



Carro Triumphal:

Pizarro, Genres and Jewish Historiography in 17th c. Amsterdam

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Pizarro, los géneros y la historiografía Sefardí en la Ámsterdam del siglo XVII

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Cómo citar este trabajo | How to cite this paper

Gutwirth, Eleazar. (2020). *Carro Triumphal: Pizarro, Genres and Jewish Historiography in 17th c. Amsterdam*. *Meldar: Revista internacional de estudios sefardíes*, 1, 43-64. <https://doi.org/10.46661/meldar.4901>

Abstract

In this article there is an attempt to offer a new reading of the work entitled *Cesáreo carro triumphal: En que gloriosamente campean por el orbe las invencibles armas del Maximo Emperador Leopoldo I. de este nombre, por la feliz restauración de la real fortaleza de Buda, conquistada en 2 de sept. de 1686* by Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros. Its components paratexts and ideas are analyzed. An historical and historiographic context is reconstructed to help in its comprehension.

Key words: Jewish historiography (17th century); Amsterdam Sephardim; *Cesáreo carro triumphal*; Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros.

Resumen

El artículo trata de ofrecer una nueva lectura de la obra intitulada *Cesáreo carro triumphal: En que gloriosamente campean por el orbe las invencibles armas del Maximo Emperador Leopoldo I. de este nombre, por la feliz restauración de la real fortaleza de Buda, conquistada en 2. de sept. de 1686*, de Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros. Se trata de analizar sus componentes, paratextos e ideas. Se reconstruye un contexto histórico e historiográfico para su comprensión.

Palabras clave: Historiografía judía s. XVII; sefardíes de Ámsterdam; *Cesáreo carro triumphal*; Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros.

Recepción: 19.05.2020

Aceptación: 27.10.2020

Publicación: 15.12.2020

Cesáreo carro triumphal is a book published in Amsterdam in ca. April 1687. It is basically an account of the war which led to the end of Ottoman rule in Budapest. But it is the brief appendix at the end, known as Memorial, which has attracted attention and diverse readings. Apologetics, journalism, *Denkschrift*, *geschickte Fälschung*, *Tendenzschrift*: after surveying the research, readers might be left with the impression that these are “the last words” on (or only possible readings of) the Memorial and Pizarro’s *Carro*.¹ They imply that a discussion of it as history, as part of an Hispano-Jewish tradition of historiography² or of historiography from a Jewish perspective in a formerly converso milieu is not to be attempted. Commonplaces about Jewish disinterest in contemporary or non-Jewish history may have played a role.

In the following lines an attempt is made to present a different reading. Firstly, by paying attention to the paratexts (not only the Memorial, but also) the Dedication, the title, Prologue, De Barrios’ *octavas*. Subsequently, an analysis of some passages in the *Carro* will try to bring into relief its connection to history writing. A section on its Jewish perspective is followed by an observation from the perspective of *Histoire du Livre*.

It is interesting to note how ideas about the *Carro*, sometimes presented as recent innovations, may be traced back to the nineteenth century. In the 1880s, Mangold (1887) described the “Memorial” – a relatively brief text of a few pages at the end of the whole *Carro* – as a “falsification” (because unoriginal and deriving from Cardoso) aiming to show the Jewish loyalty to rulers. This question of the historian’s “readings” needs some elaboration. In the 1950s and 60s, Caro Baroja (1978) approached the question of Sephardi/ex-converso history of ideas from his particular and peculiar standpoint – what he called “ethnic psychology”. Nevertheless, he was helpful in pointing out the nexus between the seventeenth and the sixteenth century, between writings of former conversos in Amsterdam and their antecedents in Ferrara, between Menasse b. Israel, Aboab’s *Nomologia* and Samuel Usque’s *Consolation*. It became clear that Amsterdam writings by returning conversos should be analyzed not in isolation but by attention to the history of reading, to antecedents and to sources. Myriam Silvera (1991) showed how Cardoso’s *Excelencias* was being read by historians such as Basnage. The lesson was that the historian’s readings were not limited by genres and that the use of (a source of the Memorial in the *Carro*, namely) Cardoso’s *Las excelencias de los Hebreos* (Amsterdam, 1679) did not impugn the classification of Basnage as historian. In an informed and informative series of articles (1997a, 1997b) Díaz

¹ *Cesáreo carro triumphal: En que gloriosamente campean por el orbe las invencibles armas del Maximo Emperador Leopoldo I. de este nombre, por la feliz restauración de la real fortaleza de Buda, conquistada en 2. de sept. de 1686.* There is as yet no evidence to support suspicions that Pizarro is De Barrios’ pseudonym. In any case, the text itself is the focus here.

² For the existence and coherence of such a historiography see, for example, Gutwirth (2003, 2015).

Esteban touched directly on the question of the *Carro*. For him, it was interesting as a European perception of the fall of the Ottoman rule of Budapest but mostly as an example of a “genre” namely “apologetics” to show “the Jewish loyalty to rulers” or the “Jews as a chosen people”. While the twentieth century readers of Pizarro’s *Carro* seem unaware of, and without access to, Samuel Kohn (1887) and Lajos Mangold,³ it is clear that they are reopening the debates of 1880s Budapest. Kayserling (1890, p. xiv) had already remarked on this as a specific literary type when asserting that

Très grand est le nombre des écrits apologétiques et polémiques, composés par des Juifs qui s'étaient enfuis d'Espagne et de Portugal et s'étaient établis en Italie et dans les Pays-Bas, et dont la plus grande partie, c'est-à-dire les écrits de Montalto, de Morteira, de Orobio de Castro, de Pizarro, et de plusieurs écrivains anonymes, sont encore en manuscrit [!!!]. Aux ouvrages imprimés appartiennent la «Nomologia» de Imanuel Aboab (1629), l'oeuvre de Juan Carrascon et Abraham Peregrino (1633), «las humildas [sic] suplicasiones» de Menasseh ben Israel (1655), «Fuente Clara», «las Excelencias y Calumnias de los Hebreos» de Yshac Cardoso (1679), et la «Repuesta» de David Nieto (1723). A ce genre se range aussi le «Tratado da calumnia» de B. Nahmias de Castro (1629), et la traduction de l'ouvrage polémique de Josèphe contre Apion, faite par le capitaine Joseph Semah Arias (1687).

Some of the problems with Mangold’s theory and its followers are clear: to assert that a political manifesto (such as the *Carro*’s Memorial presented by a newly conquered population to a grasping soldier, General Schoening) or a politician’s speech is not his own original composition; that there is another writer behind such texts (what is known as a “ghost writer”?) is not particularly surprising or enlightening. Quite on the contrary. To claim that the only reading, generic classification or tendency is “apologetics” is problematic for other reasons: a historiography devoid of apologetics, polemics, ideologies at this date would be hard to imagine whether in Protestant or in Catholic Europe. In addition, the specific preoccupation with the correct attitude to the rulers could be traced from the *Testaments* (Old and New) through Josephus (perhaps also Philo and Aristaeus) and the *Talmud* through the middle ages and, some readers would argue, to our own day. Such a broad, all encompassing category is far too vague to be meaningful as “a genre”.

When discussing “apologetics” at this date, it may be useful, nevertheless, to understand what classic apologetics entail in this period. The seventeenth century is the age of

³ Mangold (1887: 133): “[...] das auch auf der Jubiläums-Ausstellung ausgestellte spanische Werk des Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros, welches auch ein Festgedicht auf die Rückeroberung Ofens aus der Feder des spanisch-jüdischen Dichters Miguel de Barrios enthält, eine geschickte Fälschung sei; die am Schluß des Werkes stehende Notiz, wonach die in Ofen ansässig gewesenen Juden während der Belagerung dem General Schoening (soll heißen: Schoening) ein Memorandum bezüglich ihrer Treue und Loyalität überreicht hätten, ist gleichfalls aus der Luft gegriffen. Das Ganze ist eine vielleicht von dem insgeheim auch dem jüdischen Glauben angehörenden Pizarro de Oliveros verfasste Tendenzschrift zu Gunsten seiner spanischen Glaubensgenossen, welche die Behauptung erhärten sollte, dass die Juden stets und überall, besonders aber in Spanien ihren Pflichten als getreue Unterthanen nachgekommen seien”.

frequently studied compositions such as Modena's *Historia de' riti hebraici* (written ca. 1614/5 but published in 1637) and Simone Luzzatto, *Discorso sopra il stato degli Hebrei* (1638).⁴ They are studied so repeatedly not only because of their availability and accessibility but because of their weight and influence – not least visible in Amsterdam – and the challenges in explaining it. Recent treatments have underlined their connection to (economic and social studies written centuries later) Sombart, Weber and beyond. This is the case especially since Riccardo Bachi's seminal analysis of economic and political thought in the *Discorso*. This holds even after the reasonable argument that they were echoing sixteenth century texts. How serious is the "apologetic" strain as an explanation of Weber and Sombart? Could it be that the unexplored frame of the Memorial (i.e. the *Carro*) is significant?

What seems to emerge is an image of seventeenth century Jewry exhibiting increased awareness of economic and political thought. The classicist Yochanan Lewy identified the Greco-Roman classical allusions in the *Discorso*. These include Tacitus, i.e. a prime source of political thought in the seventeenth century. Both classical and modern citations coexist. Bachi analyzed the significance of these sources on political thought; both, classical (Plato, Aristotle, Tacitus) and modern. He thought Machiavelli and Botero were read and influential. For Bachi, Luzzatto's economic ideas were "the most original, interesting and important part" of the *Discorso*. If we look at the recent works on them such as that of Veltri (2009), we notice immediately its attempt to approach Modena's *Ritti* not as apologetics, ethnology and theology but rather as political philosophy. Although the relation between the *Riti* and the *Discorso* is a perennial issue, Veltri finds and isolates the precise paragraph where Modena expresses his awareness of (unacknowledged?) borrowings by others, probably Luzzatto. Luzzatto's awareness of economic and political thought is abundantly clear (Ravid, 1978). By this date, *raggione di stato* was no longer an Italian monopoly. The reason why all this apparently "Italian problematic" is so directly relevant to late seventeenth century Amsterdam converso/Jewish texts in Spanish – and not in Italian – has to do with the genealogy of the *Carro's* Memorial's ideas which usually tends to begin with Menasseh ben Israel. Bachi discusses at some length the influence of the *Discorso* on Menasseh.⁵ If the *Carro* draws on a tradition of thought on economics and politics of this quality, the label "apologetics" obfuscates the issue.

⁴ Bachi in Luzzatto (1950). On Bachi cf. Ratti (1961).

⁵ For Veltri (2009), "The silence of scholarship seems even more remarkable if we consider that Luzzatto was, for a time, a standard of reference for Jewish political thought, beginning with Manasseh ben Israel and Baruch Spinoza" or, p. 221: "Manasseh ben Israel tacitly adopted Luzzatto's arguments in his *De fidelitate et utilitate Judaicae gentis libellus anglicus*". See also Penslar (1997: 26) who maintains that "Economic arguments are central to the two most significant producers of Jewish apologetic texts of the century: [...] Luzzatto and Menasseh ben Israel [...] Like Luzzatto, Menasseh ben Israel also petitioned for Jewish residency rights, [...] The similarities between the works derive [...] from the fact that Menasseh

In other words, if we see the *Carro's* appendix as a derivative of – or part of the Spanish language genre begun by – Menasse ben Israel we could benefit from attention to its context, sources, antecedents and precedents. The logic here is distinctly textual or, rather, “bookish”. In the real world such ideas (*raison d'état*, mercantilism) were in existence earlier, in the circles of rulers in power. Here it may suffice to recall the formulations of the *Comendador mayor de León* in 1609.⁶ His sentence is not a systematic, “philosophical”, sustained, “original”, argument. It derives its significance from completely unacademic factors. Its length is not the point. It stands out precisely because it is embedded in what Herrero Sánchez (2016) has defined as “un discurso de marcado talante antisemita”. It is not a printed book accessible on the shelves but has only been found by research into the MS documents of the Estado section of the AGS. No one would argue that a statement at a Council of State is less influential on events than a philosophical treatise no matter how polished and sophisticated. Quite the contrary. And we might ask how deep is the difference between that and the notorious “Israel is like the Sun”. That is to say that economic and political thought was present in thinking about the Sephardim in 1609 long before the classic apologetics.

There is, of course, the question of language. Some treatments of the history of ideas assume – somewhat unrealistically – that all readers everywhere in the seventeenth century could *and would* read German, Spanish, Italian, etc. That is why, in thinking about the Spanish language *Carro*, and the tradition in which it belongs, Spanish language texts are a better type of evidence and the intellectual genealogy constituted by works in Spanish (Menasse ben Israel, Aboab, Cardoso) has merit. This is where the notions of “original” vs. non-original become rather tenuous and not only because, as has been seen, polemics and apologetics did not acknowledge sources and do not follow such a distinction. In other words, we have to take translations into account simply because they facilitate or enable access and this would mean paying attention even to such works as the Spanish *Contra Apionem* (Fernandez Marcos, 1994). Secondly, there is a book which deals with “ritos”, loyalty, political and economic ideas throughout and long before Modena, Menasseh and

ben Israel read and was influenced by Luzzatto's *Discorso* (26). Both works placed the issue of Jewish rights squarely within the framework of utility [...]”.

⁶ Herrero Sánchez (2016): “En su voto particular, y con un discurso de marcado talante antisemita en el que se enfatizaban, no obstante, los beneficiosos efectos económicos que entrañaba el hecho de contar con un entramado tan dinámico, el Comendador mayor de León, apostaba en estos términos por seguir facilitando su salida del reino: «Que aunque es así que esta gente enriquece la tierra donde vive con sus tratos y granujerías se sabe también que son ricos y tienen sus tratos y correspondencia con los rebeldes después Su Majestad es muy deservido [...] porque siendo bautizados se van a apostatar a Salonique y a otros partes y [...] no halla inconveniente en la licencia que se les ha dado pase adelante porque entiende que cuanto menos hubiere de esta gente será mejor»”.

Luzatto. To be sure, Bachi strenuously emphasized – not entirely without reason – the difference between the *Shevet Yehuda* and the *Discorso*.

The *Shevet Yehuda* is, no doubt, a problematic work in many respects. It is also – not least in its *faux naïf* poses – much less turgid and more enthralling than the apologetes and polemicists.⁷ If the Hebrew *editio princeps* (believed to be of 1552-4) was predominantly for internal use, the *Vara de Juda*, the Spanish translation by M. DeL[eon] (1640) would have increased its potential readership particularly in Amsterdam where it continued to be reedited as late as e.g. 1744.⁸ There is no doubt that this reading public included returning conversos. A brief example of its relevance to “Ritos” or “Riti” concerns the section on the hardy perennial question of wine of libation.⁹ One cannot deny its concern with both loyalty and “ritos” in this paragraph, a concern which reappears in numerous parallels throughout the book. The economic perspective in the *Vara* is similarly prominent in a passage where the king is offered advice on how to avoid the destruction of the Jews of Spain.¹⁰ The negative attitude to finance and money-lending (famous in Luzatto) is already given space in the *Vara*.

What the readers of modern national European languages would have found in the *Vara de Juda*, from 1640 onwards, would be an arsenal of economic and political ideas and arguments in a modern, national language of Europe which at this time – and since the sixteenth century – was being learnt and acquired not only by Spaniards. Spanish literature, similarly, inspired creative works throughout Europe. Amsterdam readers of Spanish would have found in the book particular twists or formulations of ideas and thought on categories such as lineage, as e.g. in one of its fictitious dialogues at the royal court.¹¹ The

⁷ See for example Gutwirth (1988, 2020).

⁸ Solomon Ibn Verga, *La vara de Juda*, 1744.

⁹ The interesting Amsterdam 1744 translation reads (p. 23): “Dixo Tomas assi és, sin duda, y contaré lo que acontecio a tu padre diziendo a un Iudio, medico suyo, ohi dezir que nos teneis por inmundos, y por esto os guardais de que toquemos en vuestro vino, consiente Dios tal cosa? Respondio el medico; Senor estás enfermo, y no ay para que tratar sino de tu salud, traygan agua para lavarte los pies, que te hará provecho, y despues responderé a la pregunta: luego que acabó de lavarle los pies bebio aquella misma agua: lo que viendo el Rey le dixo, ya respondiste a lo que te pregunté, dixeron los grandes que no lo entendian; replico el medico; que es más inmundos aquello, con que lavan los pies que lo que tocó en la mano o la cara? pues si esto, que hacemos, fuera por via de inmundicia, no bebiera yo el agua del baño; Dixo Alonso: Razon tuuo el medico, y devia de ser bien entendido”.

¹⁰ Ib. p. 24: “Dixo el Rey a Tomas, que me aconsejas que haga con los Iudios, por que no sean destruidos entre este pueblo. Respondio Tomas: mi consejo es que mandes hechar pregon en el Reyno, que todas las heredades, que posseen los Iudios, por causa de usura, buelvan a sus dueños [...] y más que ningun Iudio vista seda [...]”.

¹¹ Ib. p. 26: “[...] el Rey habló a Tomas... tambien te premiaré, con condicion que me traigas este Abrabanel, si está en la ciudad, y si estuviere ausente, escriuele en mi nombre. Respondio Tomas, tendras gusto de hablar con el, y más que es descendiente de la casa Real, replico el Rey, esto es falso, que alo que vemos, ya se acabó toda esta descendencia, quando vino Nabucodonosor contra ellos [...]”.

famous conceit of Abravanel's royal lineage is here incrustated into a conversation between Christian monarch and scholastic courtier. The deft addition of dramatic tension turned it into a debate where the character of the usually benevolent king is irked by the hint that Abravanel's lineage is older than his own, while the character of the usually malicious scholastic courtier takes pleasure in irritating the king by supporting the hybrid claim (Abravanel's royal descent and the royal or Judean descent of all Jews of Sefarad).¹² Luzatto's arguments about pagan licentiousness – as opposed to Jewish purity – might be prefigured in the *Vara*'s first chapter about the Egyptian Cleopatra and the Roman who lusted after her body as is the way of “flesh and blood” [*basar wa-dam*].¹³

A modern treatment of seventeenth century Spanish political ideas on the conquest of Buda has to make repeated use of Pizarro's work (De Bunes Ibarra, 1988). Like the *Vara*, so the *Carro* too, is not devoid of political ideas, although for some reason the analyses pay little attention to its views on justice, freedom, reason and tyranny. These are political categories which have been revealed through studies on historical evidence: that provided by other Sephardi texts of the same period as the *Carro* and indeed in precisely the same networks in Amsterdam (Gutwirth, 2001).

SPAIN / PARATEXT

Apart from the Memorial we discussed, another paratext is the Dedication of the *Carro Triumphal* signed April 15, 1687. The content of the book is described in this Dedication¹⁴ to Cossio. The figure of the Inquisitor of Logroño and Bishop of Salamanca and his relation to the author of the book has not been made clear in the few brief mentions of the *Carro*. And yet, the bishop's presence is quite explicit in the *Carro*'s dedication to “don José de Cossío y

¹² Ib. p. 26: “[...] replicó Tomas: Sabe, señor, que quando fue Nabucodonosor a Ierusalen, le acompañaron Reyes poderosos para ayudarle, por temor que del tenían, porque dominava entonces en el mundo, o por el odio, que tenía a los Iudios, y a su ley: el mayor fue el Rey Ispano [...] Y de la division segunda a la tercera [de Ierusalen] estauan todos los descendientes de la casa Real de la semilla de David y los sacerdotes, ministros del Templo, y quando se repartio Ierusalen entre estos Reyes [...] la parte terçera diò a Pirro y a Ispano. Este Pirro embarcó en navios todos los cautiuos y lleuolos a España la antigua, que es la Andaluzia [...]”.

¹³ Ib. p. 2: “Cleopatra Reyna de Egipto [...] divulgada ya la fama de su hermosura en la tierra, y codiciada del Cesar la tomó por muger, pero fue con condicion que repudiasse su muger primera, que tenía en Roma, y assi lo hizo; y como la repudiada era hermana de Otaviano Cesar, viendo los Consules de Roma esta vileza acordaron de quitar la corona a Antonio [...]”.

¹⁴ *Carro*, Dedicatoria: “[...] este Libro, en que à costosas expenssas de el cuydado, juntando todos los avissos que pude, relato con algun adòrno las particularidades que Diariamente fueron acaeciendo en el Memorable Asedio, desde el principio hasta el fin de aquel Sangriento Cerco de la Inexpugnable Fortaleza de Buda [...]” [p. IX].

Varreda, Obispo de Salamanca" [p. V]. This lack of attention is probably the simple result of nothing more than the precariousness of readily available biographical material. It may therefore be of some use to note that in 1656 Cossio's name appears in a litigation against Paredes (the Bishop of Oviedo; Count of Noronha,) where Paredes is accused of misappropriating funds and conferring dignities on his "criados". Cossio moved to Salamanca and is known by various titles or offices such as "Fiscal, Inquisidor de Logroño, Presidente de Navarra y Obispo de Salamanca". In 1689, Andrés de Sierra published his *Oracion funebre en las honras que la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de Salamanca hizo... en la muerte de su amado Obispo... D. Joseph de Cossio Barreda*. Like the bishop, Sierra came from the North West – he had been born in Santillana del Mar in 1649. Belonging to the Augustinian order, he was a preacher and taught Arts at the University of Salamanca. The Spanish envoy in Amsterdam [*español que reside en estas provincias*] at that date was a Navarran from Pamplona, don Joseph de Aldaz y Aguirre. Rather than any personal acquaintance of Antonio Pizarro de Oliveros with the inquisitor/bishop Cossio, it was the link of the bishop, Cossio, to Pamplona that explains the Pamplonan (Aldaz's) advice to address the dedication to Cossio. Indeed, there has survived an *Elogio lyrico: al muy noble señor don Joseph de Aldaz y Aguirre y Narvaez, natural de la imperial ciudad de Pamplona* by Miguel de Barrios.

Miguel de Barrios y del Valle (1635-1706), or Daniel Leví de Barrios is also the author of a poetic description of Hungary (integral part of the *Carro*) in thirty-five *octavas*. It is called "*Triunfo cesareo en la descripcion universal de Panonia y conquista de la ciudad... a 2. de septiembre de 1686*". Moolik's visceral reaction to De Barrios is worth citing for its uncensored frankness:

His histories turn out to be hurried summaries with interminable lists of rulers. The geographical descriptions follow a repetitious pattern that includes boundaries, coats of arms, geographic accidents, and cities. Influential families connected to the regions are singled out for praise. There are long series of proper names of people and places. The dates, time, latitude and longitude, and other such data, however ingeniously contrived, are somewhat unwieldy in verse (Moolik, 1964).¹⁵

There is certainly a pattern here and its innovative or personal character – arguably – resides in structuring and organizing allusive analogies to bible and classical lore. One of the main problems for present day readers, then, is the hyperbole which compares space, territories to consecrated texts. The excessive ostentatious display of acquaintance with biblical and Greco-Roman lore in the thirty five *octavas* tends to irritate today's critics. This, therefore, necessitates a reconstruction of cultural background.

¹⁵ It hardly needs to be added that there is an immense bibliography on the author but as it concentrates on compositions other than this paratext it is less than relevant here.

Indeed, both de Barrios and Pizarro need to be seen against the background of a European reaction, in the arts, to the conquest of Buda. In his prologue, Pizarro himself asserts: "...quando otras naciones han dado diversos panegiricos a la imprenta..." [p. XV] or "*libros que hasta aora [sic] en diversos idiomas se han impresso*" [p. XVI], so that this is consciously a work which, on one level, presents itself as part of a transnational, multinational European movement of celebration and panegyric. Poetry – such as De Barrios' – is only one aspect. Painting and theatre are further aspects. Thus, for example, Orsolya Réthelyi (2014) studies "Buda's Reconquest (1686) and the Image of Hungarians, Ottomans and Habsburgs in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drama". As he writes: "The liberation of Buda also triggered widespread literary production in the lyric, epic and dramatic genres, featuring songs, fictive letters, gallant novellas, apocryphal memoirs, plays and operas written in many languages". A Hungarian repertory from 1936 lists more than 1600 contemporary written accounts in numerous languages and 260 graphic representations of the events. Since then, numerous previously unknown pamphlets, news accounts, prints and diaries have come to light. Palensteyn's play (1686) was one of these reactions. In it: "The chorus of Jewish women probably receives a role in Palensteyn's play as reference to the tragic fate of the Jewish population of Buda, who – along with other civilians of different ethnic groups, including women – were forced to defend the town together with the soldiers. News of the Jewish population fighting along with the Ottomans caused pogroms in several towns, e.g. Padua..." (Ibid).

Similarly, in Spain, there were also dramatic, theatrical reactions. "La restauración de Buda" by Francisco Antonio Bances Candamo was performed on 15/11/1686 in the "saloncete del Buen Retiro". Hyperbole was not lacking: "*joh gran Carlos de Lorena, / cuyo nombre resuena / de la fama en los bronces inmortales / que eterno harán el eco en los anales!*" (Duarte Lueiro, 2005). When we read Pizarro's or De Barrios' praises in Spanish we might also bear in mind other Spanish reactions to the event such as the *auto sacramental* "La restauración de Buda" by Pedro Lanini y Sagredo (ed. I. Arellano, 2017) where we find the following passages: "*Carlos, Duque de Lorena que es Cristo / El príncipe de Saboya que es san Pablo / El duque de Baviera que es san Pedro / Abdi Bajá de Buda que es el demonio / Arlaja, dama turca que es la Gentilidad / La Sinagoga, o Judas que es el Judaísmo...*" In the *Auto* there is a role for the Jews: "...*Sinagoga: Y en lo alegórico cabe / que a lo real, lo figurado/de la alegoría pase...*".

The paratext/dedication/prologue is worth reading because it enlightens us as to further aspects of the *Carro*. The tone of extreme humility is clear in Pizarro. Pizarro's mention of the possibility of censorship is equally rhetorical – cf. "*Zoylos*" – but at the same time it may well be real: the *zoylos* are a frequent feature of Penso's rhetoric. In a work linked to the seventeenth century community of Amsterdam, renowned for its sensitivity to the practical effect of texts touching on religion, there may be more than pure rhetoric in these concerns.

Above all, the Baroque aspect introduced in these preliminaries relies on a dense texture of ostentatious displays of elements of the classical tradition. The vaunt of acquaintance with it sometimes leads to such excesses as: “...que à pesár de la mordazidad de los Zoylos, pueda competir con las de Apeles, Trimantes, Phidias, y Policleto en Gallardia” [p. VIII]. But other paratexts are equally telling. The very title of the work harks back to Petrarch and the whole subsequent tradition of *Triumph* and Chariots resuscitated by the poet in the fourteenth century. It has conceivably some Sephardi antecedents in the fifteenth century poem from jail by Moses Remos from Mallorca (where the construction of a literary procession of the liberal arts has been compared to a triumph). Clearer would be the relation to (the descendant of the Benvenistes) Doña Gracia’s entry into Constantinople in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁶ More obvious, as an antecedent, is Daniel Levi de Barrios’ own composition “Triumphal Carro de la Perfeccion”, in the similarly resonant *Triumpho del Gobierno Popular* (Amsterdam, 1673). By the late seventeenth century, the “triumph” could have some visual dimensions not only in painting but also in architecture. Once this history of ideas and sensibilities is reconstructed, Pizarro’s beginning, his first lines become less bizarre. He invokes the example or model of the classics, the ancient artists who would place their compositions high up on a column, either to find taste in “the sublime” (interesting reference to this aesthetic category at this date and place) – or to hide their defects. This elevated place – simile for the elevated status of the bishop to whom the Dedication of the *Carro* is addressed – is described as *una Hermosa Jaspeada Columna* [p. VII]. Most Spaniards – but particularly in Pamplona, so near Saragossa – would have recognized the resonances of the column or *pilar* which gives its name to the image of the Virgin at Saragossa’s cathedral. No other explanations or analogues have been suggested by the *Carro*’s readers. Seventeenth century works such as *Fundacion milagrosa de la Capilla angelica... de la Madre de Dios del Pilar* (Barcelona, 1616) by Diego Murillo (1555-1616) expanded and amplified the column’s symbolic meaning. It had theological virtues but also – because of the *jaspe* – virtues appertaining to the realm of natural philosophy, as in the *jaspe*’s medicinal effects. This brings into relief the element of the absences; in this case the absence of explicit references to the Virgin or the Seo which inspire the rhetorical variant.

De Barrios’ poem is an additional paratextual element which – like the title, the dedication, the memorial/Appendix – accompanies the work. Pizarro refers to it as “corona de preciosos engastes para el esplendor de esta Historia” [p. XIX]. As poems introducing a book do, this one also praises the *Carro*, of course. But the poem coheres with the book in other ways too. As in the dedication by Pizarro, here too, in De Barrios, we find the Baroque ostentatious displays of classical school room lore.

¹⁶ Asenjo (2015: 9): “En las celebraciones de efemérides, los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús coinciden en lo fundamental con otras instituciones educativas. Así es en el uso de Carros triunfales...”.

Most significant, from our point of view here, are the clear allusions to a Jewish component. Thus De Barrios compares, tacitly, the German victor to Julius Caesar by the simple analogy to the *Gallic War*. It resonates with the contemporary: “*Callen todas las historias pues les obliga a silencio el mirar oy la mayor que han conocido los tiempos. Suspenda Roma sus triunfos y sus victorias Pompeyo, Julio Cesar el valor y Numancia sus empeños*” (p. 2) (Leonetti, 2015). Most pointed by contrast is the poem – in the *octavas* by Miguel de Barrios (after the *Prólogo al lector* and resonating with Cesar’s *Galia*) – about the Buda ghetto, an uncommon motif in Spanish poetry: “*en tres partes divisa se pregona... y la tercera del judayco gueto*” [p. XIX]. He includes the Jewish ghetto as one of the three parts into which Budapest is divided: He had prepared the way by introducing – amidst the plethora of allusions to Greco Roman lore – Old Testament figures and allusions. In general, the impression is that these Old Testament analogies are given precedence over the classical ones. Amongst the apparently biblical allusions: “*Por ti Azquenaz que en regio sol brillas / llamo el Panonio Achanez a sus reyes*” [p. XXIII] has to do with the tradition (in Yosippon and his followers) of myths of origin and biblical toponyms as interpreted in post biblical literature. It is a tradition which intensifies in fifteenth century Spain where e.g. Maqueda and Escalona are compared to biblical toponyms. This can hardly be subsumed under stereotypes of Hungary. “*...Osiris es el que Moysen nomina Hus*” [Ib.] or “*el brioso Cimran¹⁷ hijo excelente de Abraham y su primo Idlaph¹⁸, al rio Erlaph*” or “*Peleg de Ava esposo amado*” [Ib.]; “*la Ley que de Sem les da justicia*” [Ib.] or the oft-repeated “*Togarma*”.¹⁹ This biblical, allusive technique in the tradition – ubiquitous after Yosippon – of creating analogues (based on paronomasia or other features) must be emphasized. It prepares the reader for what will follow.

THE CARRO AS HISTORY

In general it could be said that Pizarro introduces into his text and makes explicit his ideals of history writing. This is clear in phrases such as “*relacion puntual y verdadera*” [p. V] or “*historia verdadera*”. It is also what inspires sentences about “*passion*” in opposition to “*consta*” as in the Carro’s “*importa poco que lo diga la passion tan a las claras quando consta patentemente lo contrario*” [p. XVI]. But it is also the evident purpose of his above mentioned pointed and charged visual metaphors in the Dedication. He goes beyond *ut*

¹⁷ i.e. Zimran, as in Gen. 25:2; 1 Chron. 1:32.

¹⁸ Gen. 22:22.

¹⁹ On “*togarmah*” see e.g. Goldenberg (1999: 61). Of course, a host of medieval and renaissance Hebrew texts continue Yosippon’s notions of the genealogy of the descendants of Jepheth. Without attention to this tradition de Barrios would not be understood.

pictura poesis to attempt a (poetic) argument which gives his book the status of real presence, of placing the reader in front of the battlefield.

At the same time, in the prologue he claims a particular national Spanish perspective: Spaniards are close to the House of Austria, hence his interest in the subject. The book itself begins with a geographic description of Buda.²⁰ Here again, one could see this as a usual historian's preoccupation with the place of events. That is to say that events occur somewhere. Geography and history appear here to be complementary and interdependent. These theoretical aspects may be distinct from – and at this date and in that community of readers far more weighty than – the accuracy or originality of the geography. Another contribution derives from the notion, familiar to modern historians, that it is helpful to reconstruct and provide the reader with the past, with the background leading to the individual event that is the subject of the particular composition. We find in the *Carro* that, after his labors on geography, there follows a historical sketch of the history of Buda in the previous two centuries, beginning with the events leading to the Ottoman conquest of Hungary. Neither of the twin aims (reconstructing a geographical and an historical background) are particularly elucidated by reference to “apologetics” or “journalism”. They are however, standard, recognizable, modern historiographic practices. It is, of course, an argument. The book's avowed aim is to describe the siege and victory of the Imperial forces over Ottoman Buda in 1686. One of the structures of the book is the day by day narrative of the siege.

In the “Prólogo al lector” Pizarro asserts that he has authority, he is *graduado en dos facultades* [p. XVIII] and develops the theme of passion in history writing: *sin cegarme la passion*. According to Pizarro, some writers of contemporary history try to heighten the importance of one military personality as opposed to others. Other writers claim that greater than the courage of the Austrians/Germans was the incompetence of the Turks. Others that the siege would have been much shorter had it been carried out by the French. He refers to some of these writers as panegyrist. Pizarro's ideal is not to fall into such debates which he dismisses as “escholasticos”. Both the critique of scholasticism and of passion are recognizable historical ideals in the early modern age. So is the relatively clear and explicit articulation of method. Pizarro tells the readers how he constructed his work. He observed the news of the war as they arrived in Amsterdam day by day for the duration. Then he narrated the history of the war according to these materials: “...hize cuydado desde que se principió aquel Cerco de observar en las Relaciones que à esta Amstelodamica Ciudad venian, todo lo que en el, dia por dia, iba sucediendo...” [p. XVI]. Rather than *composing*

²⁰ For a different reading see Sánchez Jiménez (2017), who sees the geographic interest as linked to De Barrios contacts with the Atlas mayor of the Blaeus. For the Sephardi tradition of attention to both, realistic and literary geography see, for example Gutwirth (2012, 2013).

Relaciones he is *observing* and basing his narrative and explanations on Relaciones. That is to say that he draws attention to his manner of working, sources, their advantages and limitations – he does not claim to be an ocular witness – and the reader is left with the impression that if his steps were followed a similar result would be achieved. To be sure, the few readers of the *Carro* have not identified the exact sources or *Relaciones*, hence the disproportionate attention to the last pages and the Memorial inspired by Cardoso. And yet, his option for writing about the historian's ideals is of intellectual consequence. At various points he produces primary sources which interrupt the narrative. The procedure could be traced back – in the Spanish tradition – to the chronicles of the fifteenth century but one cannot hide entirely their similarity, *mutatis mutandis*, to the *pièces justificatives*, appendices and documentary supports of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries books of history.

Another generic classification which is suggested by reading recent publications is that of “journalism”. As in the previous case of apologetics, it is helpful and yet somewhat tangential and misformulated in terms of genre. It is helpful in that, despite certain well known aspects, the link between the seventeenth century Amsterdam new cultural phenomenon of the Jewish periodical press (the “Spanish” *Gazeta*) and other seventeenth century Jewish publications needs to be studied. Hilde Pach writes about a possible background to this phenomenon:

The first handwritten newspapers were published in Venice in the sixteenth century, followed soon afterwards in the Low Countries. Intended primarily for businessmen, they mainly contained international news. They used correspondents, frequently businessmen, or – in the case of military news – soldiers. Amsterdam was among the first cities in the world to publish and print newspapers. In 1618 and 1619 two printed newspapers appeared in Amsterdam. This was not accidental. With the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, an urgent need for news was a natural phenomenon... many papers were published – in Dutch, but in other languages as well. The fact that the Dutch Republic enjoyed a large measure of freedom of expression also contributed to this circumstance... At the end of the century, the leading papers were the *Amsterdamse Courant* and the *Haarlemse Courant*, later the *Oprechte Haarlemse Courant*, established in 1656... (Pach, 2008).

The *Gazeta*, then, appears in a place and at a time when journalism was thriving. It was thriving amongst the Jews as well. Both Spanish and Yiddish newspapers were in circulation in the *Carro's* Amsterdam, in the *Carro's* decade, the 1680s. David de Castro Tartas, their publisher, was associated with the Menasseh ben Israel press and with prayerbooks and other ventures characteristic of the Jewish, Sephardi, ex-converso community. Shmuel Schnitzer's article (1987) is an introduction to the historical background of the appearance of the *Gazeta* in terms of its Sephardi/formerly Converso frame. For him, only a Sephardi Jewish public of returning conversos would be the public of Spanish newspapers in Amsterdam. More recently Erzsébet Hanny (2013) studies the subject of “Las

noticias de la guerra contra turcos en Hungría y en Buda en las relaciones españolas del siglo XVII". Drawing on her access to the rich pertinent Hungarian collections, she attends to the journalists' writings on Buda in 1686. For her, a characteristic of these writings is that all the contemporary writers on the subject-German, Italian or Spanish- simply repeated old stereotypes. Their opinions on the Hungarian nation repeated the dominant European vision. For her, the *Carro* belongs in this frame. The focus on Buda in the *Relaciones* of the '80s is amply evidenced by her statistics. One of the advantages of this perspective is that it shows that observers who were polemical, apologetic, ideological – that is, who had "a vision" – and depended for their writings on stereotypes are not a particularity of Amsterdam Jews or of Amsterdam Sephardim but of the whole of Europe: "sólo repitieron estereotipos arraigados".

For us, following recent research on history of journalism, a number of corollaries apply. While standard bibliographic criteria (numbering, periodicity) for defining journalism are justified, a cultural approach recognizes some continuity with what we now realize – thanks to Ettinghausen (2015) – is a large previous stream of MS and printed *Cartas*, *Avisos*, *Relaciones* or individual event descriptions. This would mean that alongside the possible links to Venetian and Dutch journalism, the large and early Spanish phenomenon of proto-journalism can no longer be ignored. This is particularly the case in the *Carro* where the reliance on *Relaciones* is clear and made explicit as has been seen.

The ex-converso readers may have been interested in current events following the Thirty Years War or in the atmosphere of freedom of seventeenth century Amsterdam, even if this is an interpretation of the *Gazetas* and *Courantn*. But there were closer and more specific factors which could have led to this. Aurora Domínguez Guzmán's (1988) study lists twenty-three Spanish *Relaciones* on thirteen different *autos de fe* published between 1601 and 1632. That the ex-converso community would have been particularly interested in the Inquisition is not only commonsensical. It is fully supported by the evidence of liturgical materials printed in seventeenth century Amsterdam even if this material is rarely taken into consideration. Mentions of the Inquisition there are constant. Such an interest could have led to a practice of reading about current events.

A preliminary reading would state the obvious: the narrative is similar to the panegyric of Spanish nobility. But does a list of similar panegyrics elucidate the text? There is something superficial about this approach not only because Pizarro distances himself explicitly from passion and the panegyric, as has been seen, but also because it would miss the main point of the *Carro*. Here, reading the text is most helpful: the Duke of Bejar had suffered a specific, particular wound: "le atravesó una bala, que desde el brazo izquierdo, le sàlia por el espiñaço" [p. 61]. Different was the fate of the Marques de Valero, "despues que recibió un grande golpe con una piedra en el estomago que lo derrivó en el suelo, le alcansó un flechaso en la

tetilla" [p. 61]. There is something in these crude reports – about the “*espinazo*” and the “*tetilla*” – of the atmosphere and language of the field hospital, of medicine’s demand for accuracy in the descriptions of wounds: it is the *flechazo en la tetilla* rather than the commonplaces of the millenarian tradition of the panegyric that arrests the reader’s attention and constitute the register of the composition. To be sure, there is no such zooming on detail in the brief mentions of Jewish victims of war’s atrocities.²¹ This will be understood once we look at the statements of method cited above. But Jewish elements in the *Carro* are not limited to the last pages which were the center of discussion in 1880s Budapest. Their discussions eliminated the other mentions in the *Carro*, for example:

Un hombre que salió de la Ciudad, dió por nuevas, como las bombas havian hecho mucho mal, y que una sola que se abrió, mató mas de cien hombres: Dixo tambien que los Judios no querian defender personalmente la Plaza, y para escusarse de hazerlo, contribuían al Baxá con mucho dinero. De los cercados asegura, que esperan siempre socorro, y que están resueltos defenderse hasta perder las vidas... [p. 79].

Sandwiched in between two relatively factual items we find the views on the Jews relayed by an anonymous witness: they contributed to the losing side but they did not fight for the Ottomans. In this item we have perhaps an explanation of the need for the appended memorandum. Or elsewhere in the *Carro*:

El Señor Duque de Lorena, reconociendo que se hallaban muchos Christianos, y Judios en el Exercito, sin tener partido, hizo que se juntassen, y llegando hasta el numero de cinco mil hombres, les mandó dar palas, para que se empleassen en hazer trincheras, mientras durava el Sitio [p. 137].

Finally we come to the much discussed Memorial of the *Carro*:

Los Judios le entraron por la Salva Guardia de el General Schooning a quien tocó el Assalto por la parte de aquel Gueto y proponiendole q su Nacion esparcida por las quatro partes de la Tierra, en todas las que le hallaban, eran siempre Leales à los Principes debaxo de cuyo Cetro vivían; le dieron un Memorial que contenia muchos exemplares, y algunas razones para confirmacion de esta propuesta [p. 183].

As can be seen, this is not “a letter” but a Memorial. So far it does not seem that the main fact – that Schoening was in charge of the district of the ghetto – has been impugned. It is by no means inconceivable that the Jews met with the general. Nowhere is it stated that the Memorial was meant to be original or creative. This was not an academic event but a political one, related to survival and ransom. What is mentioned is that it was in a number

²¹ For a mention of the explosions near the “Barrio de los judios” see *Carro*, p. 91. For the Jews constructing “trincheras” see *ib.* pp. 137-138.

of copies. In any case, the *Carro* cannot be reduced to the Memorial and the disproportionate attention to it is hardly justified as it stands.

In addition, Hanny's (2015) recent archival work has underlined certain highly probable elements of the Memorial's narrative. She notes the advance of Brandenburg forces from the direction of Víziváros and the likelihood that the Jews tried to ensure survival by offering money. According to her, not only other public texts but also private correspondence confirm general Schöning's covetousness or greed. While the letter is so similar to Cardoso that it has always been seen as a "plagiarism" she argues that the existence of such a letter was by no means improbable.

THE CARRO AS A JEWISH WORK

The appendix which is so frequently presented as metonymic of the whole work must be approached realistically: it occupies barely eleven pages (183-194) out of more than two hundred. The *Carro* repeatedly mentions Christianity and Catholicism, almost identifying with it, as in passages such as one about Ottoman Buda "...*dilatado tormento de los animos Catholicos*" [p. 199]. There is little doubt that for today's reader, at first sight, the "authentic" Jewish historical reaction to the events of Buda is embodied not in the *Carro* but in the *Megillat Ofen* of Isaac b. Zalman Schulhof. The Prague born Rabbi (ca. 1650-d. 1733) descended from R Loew, (the MaHaRaL). He settled in Ofen and in 1686, when that city was attacked, his wife was murdered, his son died in prison at Raab, while he himself was incarcerated, and barely escaped death on Elul 14 (Sept. 3), 1686. The anniversary of his escape was celebrated by his family as the Schulhof Purim. His *Megillat Oven*, edited by Kaufman (1895, 1908-10), is clearly in the genre which Steinschneider dubbed *martyrologie* and Baron thought of as the lachrymose conception (Schulhof, 1982). It has its roots, then, in a literature which could possibly claim, if not the Book of Esther, at least the medieval examples of the genre as precedents. It is in Hebrew and highly allusive to the classical texts in their Hebrew original beginning with the bible. Not much of this applies to the *Carro* and the two are not usually mentioned, let alone studied, together but such a confrontation serves to produce a far sharper and more precise picture of the *Carro's* character.

Similarly significant is the text composed by Aaron ben Joseph of Buda (Ofen), the Yiddish poet who was captured in the city of Ofen, on September 2, 1686. He was the author of "Ein Schoen Neu Lied von Ofen" (Prague, Bak: 1686), describing the fate of the Jews of Buda, and praising Sender ben Joseph Tausk, to whom the poem is dedicated (Weinberger, 1981). Tausk is linked to the Amsterdam Sephardim: Around 1692 Jacob Sasportas and Isaac Aboab sign a testimonial for Alexander ben Joseph Tausk who at that date is still collecting money in connection with the ransom of Buda's Jewish captives. The *Carro* stands in sharp

contrast to this, as the description of an apparently distant and disinterested observer of Jewish history. There are hardly any traces of lament for the Jews. Even the above mentioned Dutch Christian playwright, Palensteyn, who in his *treurspel* refers to the chorus of Jewish women from Buda during the siege, seems to show more empathy. If anything, it is comparable to the point of view in the Yiddish *Courantn* of the same period and place analyzed by Pach (2008) as reliable, if detached.

A main connection of the events in Buda with the leading Sephardi figures of Amsterdam generally ignored by painters, playwrights or poets, is that of the army purveyors or suppliers. Walter Hummelberger (1987) and Max Grunwald (1913) had already studied the role of Samuel Oppenheimer and his circle including his service to the imperial forces in Buda. Samuel's son Emanuel was also involved. Both are "Oberkriegsfactoren". Their agent in Amsterdam is very closely connected to Tartas and to the publication of the *Courantn* in those years. The question of supplies appears in the *Carro's* indirect attention to such matters, as for example when Pizarro mentions engineers or writes "...que es muy de creer no poder hallarse en el Mundo otra *Plaça tan abastecida...*" [p. 197]. His attention to armaments, to artillery, to the "mineros" and the gunpowder is noticeable.

The *Carro* makes clear and explicit mention of Belmonte:

Sobre lo sucedido en este Assalto, tubo aviso del mismo Cerco, el Señor Don Manuel de Belmonte, Conde Palatino del Romano Imperio, y Residente de Su Magestad Catholica, en estas Provincias Unidas de Holanda, y porque contiene la carta algunas particularidades mas de las que acabamos de referir, me pareció poner aquí la Copia de ella, aunque con alguna brevedad, por no repetir dos vezes difusamente un suceso [p.110].

Don Manuel de Belmonte/Isaac Nunes Belmonte served both the Emperor Leopold I, the Dutch King-Stadhouder William III and he was also "Resident of the King of Spain in the Dutch Republic" (López Estrada, 1994). His patronage of the literary arts – relevant to a work with the literary ambitions of the *Carro* – is clear in e.g. the dedication to Belmonte which de Correa (Hernández-Pecoraro, 2004, 2005; Vidorreta, 2017) affixed to her *Pastor fido* (15/xi/1693).

Hace espaldas a mi osadía el generoso valor, da alimentos a mi pluma el aura que respira la numerosa fama: ésta del ínclito nombre de vuestra señoría, aquel de su magnánimo pecho... No me ofrece la brújula del acierto otra persona a quien con más debida proporción deba y pueda dirigir y consagrar mi peregrino pastor que vuestra señoría, por dos razones equivalentes: una corrobora la nobilísima sangre que le ilustra para que busque su afable protección, pues es de nobles amparar a quien de ellos se vale; otra fortifica la venerada antigüedad... Templo es vuestra señoría edificado en el excelso monte del condado Palatino, donde se venera el sol de su mucha sabiduría, adornado de las morales virtudes...

One can hardly think of a more eloquent testimony of Sephardi attitudes (including Pizarro's) to Belmonte in the seventeenth century. Belmonte was Baron de Belmonte by grant of the Spanish King and Count Palatinate by that of the Emperor. The good economic relations between different European nations involved in the events and their influence on the Amsterdam Sephardim are clearly implied in these titles. Belmonte's link to the *Carro* is clear in the passage cited above as in the interest in supplies and *Avisos* or *noticias* throughout the work. Recent work has underlined other lesser known aspects of Belmonte's activities. Particularly interesting is his indirect influence through family and other members of the network. Also important is his role as mediator or middle man in the contacts and business with Spain of Dutch merchants who were far wealthier and more significant than himself.²²

Another evident distinction between Pizarro (linked to Belmonte) and Schulhof is that the latter was not published in his own time, while Pizarro's work appeared as a printed book. Its publisher cannot be separated from the communal Sephardi context. From a perspective anchored in the history of the book, some attention to him would be helpful in placing the *Carro* in a realistic context. The printer/publisher of the book designated as Yacomo de Cordoba is Jacob/Ya`aqov de Cordoba.²³ He is associated with *siddurim* and *humashim* such as the *Orden de las oraciones cotidianas* and *Cinco libros de la Ley Divina*, edited by Yshak de Cordova (Amsterdam, 1688. Raphael da Silva with notice of the composers Jacob b. Moses Raphael de Cordova...) where the title page and the edition closely resembles the previous edition of Menasseh Ben Israel (Amsterdam: Jacob Haim de Cordova, 1678) or the 1681 Commentary on the Five Books of Moses written in Castilian by Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (ca. 1605-1693) which was entitled *Parafraſis Comentado Sobre el pentateuco por el illustrissimo s(enor) Ishak aboab H(aham) del K(ahal) K(adon) de Amsterdam estampado en caza de Iaacob de Cordova 5441*. It contained a title-page plate, prepared by the etcher Johan van den Aveele, which was used by the Amsterdam publisher Jacob Haim ben Moses Raphael de Cordova e Brazil. The etcher's signature at lower left and right reads: "Ioh. Vander Aveele (in)ventit et fecit". As Wainstein (1992) remarks:

Because of Jacob de Cordova's connection to the flourishing Amsterdam book publishers' guild he was able to acquire Aveele's etched titlepage. Jacob had apprenticed to both Joseph Athias and David de Castro Tartas and had also worked for Uri Halevy. His father, Moses

²² Herrero Sánchez (2016): "Algunos de estos autores forman parte del círculo judío de intelectuales, comerciantes y diplomáticos del noroeste europeo con los que D. Manuel mantuvo contacto en su etapa como maestre de campo en Flandes".

²³ See for example Offenberg (2012: note 1). Boer (1988: note 13) distinguishes between books printed with approbations for a purely Jewish public and others for a wider public and between Jacob and Jacomo. The *Carro*, for him belongs in this second category as does its reedition of 1690.

de Isaac Cordova, a proofreader from Constantinople, arrived in Amsterdam in 1641/42. (Wainstein, 1992).

The Jewish character of the publishers of the *Carro* is thus unmistakable.

In brief: the saturation of a specific type of biblical allusions in de Barrios' poem; the continuity and considerable further development of the (post Yosippon) medieval Jewish convention of naming European territories after select Biblical toponyms; the attention to the Jews in the narrative; the links to the activities of the Jewish purveyors; the reference to Belmonte, the reputation/character of the publisher/printer Jacob de Cordoba, and of course the much discussed Memorial all confirm the work as belonging in historiography from or for a Jewish perspective. Various elements in the text and paratexts (the poem to the book; the visual metaphors, the care to produce a geographic frame; the recreation of a centuries' old background; the reference to ideals of history writing and the types of writing that should be avoided; the constant self-references to the book as *historia* and others) show that this is not intended as an Aviso or Relacion – despite links to that mode – and that the book is not the work of a *gacetero*, but rather a work of history.

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