ipsius, immo Principum tutela radiatus euellimus, et hos duos libros, tertium, et quartum in lucem emittimus. His fruire quo usque quintus, et sextus exeant, uitaque usura fruuntur. et sicut tertius tua auctoritate muncitur, et decoratur fol. 19. lin. 22. sic spero quintus, et sextus tuarum sententiarum phaleris, et lenociniis maiorem suscipiant gratiam, et nitorem: audio enim te magnum opus praelo parare medicum, cuius splendore uniuersa Respublica medica efflorescet, et reuiuiscet. Mitto etiam tibi folium praeliminare primi libri, ex secunda uersione, ut indeas num recto modo, et methodo sit excussum, quod enim tuo uoto uideam stabilitum, id manebit trabalibus clauis infixum in corde meo, quem summe ueneror, et obsecro, rogoque ut me a lingua mordace, et mendace tuearis, et defendas. Licet ego a multo tempore hos irritos censors misi in eum locum ubi uiuos homines mortui incarsant boues, ita eos flocci facio, parum pendo, sicut et te politi primum et omnium uoto eruditissimum suscipior, amo, admiror, vale ergo suauissime uir, et me tibi obnixite deditum redama ex musaeo nostro. Amstelodami. 1637. die uero ii. mensis Septemb. primus liber per tertiationem est ueluti adauctus, correctus, et emaculatus, optimoque ordine dispositus caeterorum instar.

Te unice obseruat  
Zacutus lusitanus. M. D.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> HAB MS. 13 Gud. Lat. 21 [Extravagantes = Miscellanea] No. 68, 4th text from end.

<sup>77</sup> 'To the great scientist Sr. Dr. Benedicto de Castro, famous and omniscient physician. Eminent Sir: I request there be no admiration in any man's name, although you read what is contained in this letter by its author. Why, might you ask? Well, human sentiment is not speaking for itself but truth in your presence. Though truth does not go forward without life and without clothes, rather with the sharpness of its arguments, armed with sententious arrows, as I see it, adorned in such a way that in its greatest strength the most beautiful of all [the wise sayings] presents itself before the brilliance of your solar genius. With this as our guide and with the works of the neophytes, we have been able to banish false opinions

[On verso of preceding folio:] Littera celeberrimi Zacutti. ad me datae cum libris ade febris & morbis mulierem.— Muy apressadamente morreo ad Lusitena os sua alma em folgança muyto me peza disso.

4. *Epistola haec Corneficii Ulefeldii, propria manu e Suecia scripta est Hamburgum ad Benedictum de Castro, Medicum Judaeum*<sup>78</sup>

[fol. 1r] Sennor:

Me huelgo mucho de su feliz llegada en Hamburgo y que aya hallado su muger, hermano, y amigos sanos y salvos, Dios mantenga a *Vuestra Señoría*, con todos los referidos, en larga salud, y próspera vida, esto los deseo de mi corazón. *Vuestra Señoría* me escribe de lo que passó en la mar, nadie puede esperar cosa stable, de una fiera tan mueble como es la mar, pero quien conosce su mudanza, y se embarca sobre ella, no se deve quejar de qualquier ventura que por ella se passa, sino quejarse de sí mismo, pudiendo aver remediado assí que los tales, no merecen más compassión de aquellos, que sabiendo que el fuego quema, y ... [fol. torn] todo esso, ponen los dedos dentro de él, y [fol. 1v] aviéndose quemado, quieren quejarse, digo por conclusión que quien puede ir por tierra, y vase por mar, merece tener timores, horrores, náuseas, padecer las insolentias de los marineros, que son espumas de mar, y mil otras incomodidades, sin que nadie le tenga la menor compassión.

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because of the truth, crowned as it is with princely tutelage; and these two books, the third and the fourth, we publish. You will find pleasure in them until such time as the fifth and the sixth appear, [when you will be able to equally enjoy them] in health and good measure. And as the third is protected or sanctioned by your authority and decorated on folio 19, line 22, thus also do I wish that the fifth and sixth, with the backing of your sententiae and your stimuli, receive greater and clearer appreciation. Since I understand that you are preparing a great medical work, the splendor of which will cause the universal republic of medicine to revive and flourish. I am sending you the preliminary folio to the first book, in its second version, so that you may indicate to me if perhaps the method and procedure have been researched adequately, since with your approval it would seem that what appears fixed will be even more fixed in my heart, for I venerate you, and ask that you protect and defend me from the bitterness [of envious and malicious] tongues. Allow me to continue. It is such that quite a long time ago did I send the irritable censors to that place where dead oxen burn, such that I send them to hell [again]; they are nothing to me, just as I consider you of expert opinion and foremost among all and the most erudite, and I love and admire you. For that reason, most dignified man, be well and love me again from my museum, since I am devoted to you for you are resolute. In Amsterdam, on the second day of the month of September, the first book is longer than before, corrected, amended and readied to perfection like the others.— To you, the unique one, at your service Zacuto Lusitano M. D.'

<sup>78</sup> 'Letter from Cornelius Ullefeld, in his own hand and sent from Sweden to Hamburg to Benedict de Castro, Jewish physician'. HAB MS. 17 Blankenburg fol. 384r.

*Vuestra Señoría* me pide nuevas de este lugar, no las escribo, por ser indiferente de lo que se trata, no teniendo yo interés en ello, assí callo, como quien no sabe nada, ny se mescla de nada ya passó en comedia, como los otros juegan la suya, poco se me da porque, en fin, todo es comedia. *Tout le monde est une farce, & se governe par opinions.*

De mi persona le diré esto, a saber, que ya he hecho como Don Quixote quatro salidas, y alguna vez topo con molinos a viento, p[... fol. torn] de esquivar sus alas, que hazen ... [fol. torn] [fol. 2r] estoy aparajándome [*sic*] para mi yda, y, si mi salud me *lo* uviera permitido, ya me hallara en otro lugar, pero mis piernas me detienen aún algo, con todo esso spero en muy breve tiempo de irme, yo he ya embiado delante la mayor parte de mis alajas, por ir tanto más de ligero & sin embargo, no haré como aquellos que se partían de aquí cada semana, y se quedavan meses, y medios annos sin moverse. *Vuestra Señoría* me responderá, las cortes tienen algo de pegadizo en sí, que impide de irse, responderé, que no ay cosa que peque, sino es la opinión que nos ciega, y esto basta para aquella materia.

Mi sennora me ha mandado, que le salude de su parte como hago, yo le deseo felicidad, y prosperidad, salud y contento. El todopoderoso ... [fol. torn] esse mi deseo.

25 de junio 1653

de *Vuestra Señoría* aficionadísimo para servirle

Cornificio Ullfeldi

(*Vuestra Señoría* salude de mi parte a su querida muger)

## RESUMEN

Nuestro estudio representa la segunda parte (la primera apareció en *Sefarad* 59 [1999] págs. 3-42; la tercera está en prensa) de un trabajo sobre la poesía en latín y lenguas romances —español y portugués— de los sefardíes de Hamburgo y de Frankfurt am Main desde principios del siglo XVII hasta mediados del XVIII. Aquí el *corpus poetarum* se amplía de veintiocho a cuarenta y cinco obras; estas nuevas poesías evidencian un espíritu neoclasicista mezclado ingeniosamente con un discurso apegado a un judaísmo ortodoxo-sefardí tal como entonces se practicaba en los países protestantes del norte de Europa. En el apartado introductorio, que es tanto descriptivo como evaluativo de la obra poética, se defiende la tesis de que la ciudad protestante de Frankfurt am Main con su feria del libro anual servía como lugar de impresión para ciertas obras producidas por autores sefardíes durante los años 1614-1632 y esporádicamente durante el resto del siglo XVII.

## SUMMARY

The present study is the second in a three-part series (the first appearing in *Sefarad* 59 [1999] pp. 3-42; the third being in press) on the phenomenon of Neo-Latin and Romance-Language —Spanish and Portuguese— poetry of the Sephardim in Hamburg and Frankfurt am Main from the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. Our collection expands the original poetic corpus from twenty-eight to forty-five works. In an historical and critical Introduction to the poems, the authors distinguish the creative genius of a new type of literary discourse, one which meshes neo-classical strophic forms with inspiration from Sephardic orthodox Judaism as it was practiced in the Dutch Netherlands, biblical events and Jewish philosophical constructs. In addition to the evaluation and edition of the poems and, in the cases of Neo-Latin works, their translation to English, the Introduction includes an argument for substantiating book printing of Sephardic-authored books in Frankfurt am Main during the period 1614-1634 as well as sporadically throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century.