

Spanish, Portuguese, and
Neo-Latin Poetry Written and/or
Published by Seventeenth-,
Eighteenth-, and Nineteenth-Century
Sephardim from Hamburg
and Frankfurt (2) ¹

Kenneth BROWN
University of Calgary
Reyes BERTOLÍN CEBRIÁN
University of Calgary

Part Two of this extended study ² includes seventeen additional

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² The first appeared in *Sefarad* 59 (1999) pp. 3-42. The following is a list of errata and additions to Part One. (Pp. 3-4) Population figures are inaccurate; STUDEMUND-HALÉVY 1999a:2, provides more precise statistics: «Sefardische Juden in Hamburg und Altona»: 1600, 150; 1640, 600; 1652, 1.250; 1700, 450; 1800, 375; 1900, 275; 1933, 250; 1938, 85. (P. 4) Mosé Abudiente was born ca. 1610. (P. 4)

complete poems in Portuguese, Spanish, and Neo-Latin³. Two of the seventeen are of questionable authorship by Sephardim (nos. 37-38): they appear to be the works of Portuguese New-Christian physicians, but whether these individuals were professing Jews is unknown. The Introduction includes a rationale for defending the hypothesis –already summarily advanced in Part One (Brown 1999b: p. 15, n. 38)– that several theological, medical, classical and practical works written by Sephardim were printed at Frankfurt am Main during the period 1614-1632, and that this editorial process continued occasionally until the end of the seventeenth century. Therefore, frontispieces bearing a Frankfurt-am-Main place of publication were not false or deceptive, «fronting» as it were for manuscripts actually published by Hamburg- or Amsterdam-based printers. Such has been argued until now (Studemund-Halévy 1997d, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c:18; Boer 1989:67-68 and 1992:52)⁴. Our contention is that *Gedruckt in Frankfurt am*

Abraham Meldola died on 25/11/1826. (P. 4) Binjamin Mussaphia died on 11/12/1674 in Amsterdam (12 Kislev 5435); he was the author of *Sententiae Sacro-Medicae* (Hamburg 1640, and Frankfurt am Main 1649) (STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1997e:42, n. 97). (P. 4) Altona was Danish only from 1640 onward. (P. 33 n. 69) The poem was originally contained in David Coen de Lara's 1633 Spanish translation of Elyá ben Mošé Vidas' *Tratado del temor divino ... traducido nuevamente del Hebrayco, a nuestro vulgar idioma* (BOER 1992:386, entry 16). (P. 32) Poem 14 v. 2, which begins *Quid mentita ...*, should read «Vitam tunc». (P. 6 n. 13) Arturo FARINELLI's essay (1892) may be added.

Abbreviations employed in this study are: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra = AUC; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* = EJ; Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (Germany) = HAB; Hispanic Society of America = HSA; *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* = NUC; Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg = UBH; Yale University Sterling Memorial Library = YUSML.

³ For the time being, the authors have excluded works in Hebrew.

⁴ Even in the *Catalogue of Books Printed* Vol. I, C6, corresponding to Francisco de Cáceres' 1616 Spanish translation of Niccolò Franco's *Dialogui Satiriche*, the Frankfurt place of publication is considered doubtful, with Amsterdam suggested as an alternate possibility. I beg to differ with all those who discount Frankfurt am Main as the publishing center for Sephardic-authored books. This includes my esteemed colleagues Harm den Boer and Michael Studemund-Halévy. STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1997d:90 accepts Hamburg as place of publication of Abenatar Melo's works: «David Abenatar Melo kommt als reifer Mann nach Amsterdam und bringt dort auf eigene Kosten drei Bücher zum Druck. Wenig später zieht er nach Hamburg, wo er sein Hauptwerk, die Übersetzung der Psalmen, veröffentlicht». He repeats this assertion in 1997f:10 and 158, as well as in 1997e:45, under the section heading *Druckort* ('Place of publication'): «Amsterdamer Autoren wie Francisco de Cáceres ... lassen ihre Bücher mit den fingierten Druckorten

Main meant 'Printed in Frankfurt [פּרנקפּורט] on the Main [and nowhere else]', and that when the Sephardic Francisco de Cáceres completes his short dedication to his Frankfurt printed and published 1616 Spanish translation of Niccolò Franco's *Diálogos satíricos*, signing off «De Francaforte à primero de Diziembre, de 1616», he must have been physically present in that German-speaking city. An Appendix includes four letters of personal correspondence written by or directed to members of the seventeenth-century Hamburg Sephardic community, all of whom men of science – Dr. Jacob Rosales (1588-1662)⁵, Dr. Abraham Zacuto (1575-1642)⁶, Dr. Rodrigo de Castro (David Nehamías) (1546-1627)⁷ and his son Dr. Benito de Castro (Baruch Nehamías)

Antwerpen, Frankfurt [am Main] und Brüssel erscheinen. Hamburger Autoren wie Ishac de Castro, Semuel da Silva, David Abenatar Melo und Mosseh Gideon Abudiente geben fingierte Druckorte wie Amsterdam, Frankfurt [am Main] oder Glückstadt an».

This information would appear to somewhat compromise what is stated in 1997g:151: «Da der bedeutendere holländische Buchmarkt für die Hamburger Portugiesen natürlich viel interessanter war, bezogen sie ihre Bücher in hebräischer, portugiesischer und spanischer Sprache vor allem aus Amsterdam. Und weil in Hamburg zu keinem Zeitpunkt eine jüdische-sephardische Presse bestand und eine hebräische Typographie nicht vor 1680 nachzuweisen ist». BOER 1989:67-68, states that Francisco de Cáceres' 1616 edition of Niccolò Franco's *Diálogos satíricos* boasts a false «Francaforte» frontispiece («fictieve drukplaats») in order to appeal to a wider Spanish-Christian reading public: «Er is niets in de *Diálogos satíricos* waardoor het werk zich in het bijzonder richtte tot de Sefardische joden. De titeluitgave van de *Diálogos satíricos* met het gefingeerde drukkersadres "Francaforte", en de opdrachten van beide uitgaven aan niet-joodse beschermheren geven juist aan, dat de auteur een verspreiding zocht onder een zo groot mogelijk Spaanslezend publiek». See also BOER 1988a and 1992:51-55.

⁵ For bibliography concerning Rosales, see STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1994:57-58 (nos. 860-871), and, especially, WINIGER 223-224, KELLENBENZ 1956 (no. 864), and SARAIVA 1986 (no. 871).

⁶ For Abraham Zacuto, see LEMOS 1909.

⁷ For Rodrigo de Castro, who died on 15 Shevat 5387 (20 Jan. 1627), see STUEMUND-HALÉVY 1994:52 (nos. 797-805), and, especially, SCHLEINER 1994, and FRIEDENWALD 1944 and 1946. He was the author of the following major medical treatises: *Tractatus brevis de natura et causis pestis quae hoc anno 1596* (Hamburg: Jakob Lucius); *De universa mulierum morborum medicina* (Hamburg: G. L. Frobeniano, 1603; subsequent eds.: Hamburg 1604, 1617, and 1628, Venice 1644, Hamburg 1662, Cologne 1689); and *Medicus-Politicus* (Cologne and Hamburg 1614). The 1664 [and later 1668] Hannover - Frankfurt-am-Main *Tractatus de natura muliebri, seu disputationes ac lectiones Pisanae. Nunc primum in lucem editus* (printed in Hannover; paid for by Christophori Le-Blon, of Frankfurt; and typeset by Ioannis Aubri, of Frankfurt), had been a previously unedited gynecological work, prepared for press eventually by Francisco de Castro,

(1597-1684)⁸. Their provenance is the HAB manuscript collections.

Rodrigo's eldest son. The editorial history of this last work connects Rodrigues de Castro to both Frankfurt and Pisa.

Citing STUDEMUND-HALÉVY 1997d:86, who quotes from Miguel de Barrios', «Relación de los poetas y escritores de la nación amstelodama»: «Rodrigo de Castro, Médico del Senado de Hamburgo, hizo dos famosos libros, uno de la enfermedad de las Mugerres, y otro del Médico Político, y su hijo Benedito de Castro fue Médico de la Reyna Christina de Suecia». The question still remains whether Rodrigo de Castro (1546-1627) was the same individual as Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro / Stephanus Rodericus Castrensis Lusitanus (1560-1638) (Cfr. MANUPELLA Ed.), professor of medicine at Pisa in the era post-1613-. Despite Manupella's attestations in his impressive piece of scholarship on the physician's Italian period and multilingual creative literature (Ed. 1967:ix), such as «... vejo-me obrigado a lembrar que o Dr. Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro –médico, cientista e consumado humanista de formação coimbrã, poeta bilíngue ...– não era espanhol, nem era “judaizante”», it would appear that he was, indeed, mistaken about E. R. de Castro's religious convictions and his dual personae. When Rodrigues de Castro referred, poetically, to his «*iura laris*» (MANUPELLA Ed. 1967:63), he meant the 'law of his forebears': that is, Judaism. Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro's eldest son, Francisco de Castro, who had edited at least one of his father's posthumous medical manuscripts, the *Tractatus de natura mulieri* (Frankfurt am Main 1668), and who also may have edited his father's *Posthuma* (Florence: Massa, 1640-1646), authored the profane *Metamorphoses a lo moderno* ... (Florence 1641), the HSA copy of which bears the following inscription: «K.K. 258v», referring no doubt to a synagogue shelflist: *K. K.* being an abbreviation for *Kahal Kadoš*. This is purely circumstantial evidence, at best. However, one should add to this Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro's circle of professional cohorts, all of whom former students at Coimbra, including Abraham Zacuto (MANUPELLA Ed. 1967:112), António Dias Pinto and Bento Pinhel (MANUPELLA Ed. 1967:31-33), to a man documented as professing Jews. Manupella admits to António Dias Pinto's judaism, but merely dismisses Bento Pinhel as a «lisboeta errante». Zacuto is not discussed. Both Dias Pinto and Pinhel were part of a crypto-Jewish community in Florence in the early 1620s (BROWN 1999a:51, and LARAS 1978:95). Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro's medical works while in Florence and Pisa deal with gynecology and the plague, subjects central to the Hamburg-based Rodrigues de Castro's publications. What remains perplexing, though, is Manupella's dating of Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro's life: 1560-1638.

⁸ For Baruch Nehamías de Castro, see n. 7 above, in addition to STUDEMUND-HALÉVY 1994:52 and 1997d:42 n. 96: «Zu Baruch de Castro siehe Friedenwald 1944:II, 448-459, Schleiner 1994:159». Studemund-Halévy provides the following bibliography of medical texts authored by this individual: *Tratado da calunnia, em o qual brevemente se mostram a natureza, causas e efeitos desde pernicioso vício; e juntamente se apunção dous remédios delle* (Antwerpen 1629; Latin translation Amsterdam 1631); under the pseudonym Philotheo Castelo, *Monomachia, sive Certamen Medicum* (Hamburg 1647).

The present anthology significantly broadens the registers of poetry contained in Part One, in which circumstantial verse, sporadically written for poetic contests in Spanish or Portuguese in commemoration of inquisitorial martyrs, is the norm, not the exception. What characterizes the present new *corpus poetarum* are intricate, sometimes pedantic, neo-classical, Neo-Latin distiches explicating Platonic or Neo-Platonic philosophy –for instance, Jacob Rosales’ «Exponam dubium» (poem 29) and his *Epos Noētikon* (poem 32)–, examples of Baroque metametrics (poem 31, a goblet and, possibly, 46a, a funereal urn), and copious references to pagan mythology and classical literature. All evidence a strict adherence to classical conventions and their metrics. As well, there are simple, Portuguese-language funerary dirges penned by a local Hamburg scribe or poet for hire and sculpted with great care into tombstones that have withered the storms of centuries. Herein also is facile, «neo»-gothic courtly love poetry included in a bi-lingual Portuguese-German dictionary prepared for purposes of international commerce and wrought on the influence of a stray couplet. In our anthology, Minerva and Adonay, Clio and Moses, an Iberian scholastic university education and formative yeshivah studies, European mercantilism, learning languages for fun and profit voices from the tomb, and unrequited love combine to provide a fascinating window to the literary creativity of the seventeenth-, eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Hamburg Sephardim. The novelty of Part Two is not only quantitative –that is, expanding the *corpus poetarum* from twenty-eight to forty-five works–, thematic and stylistic, but also chronological, for it extends the creative muse beyond 1785 (*terminus ad quem* established in Part One) to the third decade of the nineteenth century.

In addition to Spanish, Portuguese, and Neo-Latin (and the temporarily excluded, but not forgotten, Hebrew verse; a subject for future analysis), Classical Greek finds its way into Jacob Rosales’ elegiacs. This Portuguese-Jewish scientist, philosopher and poet –an authentic humanist– recalls the intellectual/linguistic ambiance of the Iberian university (Cfr. Pérez Ibáñez 1997:21, sect. II, on «Humanismo Médico») as he employs Ovid’s Elegiac couplet and Horace’s Sapphic Strophe in his *Odes* in a deft attempt to ponder the mysteries of humankind: he combines verses from the *Song of Songs*, refers insistently to Judaic oral law and

the rite of circumcision, explores the importance of death and good deeds, and adds the practical need to improve a mother's chances for survival in childbirth. But even in his scientific disquisitions, Galen's medicine is subservient to the God of the Hebrews. In the *Carmen Intellectuale*, for instance, Adonay is 'Rector of the heavens' (32.I.9: «Ex rectore poli producta scientia»). Jewish orthodoxy prevails. The colloquial Zacuto's Latin is purely utilitarian and less-than-elegant as he lashes out at detractors.

Medicus Hamburgensis and *Lusitano* in Part Two become coterminous with *Sephardic Jew*. In fact, Jacob Rosales proudly proclaims himself «Medici Hebraei» (poem 31 below), the Frankfurt-am-Main Protestant doctor of medicine and university professor Johannes Jonstonus hails Zacuto in the vocative «O Hebraicae!»⁹,

⁹ «Zacuto Lusitano medico incomparabili, Ioannes Ionstonus, Medicus, & inclytae Academiae Francofurtensis Professor Ordinarius. – Historiae tuae, Zacute eminentissime, ita summorum medicorum, totius orbis animos inflammant, ut nihil aliud cogitent, quam eas legere, revidere, memoriae mandare, & recte, meo voto, id faciunt: nam, qui Zacuti opera legit, Galenum legit: ea enim solum ex facundissim[i] hujus auctoris, & aliorum Principum medicorum sententiis illustribus, oraculisque, sunt exhausta, ita procerum tutela, & doctrina ita strenue dimicas, & facies tuas Herculeas contra novatorum tela disponis, ut brevi temporis momento, ea irrita reddas, exanguia, & pene nulla. O Hebraicae! imo Lusitanae familiae sidus splendidissimum. O! Medici chori fulgentissimum jubar. O! litteratorum unicum assylum. Vigent bella, Bellona fremit, Mars saevit, major pars orbis ad arma concurrat, Medici velut exanimes jacent, imo languidi torpent, & inertes. Medicina flocci fit, praecipiti lapsu ruit. Tu eam hoc modo infaeliciter humi prostratam erigis, illius alumnos ad studentum accendis, & eruditissimis scriptis tuis beas, & refocillas. Maximas tibi gratias praesto, quod in tuis operibus, de meis admirandis ita recte sentias, cum ita sit, incultum hactenus me habui modo tuo suffragio evector, aliquid me scire existimabo. Vale Zacute, ter acutissime, & Ionstonum tuum literis tuis consalutare singulis nundinis velis obnixè precor. Ex inclyta Francofurtensi civitate 14. die Augusti Anno 1641» (Zacutus *Historiarum: Liber Ultimus* 1642 fol. 7) ('Zacuto Lusitano, incomparable physician. [From] Joannes Jonstonus, physician and «ordinary» professor of the celebrated Frankfurt Academy. The Great Zacuto: Your histories have kindled the minds of the world's greatest doctors in such a way that they spend all their time reading them, revising them, and memorizing them. And, in my wisdom, they do well. He who cites Zacuto's works, cites Galen. Since only these [works] are out of print among all their author's extremely eloquent titles, and they also [stand out] among the illustrious sayings and oracles of other princes of medicine. You proceed so efficiently with the knowledge of the great physicians and their doctrine, and you wield your Herculean being against the weapons of the young ones, such that in a short time you leave them annoyed, exhausted and almost worthless. Oh shining star, not only of the Jewish family, but also of Portugal! Oh brilliant splendor of the medical choir! Oh bastion of letters! Wars are raging, Bellona roars, Mars is crazed, and the greater part of the world is marching at arms. The doctors of

and Cornelius Ullefeld of Sweden addresses Baruch de Castro as «*Medicum Judaeum*» (Appendix 4). Conversos involved in medical science were not an entirely new phenomenon in the history of medicine in the Iberian Peninsula (Cfr. Pérez Ibáñez 1997:47, 60-64, 66-71, 73, 76), but in our case the physicians were professing Jews.

The sociological bits of personal information these poems and the appended texts provide tell a compelling story of the Hamburg-based physical-science-minded Sephardim: Rosales (Appendix 1 ls. 7-8) came (or fled) to German-speaking lands in search of 'more [religious *qua* intellectual] freedom'. In the letter from Zacuto to Rodrigo de Castro (Appendix 2 ls. 13-14), the author cites a rabbinical source –Rabbi Moses in his aphorisms– to support an argument ascertaining the superior physician from the mediocre one. We read of mutual friendships between Sephardim and Protestant men of science and government, of admiration by Sephardim of the ruling Protestant powers that be: Beverovicus (*Zacutus Historiarum: Liber Quintus* 1639 fol. 5r), Ullefeld (Appendix 4), Joannes Antonides Van der Linden (*Zacutus Historiarum: Liber Septimus* 1641 fol. 25), Jonstonus (*Zacutus Historiarum: Liber Ultimus* [= 11] 1642 fol. 7), and the Herzog August Junior¹⁰. Medicine, science and poetry mix –a phenomenon which would much later characterize Iberian culture in the figures of Pío Baroja, Santiago Ramón y Cajal and Pedro Laín Entralgo, though not an uncommon occurrence in the renaissance: Galileo is an apt example¹¹.

Noteworthy are the seven funerary inscriptions in verse –called in German *Begräbnisgedichte*– eulogizing five deceased women

medicine are lifeless, languid and inert, as well as befuddled. Medicine is accorded no importance: it is downtrodden. You have given medicine new life, which previously had been so indignantly prostrate in the dust. You have invigorated your students toward study and have delighted and excited them by your extremely erudite written works. I thank you profoundly for the wisdom in your books. Hear my admiration for you, such that I consider myself uncultured when I compare myself to your erudition: it is bewildering to me, [so much so that] I can now safely say that I know something. Many times Godspeed, Zacuto! You are so intellectually sharp: I obstinately beseech you that you visit your Jonstonus with a letter within nine days. From the glorious city of Frankfurt. 7 August 1641'.

¹⁰ See CASTRO LUSITANI 1617. The dedication on p. a2, to the Herzog August Junior of Braunschweig, [Wolfenbüttel] and Lüneburg, reads as follows: «*Illustrissimo atque Generosissimo Principi ac Domino, Don Augusto Juniori, Brunswicensium ac Lunaenburgensium Duci, Domino meo Clementissimo*».

¹¹ See Dava SOBEL, *Galileo's Daughter* (Toronto: Viking, 1999) pp. 10-11, 326.

and two men, with Portuguese the language of linguistic choice (see Faust and Studemund-Halévy 1996, 1997a and 1997b). Brief as they may be, these verses allow us specific biographical insights into the Sephardic Community and the marital life of its women (nos. 39-41, 44-45). The inscription to Miriam Coronel's remains consecrates the ground as «O poço de Miriam», a romantic gathering place for family and friends to venerate her spirit; Angela Miriam Abendana Mendes provided alms to orphans and widows, probably by generously supporting a beneficent society, similar if not identical to Amsterdam's *O Dotar*¹². Married 42 years, she served her husband faithfully. Rahel Rodrigues Mendes succumbed at too early an age as did Rahel Hana Abudiente, who represented one of the more influential Sephardic families in Hamburg. Perhaps they were victims of the bubonic plague, which was devastating Europe during the times of the Thirty Years War. Though most likely the commissioned works of for-profit commercial versifiers (the earliest of whom had a penchant for *culteranista* word choice), we can still glean from these funerary pieces distant feminine voices recalling from the tomb salient events of these forgotten women's lives: they tell a constant tale of virtue and self sacrifice, filtered as it were by masculine voices (Brown 1999a). Nothing comparable emerges from the tombstone inscriptions of the two deceased men: Eliau Semuel Israel Baruch (42) and Jacob Álvares de Vargas (43).

Those who question the bookprinting of Sephardic-authored titles in Frankfurt am Main do so without providing or substantiating the burden of proof to the contrary. Den Boer's strong argument concerning falsification of frontispieces for seventeenth-century Sephardic-authored texts printed in Amsterdam though bearing Antwerp place of publication (for said reason, aimed at breaking the commercial book embargo against anything having to do with the heterodox Dutch Netherlands, and, consequently, destined to a wider Spanish, that is Catholic, reading public and export market) does not appear to hold the same sway for Frankfurt-based imprints (Boer 1992:51-55, especially 52; 1989).

To wit, Amsterdam's Calvinist-controlled municipal government and its booming bookmarket did indeed vie with Catholic Ant-

¹² 'Founded by Rabbi Joseph Pardo of Amsterdam and Jacob Coronel of Hamburg' (STUDEMUND-HALÉVY 1999c:7 n. 14). See BODIAN 1987:30-61; also W. Chr. PIETERSE (Coord.), *350 Jaar Dotar* (Amsterdam 1965), and L. HAGOORT, *Index op Santa Companhia de Dotar Ôrfas e Donzelas, Amsterdam* (n.d.).

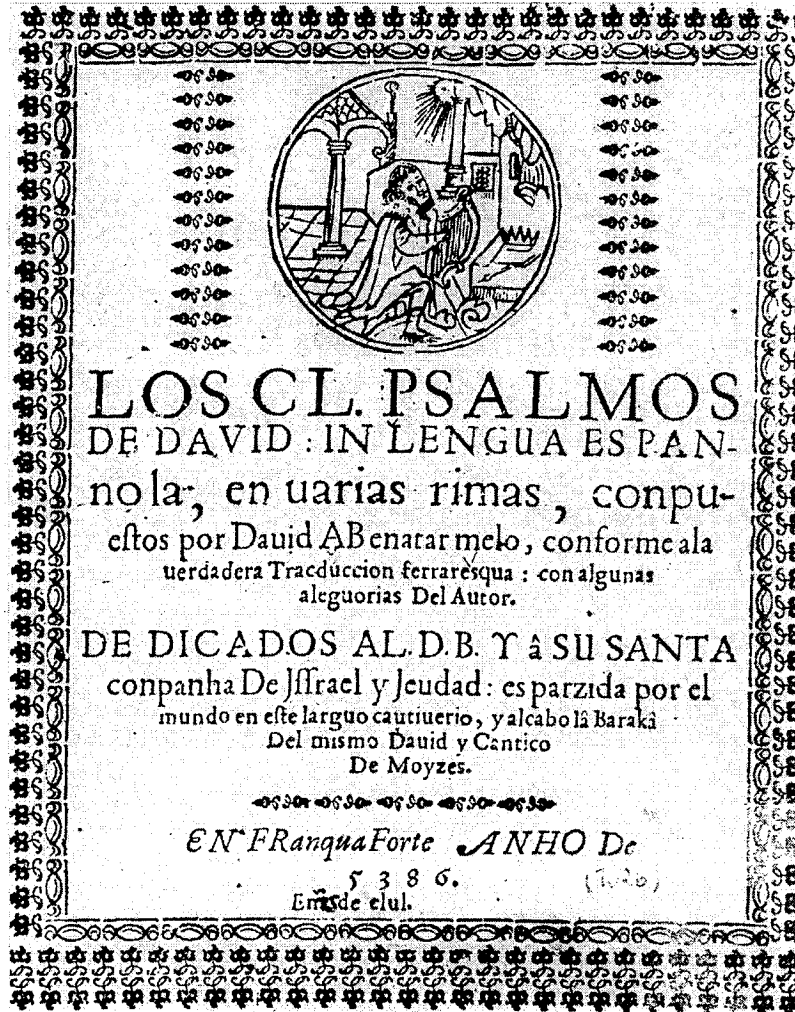
werp's. Frankfurt, though, was *also* a Lutheran stronghold, and the major city presses at the onset of the seventeenth century, many controlled by the Calvinist Wechsel-Aubri dynastic network, encouraged the publication of old and new scientific treatises, and were open to religious heterodoxy while also encouraging high-brow humanism (Evans 1975:12-13, 14, 20, 25, 31-32, 34, 37-38, 43-45, 48, 51-52).

Despite Vincenz Fettmilch's horrific 1614 pogrom which decimated much of the Ashkenazi ghetto¹³, normality quickly resumed, the culprits were hanged, and the German-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish population was immediately conceded greater protection (*EJ* 7:84-86). That says nothing for a small population of Sephardim in the city's environs, a group allied to the Ashkenazi minority in religious beliefs alone, though remote from them in their Iberian upbringing and ethnic background.

The authors of this study see a recognizable pattern emerging from the quantifiable titles authored by both Sephardim and their converso half-brethren on their way to reconversion: Frankfurt was, as it still is, the European printing centre and book distribution fair/market *par excellence*, where one could have any book in any one of several European major languages translated and printed for a highly attractive, competitive price. Frankfurt may also have been a stopping-off place for soon-to-be-reconverted *marranos* en route to cities of safer haven: Hamburg, Amsterdam, Leghorn, and Venice.

It is no wonder that many genuinely Sephardic-authored books bear the explicate *Sumptibus Auctoris* ('[Publication] Paid for by the author') or nothing at all concerning the typesetter and printer on their frontispieces. Our contention is that authors such as Menasseh ben Israel and David Abenatar Melo had their works printed in Frankfurt because it was the most economical means of production. Other Sephardim obviously came to Frankfurt, manuscript in hand and cash in pocket, only to then return to Amsterdam and Hamburg with boxes of their newly-printed books to sell among their coreligionaries back home. It must have been smart business.

¹³ See FUKS - FUKS-MANSFELD 1984:189, no. 255: «*Megilas Vinz*, poem on the calamities of the Jews in Frankfurt-on-the-Main during the riots caused by Vincenz (Vinz) Fettmilch (1614), by Elhanan ben Abraham Hellin, Hebrew with Yiddish translation. Financed by Nathan b. Abraham Hellin, grandson of the author» (2nd ed. Amsterdam 1648; copy in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana).



David Abenatar Melo, Frontispiece to *Los CL Psalmos* (Frankfurt 1626).

The greatest printing enterprise in Frankfurt's environs were the Wechsel-Aubri editorial houses, ever active in protecting continental intellectualism, high creativity, and religious heterodoxy (Evans 1975:38, 43-45, 48). As we shall see below, the Wechsel-Aubri presses were responsible for numerous publications of books dealing with the Iberian Peninsula: be it in creative literature, history (secular, military and ecclesiastical), the physical sciences, medicine, and geographical exploration. They were also actively engaged in divulging the Greco-Roman classics by rendering them to high German. Neither were Frankfurt-am-Main presses strangers to Old Testament-inspired works and editions, many requiring Hebrew typeface (Zafren 1997:231-271, and Wirth 1996 nos. 2-3).

When the Amsterdam Sephard Joseph de Cáceres wrote the preface to his *Los siete días de la semana* (Amsterdam 5372 = 1616), he was explaining a truism likely applicable also to the rival printing emporium in Frankfurt: «Considerare el lector que estamos fuera de España y que los impresores están muy remotos en la impresión castellana, y que yo también soy nobicio en semejantes cosas». The frontispiece for David Abenatar Melo's Spanish translation of the *Book of Psalms* (Frankfurt 1626), 'printed at the author's personal expense', registers at least thirty major and minor errors in standard typography, orthography, and syntax with respect to the Spanish language¹⁴, an indication that whoever assumed responsibility for the typesetting and subsequent printing was marginally familiar with Spanish and unable to completely correct authorial errors.

The counter argument also fails to acknowledge the following documented facts.

1) In 1641, the Frankfurt-am-Main university professor of medicine, Johannus Jonstonus, penned many words of praise in honor of his Spanish-Jewish homologue Abraham Zacuto (see above).

2) Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld (1987 no. 611), relate the editorial history of a treatise on the metrical construction of the *Psalms* with Hebrew text by Marcus Meirboom (Amsterdam 1698):

¹⁴ Examples are: *CL* instead of *CL*, *In* instead of *En*, *Espannola*, *uarias*, *conpu-estos*, *Dauid*, *ABenatar melo*, *uerdadera*, *Tracduccion*, *ferraresqua*, *aleguorias*, *Del* instead of *del*, *De Dicados* two words, *Y* the Pythagorean letter instead of the more standardized Spanish-Greek *Y*, *â*, *conpanha*, *De* instead of *de*, *Jssrael*, *es parzida* two words, *largo*, *cautiuerio*, *alcabo* one word, *lâ*, *Barakâ*, *Dauid*, *EN FRan-quaforte*, *ANHO*, and *Emês* handwritten addition on the printed page.

The publisher and bookseller Hendrik Wetstein (1649-1726) came as a young man from Switzerland to Amsterdam and married in 1678. He learned his trade from Daniel Elsevier and started his business in 1676. He had bookshops in Amsterdam and Frankfurt on the Main and was one of the most important booksellers and publishers of Amsterdam. He had no printing-house of his own and had his publications printed by others. Though the place of printing appears on the titlepage, Steinschneider doubts of this is really an Amsterdam edition and we agree with him. Steinschneider gives no further reasons for his doubt, but it is a remarkable fact that the quires are marked with German gothic characters in this edition which is most unusual in Amsterdam Hebrew printing, as normally the quires are marked with Hebrew numerals. The German lettering of the quires could be an indication of a German place of printing.

3) The same bibliographers (1984:33) write of Johannes Le Maire (1603-1657):

Maire was one of the most important printers of his day. He also traded in books, his own as well as those of other printers, and had a permanent bookshop in Frankfurt, where he could stock his books after the annual bookfair. The many books he printed are of excellent quality and this also applies to his few Hebrew books. He does not mention in any of his Hebrew books the names of compositors or other assistants.

They add the following footnote:

The existence of the shop of Maire in Frankfurt came to light after the death of Maire's son Dirck, who was printer and bookseller in The Hague. To repay the substantial loan which Maire had given to his son, Dirck's widow rendered him all the books which were in a room of the Frankfurt shop. See E. F. Kossman, *Boekhandel te 's-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18e eeuw*, The Hague, 1937, 250.

Frankfurt am Main obviously competed on a vigorous commercial level with Amsterdam when it came to book printing in any one of the major European languages, and it was not unrare to find the same select bookdealers in both Protestant publishing capitals. For Sephardim from Amsterdam or Hamburg to have their works printed in Frankfurt would not have been an oddity; to the contrary, it would have been rather a commonplace.

The following lists of additional Frankfurt-am-Main seventeenth-century imprints should also bolster our argument. Their provenance is: HAB (Collection of Rare Printed Books)¹⁵, HSA¹⁶, BNM¹⁷, and Evans' Appendix (1975). They provide tangible, strong connections between seventeenth-century Frankfurt-based publishing houses and Iberian and classical culture:

Amadis aus Frankreich[:] *Sehr schöne historien. Alles auß Franzözücher in unser allgemein Teutsche Sprach transferiert.* 1569 & 1633. Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn: Sigmund Feyerabends.– HAB (1569), BNM (1633).

ARETINI, Petri. 1623. *Pornodidascalus, seu colloquium muliebre Petri Aretini, de astute savio horrendisq[ue] dolis, quibus impudicae mulieres inventuti incautai insidantur*, Dialogus, ex hispanico in latinum versus a Casp. Bartho. ib. 8. Frankfurt: Aubry, Schleich: Wechel.– HAB.

AREZZO, Claudio Mario. 1603. *Hispaniae situs*. Francofurti.– HSA.

BARBOSA, Pedro. 1625. *Pet. Barbosae ... Tractatus absolutissimi: I, De Matrimonio ...* Francofurti: typis Hartmanni Palthenii; sumptibus Haeredum D. Zachariae Palthenii.– BNM.

BARCLAY, John. 1623; 1626-1627. *Argenis*. Frankfurt: Aubrey & Schleich.– HAB.

BARTH, Kaspar. 1623. *Fabularum Aesopiarum. 5. Phoenix. Psalmi 17*. Frankfurt.– HAB.

—. 1626. *Phoenix*. Frankfurt: Aubrey & Schleich.– HAB.

BEN ISRAEL, Menasseh. 1632. *Conciliator*. Frankfurt.– BNM, HSA.

BEN SIMEON, Uri. [n.d.]. *Calendarium Palaestinorum*. Tr. J. Christmann. [Frankfurt:] Vidua J. W. impens. P. Kopffii.– Evans.

La Biblia, que es, los sacros libros del vieio y nueuo testamento. 1622 [1569?]. [Frankfurt am Main?].– HSA.

BLANCAS, Jerónimo de. 1603. *Regum aragoniae series, elogioque imaginibus*. Francofurti.– HSA.

BRY, Theodore de. 1590-1634. *Collectiones peregrinationum in Indiam orientalem et Indiam occidentalem*. Francofurti et Oppenheimii.– HSA.

—. 1598-1623. *Idem*. Francofurti: Ioan Fridericus Weissius.– HSA.

CARAMUEL LOBKOWITZ, Juan. 1654. *Metalogica Disputationis*. Frankfurt.– BNM.

¹⁵ Refer to its unpublished card catalog or Ortskatalog / Place of Publication Catalog, and MaßKatalog (= Frankfurt annual bookfair catalogs) collection.

¹⁶ Refer to its Rare Books before 1800 Catalog.

¹⁷ Refer to its On-Line Catalog of Rare Printed Books 1600-1700; BNM.es.

- CARDOSO, Fernando Rodrigo. 1620. *Tractatus Absolutissimus Ferdinando Roderici Cardosi In Arte Apollinea*. Frankfurt.– HAB.
- CARTAGENA, Alfonso de. 1603. *Rerum hispanorum*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- CASAS, Bartolomé de las. 1665. *Umbständige warhafftige beschreibung der Indianischen Ländern*. [Frankfurt am Main?].– HSA.
- CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, Miguel de. 1648. *Don Kichote de la Mantzscha, das ist: juncker Harnusch auß Fleckenland. Auß hispanischer Spraach in hoch teutsche ubers*. Frankfurt: Götzen.– BNM.
- . *Don Kichote de la Mantzscha*. 1669. Frankfurt: Thomae Matthiae Götzen; 1682 Basel & Frankfurt: Dü Foür in Genff; and 1683 *Abentheurliche Geschichte*, Basel und Frankfurt: Dü Foür in Genff.– BNM.
- . 1624. «Rinconete y Cortadillo». Historia von Isaac Winckelfeldern und Jobst von der Schneid ... Beschrieben von Nicolaus Ulenhart. [Frankfurt?].– HAB.
- . 1753. *Novelas ejemplares*, deutsch. Satyrische und lehrreiche Erzehlungen des Michel de Cervantes Saavedra. Frankfurt & Eßlingensche.– HAB.
- COLOMBO, Cristoforo. 1603. *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- CONESTAGGIO, Girolamo. 1603. *De Portugaliae coniunctione cum regno castellae, historia*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- COSTA, Joannes Baptista. 1606. *Novus de quota et rata siue de congrua in iure rerum partitione tractatus*. Francofurti: E Collegio musarum Nouenarum Paltheniano.– HSA.
- EBERT, Adam Praeses. 1687. *Dissertatio academica de justitia actionum Philipi II, Hispaniae & Indiarum regis, ad diem 28 maj., publicae eruditorum censurae exhibiturus Gustavus Andreas Bornemann*. Francofurti eis Viadrum: Literis Friderici Eichornii.– HSA.
- EULOGIUS [Saintly Archbishop of Toledo]. 1608. Ed. Ambrosio Morales. *Divi Eulogii cordubensis opera*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- FRANCO, Niccolò. 1616. *Diálogos satíricos*. Trad. por Francisco de Cáceres. Francaforte: 1 de diciembre de 1616.– BNM A EH 12H78, A UB 563G27, R8237, R13382 (a).
- . *Idem*. 1617. Amsterdam: Theodore Vocquil.– HSA.
- GARCÍA MATAMOROS, Alfonso. 1603. *De academiis, et doctis viris hispaniae*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- GOES, Damião de. 1603. *De bello cambaico secundo*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Diensis nobilissimae carmaniae seu Cambaiae urbis oppugnationio*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Epistola ad Io. Iacobum Fuggerum pro defensione hispaniae*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Fides, religio, moresque Aethiopum sub imperio Preciosi Ioannes*. Francofurti.– HSA.

- . 1603. *Hispania Damiani a Goes*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Vita, collecta potissimum e scriptis eius*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Urbis olisiponis descriptio*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- GOMEZII, Dn. Antonii I. C. 1617. *Hispani, Commentarius ad leges Taurinas*. Francofurti: Ioannem Treutelium.– HAB.
- GÓMEZ DE CASTRO, Álvaro. 1603. *De rebus gestis a Francisco Ximenio Cisnerio*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- GÓMEZ MIEDIS, Bernardino [Bishop of Albarracín]. 1603. *De vita & rebus gestis Iacobi I. regis Aragonum*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- HERBORN, Nicolaus. 1617. *Nothwendiger discurs und eygentliche beschreibung Americae*. Franckfurt am Mayn: Nicolaum Hoffman.– HSA.
- HERRERA TORDESILLAS, Antonio de. 1623. *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*. Deutsch. Frankfurt: de Bry.– HAB.
- IDATUS [Bishop of Chaves]. 1608. *Chronologia ex Idacio collectore quodam Caroli Magni aequali*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- ISIDORUS [Bishop of Sevilla]. 1603. *Tractatus de claris praesertim hispaniae scriptoribus atque episcopis, cum appendicibus*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- JIMÉNEZ DE RADA, Rodrigo [Archbishop of Toledo]. 1603. *Rerum in Hispania gestarum libri IX*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- JOANNES [Bishop of Gerona]. 1608. *Chronicon*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- JOÃO III [King of Portugal]. 1603. *Epistola ad s.d.n. Paulum III, pont. max.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Litterae ad Clementem pontificem VII*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- LEBRIJA, Antonio de [Elio Antonio Martínez de Cala y Jarana]. 1603. *De bello navariensi, libri duo*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Rerum a Fernando et Elisabe*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- MAIMONIDES, Moseh ben. 1613. *Livro intitulado thesuba que he, contrition, en el qual se tratan Todos modos della*. Conpuesto por o admiravel Chacham Rvbi [sic] Moseh do Aegypto. E agora nouanene [sic] Tradicionado con fidelidade de Hebraico en Hespañol. Por o Doctor Samuel da Sylva. E a sua custa impresso en Francafort. Anno 3573. A 10 de Suan.– BNM R11084, R11085; however, R11084 bears a printed-in-Amsterdam frontispiece.
- MANOEL I [King of Portugal]. 1603. *Epistola de victoriis nuper in Africa habitis*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- MARGARIT Y PAU, Juan de [Cardinal]. 1603. *Paralipomenon hispaniae, libri I[-X]*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- MARIANA, Juan de. 1603. *Historiae de rebus hispaniae*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1606. *Historiae de rebus hispaniae. Appendix*. Francofurti: Claudium Marnium & haeredes Ioan. Aubrii.– HSA.
- MARINEUS, Lucius. 1603. *De rebus hispaniae memorabilibus opus, libris*

LIVRO.

INTITVLA
DO THESVBA QVE
HE, CONTRITION, EN EL
*qual se tratan Todos modos
della.*

CONPVESTO POR O
ADMIRAVEL CHACHAM RVBI
Mofeh do Agypto,

*E agora Noua nene Tradicido con fidelidade
de Hebraico en Español.*



Por O Doctör Samuel da Sylva Ea sua custa impreso en
Francfort. Anno, 3573, A lo de Siuan.

XXII. Francofurti. – HSA.

Maimonides, *Livro intitulado thesuba* (BNM R11084).

- MODENA, Jehuda Arje. 1693. *De Ceremoniis, et Consuetudinis Hodie Judaeos inter receptis*. Frankfurt.– HAB.
- MORALES, Ambrosio de. 1603. *Corduba*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- MUXET DE SOLÍS, Diego. [1624]. *Comedias humanas, y divinas, y Rimas morales compuestas por ...* Prostat ['Forthcoming']. Francofurti: Cornelium ob Egmont.– HAB Brussels ed.; listed as «Forthcoming» from a Frankfurt-am-Main press in the 1624 *MeßKatalog* (= printed Frankfurt bookfair catalog, HAB) = *Catalogi Nundinales*.
- NAHUMIUM, M. Jodocum. 1627. *Prophetica Danielis*. Franckfurt am Mayn: Johannis Ammonii.– HAB.
- NUNES DE LEÃO, Duarte. 1603. *Censurae in libellum de regum portugaliae origine, qui Fratris Iosephi Tfixerae nomine circumfertur; item de vera regum portugaliae genealogia liber*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1608. *Chronica dos reys de Portugal*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- NÚÑEZ, Luis. 1608. *Hispania sive populorum, urbium, insularum ac fluminum*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- PAULUS, Hieronymous. 1603. *De fluminibus et montibus hispaniae*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- PÉREZ, Andrés. 1626. *Die Landstörtzerin Iustina Dietzin Picara*. Frankfurt am Mayn: Johann Friderichen Wissen.– HAB.
- PETRONII, T. 1629. *Satyricon*. Francofurti: Lucam Iennis.– HAB.
- PITISCI, Bartholomaei, & Abraham Sculteti. 1627. *Meletemata Psalmica*. Frankfurt.– HAB.
- PONS DE ICART, Luis. 1603. *Inscriptiones aliquot tarraconenses ex historia hispanica*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- Rerum hispanicarum scriptores aliquot ex bibliotheca Roberti Beli*. 1579. Francofurti: Andreae Wecheli.– HSA.
- Resende, Lucio André de. 1603. *Antiquitatum lusitaniae & de municipio eborensi lib. V*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Epistola historica, de aera hispanorum*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- . 1603. *Narratio rerum gestarum in India a Lusitanis, anno M.D.XXX. iuxta exemplum epistolae*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- RICCIO, Michele. 1603. *De regibus hispaniae, libri tres*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- ROCHEFORT, Charles de. 1668. Trans. Wilhelm Serlin. *Historiche beschreibung der Antillen Inseln in America*. Franckfurt: Wilhelm Serlins.– HSA.
- ROJAS, Fernando de. 1624. *Celestina: Pornoboscodidascalus Latinus*. Trad. Lat. by Caspar Barthius. Frankfurt: Aubry & Schleich.– HAB, HSA.
- SÁNCHEZ DE ARÉVALO, Rodrigo [Bishop of Zamora]. 1603. *Historiae hispanicae*. Francofurti.– HSA.
- SCHOTTIUS, Andreae. 1608. *Hispaniae Bibliotheca seu De academiis ac*

- bibliothecis: item elogia et nomenclator clarorum hispaniae Scriptorum qui latine disciplinas omnes illustrarunt.* Frankfurt: apud Claudium Marnium & haeredes Ioan Aubrii.– HAB, HSA.
- TARAFÁ, Francisco. 1603. *De origine ac rebus gestis regum Hispaniae liber.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- TASSO, Bernardo. 1626. *La Gerusalemme Liberata.* Deutsch. Frankfurt: Aubrey & Schleich.– HAB.
- TEIVE, Diogo de. 1603. *Commentarius de rebus Lusitanis in India apud Dium gestis.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- TORRE, Alonso de la. 1623. *Libro intitulado: Vision deleytable, y sumario de todas las ciencias.* Traducido de Italiano en Español, por Francisco de Cáceres. Francaforte en 16 de Noviembre 1623 Años.– BNM R6854, R13168 (-a), R17337, U5056.
- VALDESIO, Jacobo. 1626. *Praerogativa Hispaniae.* Frankfurt: Guolfgangi Hofmanni.– HAB.
- VALLA, Laurentis. 1603. *De rebus a Ferdinando aragoniae rege gestis, libri tres.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- VALLÉS, Francisco de. 1582, 1590. *Controversiarum medicarum et philosophicarum libri decem.* Francofurti ad Moenum: Hearedes Andreae Wecheli.– HSA.
- VASAEUS, Joannes & Francisco TARAFÁ. 1603. *Rerum hispanicarum chronicon.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- VERARDUS, Carolus. 1603. *Expugnatio regni granatae.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- VIPERANI, Giovanni Antonio [Bishop of Giovenazzo]. 1603. *De obtenta portugalía a rege catholico Philippo historia.* Francofurti.– HSA.
- WASERO THURINGO, Casparo. 1625. *Grammatica Hebraea, Etymologia & Syntaxis absoluta.* Francofurti: Aubrios & Clementem Schleich.– HAB.
- ZIEGLER, Philippus. 1617. *America.* Franckfurt am Mayn: Nicolaum Hoffman.– HSA.
- ZIMARAE, Marci Antonii. 1626. *Philosophi Antri Magico-Medici. Pars Secunda. In qua Arcana naturae, sympathiae & antipathiae rerum in Plantis, animalibus, animaliumque morbis & partibus, signature internae rerum, sine vera & viua anatomia maioris & minoris mundi, Imaginum & Figurarum Magicarum constructio, erectio & effectus admirandi, omniumque corporis humani morborum, inprimis Podagrae, Hydrophia, Pestis epidemiae, & Cancris exulceratio cura Hermetica, Specifica, Characteristica, & Magnetica, (adspersa etiam Galenica) continentur. Accesserunt Portae Intelligentiarum Sine Canones Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum, Arabum, Aegyptiorum, Orphicorum, Pythagoraeorum, Graecorum & Latinorum priscorum, quibus omnis veterum sophorum Sapiencia, hactenus occultata, in apertam lucem producta,*

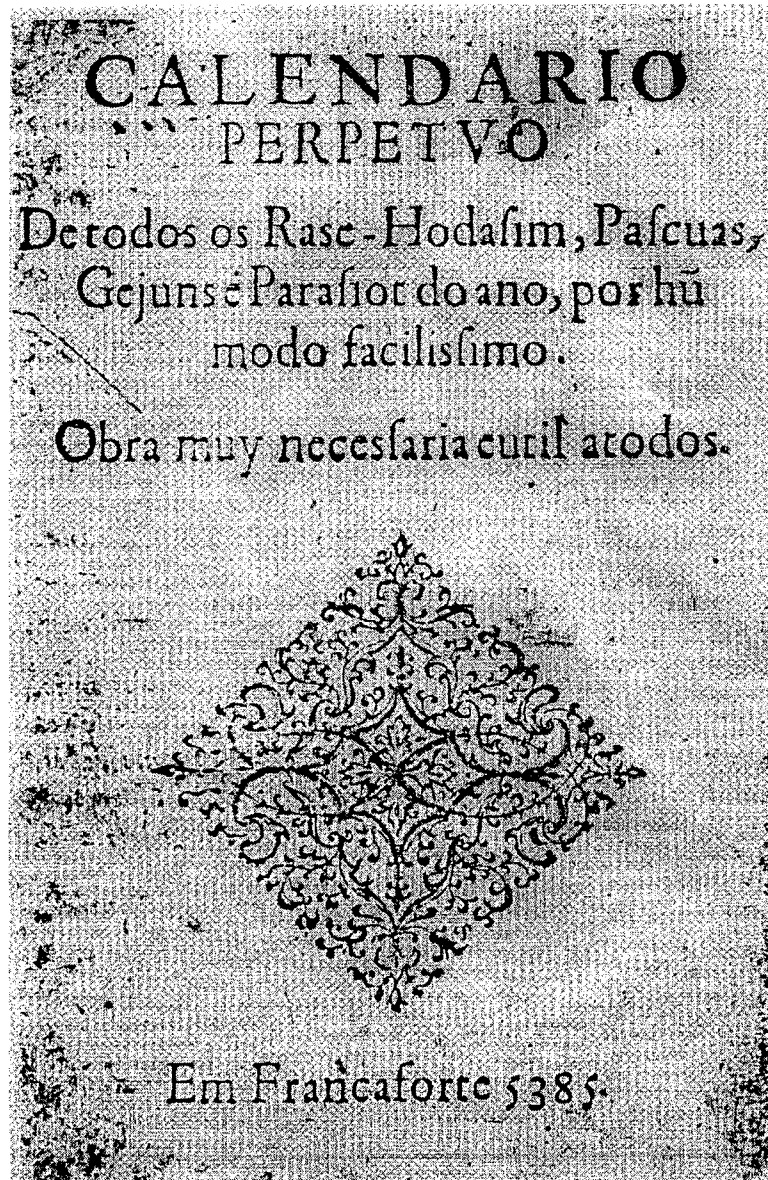
filiis verae doctrinae proponitur. Et Canones Hermetici De Spiritu.
 Francofurti: Typis & Sumptibus Wecheliorum, apud Danielem &
 Davidem Aubrios, & Clementem Schleichium.

ZURITA Y CASTRO, Jerónimo. 1606. *Indices rerum ab Aragoniae regibus gestarum ab initiis regni ad annum MCDX* [and other works]. Francofurti.– HSA.

Ben Israel's, Ben Simeon's, Cáceres', Modena's, Maimonides' and the converso Cardoso's Frankfurt-based publications, in addition to Abenatar Melo's¹⁸ and Mussaphia's (n. 2 above), give specific credibility to the city's attraction as a major publishing emporium eager to print works of Sephardic culture.

Several complementary entries may also support our argument: Rodrigo de Castro's 1614 *Medicus-Politicus* was published at Cologne (NUC) and also Hamburg that same year (Ex bibliopolio Frobeniano) (NUC); a *Calendario Perpetuo de todos os Rase-Hodasim ...* was printed at Frankfurt in 5385 (= 1625/1626; YUSML); Abraham Zacuto's 1629 edition of *De medicorum principium historia: Libri sex*, was printed in Cologne (Coloniae Agrippinae) by the Johannis Frederici Stam Press (NUC); R. de Castro's 1668 *Tractatus de natura muliebri seu disputationes ac lectiones Pisanae. Nunc primum in lucem editu* was published at Frankfurt by Hermannum a Sande (NUC); and a second edition of Menasseh Ben-Israel's *De Resurrectione Mortuorum: Libri Tres*, saw first light at Emilio Spinnikir's Dutch Gronigen press in 1676 (HSA). Suffice it to say, it would be difficult to argue that Catholic Cologne Lutheran, Frankfurt (with its strong Calvinist-inspired printing business), and Hamburg, and Calvinist Dutch Gronigen were veiled places of publication for Calvinist Amsterdam. In addition, Casparus Barthius' Latin translation of Gaspar Gil Polo's *La Diana enamorada* (1625), under the title *Erotodidasalus. Sive, Nemoralium: Libri V, cum figuris aeneis*, was printed at Hannover by the reputable Calvinist printers: «Typis Wechelians, apud Danielem & Davidem Aubrios & Clementem Schleichium» (HSA).

¹⁸ Other Spanish-language contemporary translations of the *Psalms* are Antonio de CÁCERES, *Paraphrasis de los Psalmos de David* (Lisboa 1616; HAB TC 4° 40), and the anon. and Christianized *Los Psalmos de David y otros* (Amsterdam: Iacob Wachter, 1625; BNM U8529).



Anon., *Perpetual Calendar of Jewish Holidays* (Frankfurt 1625/1626), originally in the YUSML Collection; currently lost.

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- BEN ISRAEL, Menasseh. 1635. *De Creatione Problemata xxx*. Amsterdam: Typis & sumptibus Auctoris.— HAB 1034.29 Th. (3).
- . 1632. *Conciliator, sive De Convenientia locorum S. Scripturae, quae pugnare inter se videntur. Opus ex vetustis, & recentioribus omnibus Rabbiniis, magna industria, ac fide congestum. / Esto es Conciliador, o De la conveniencia de los Lugares de la Santa Escripura, que repugnant entre sí parecen. Obra así de los antiguos, como modernos sabios, con grande industria, y fe coligida*. Francofurti: Auctoris impensis.
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- . [1603] (Hamb.), 1604 (Hamb.), 1614 (Coloniae). *De universa mulierum morborum medicina, novo et antehac a nemine tentato ordine opus absolutissimum ...* 2 vols. Hamburgi: Frobeniano.— HAB 17 Medica.
- . 1617 *De universa muliebrium morborum medicina ... Pars prima theorica [= Pars secunda] ... In quibus cuncta, quae ad mulieris naturam, anatomen, semen, menstruum, conceptum, uteri gestationem, foetus formationem, & hominis ortum attinet ... explicantur*. 2 ed. auctior et emendatior. Hamburgi: Ex bibliopolio Frobeniano.— NUC.
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