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William III and the Glorious Revolution in the eyes of Amsterdam Sephardi writers: the reactions of Miguel de Barrios, Joseph Penso de la Vega, and Manuel de Leão

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In a solemn prayer recited by the Portuguese and Spanish Jews of Amsterdam in their magnificent synagogue on 27 October 1688, the God of Israel was implored to

bless, guard, favour, aid, support, save, exalt, enhance, and raise to the most glittering peak of success the Noble and Mighty States of Holland and West-Friesland, the High and Mighty States General of the United Provinces, and His Highness the Prince of Orange, Stadholder and captain-general by sea and land of these provinces, with all their allies, and the noble and illustrious burgomasters and magistracy of this city of Amsterdam.

God was implored further to grant the Dutch armies victories and triumphs and, just in case anyone was in doubt as to what this was all about, the Almighty was asked to side with those 'who with their ships plough the waves' so that the stars favour them, good weather carry them forward, and 'triumphs make them immortal'.¹ The Jews were praying for an end to the persistently strong westerly winds which had locked William III's great invasion fleet in at Hellevoetsluis over the past three weeks and for the success of the expedition mounted by the Dutch government and the Stadholder which was to achieve the successful landing at Torbay two and a half weeks later.

It was not tact alone, or mere subservience, that moved the Sephardi Jews

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¹ 'Oración que hizo la Nación Hebrea en su Sinagoga de Amsterdam, en 27 Octubre año 1688' quoted in Miguel de Barrios, *Atlas angélico de la Gran Bretaña* (Amsterdam, 1688/9), p. 67; the passage specifically referring to the expedition to England reads 'Pelee Dios como Soberano Señor de los Exércitos por los que surcan con sus navíos las olas, aprisione como benigno las çoçobras, para que las estrellas los cortejen, las bonanças los alienten, y los triumphos los immortalizen'; further on this prayer, see David Franco Mendes, *Memorias do estabelicimento e progresso dos judeus portugueses e espanhões nesta famosa cidade de Amsterdam*, in *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 9 (1975), p. 95; it is noteworthy that the community also paid to have the prayer translated into Dutch and published as a public sign of Dutch Sephardi Jewry's solidarity with the state and support for the invasion of England under the title *Gebedt, Gedaen op Woensdag sijnde den 27 Oktober 1688, door de Portugeese Joden in hare kerck, ofte synagoge, binnen Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1688) (Knuttel no. 12784a); the Jews were certainly not the only Dutch religious minority which recited special prayers for the success of the expedition to England; in Haarlem, besides the Dutch Reformed and the Huguenots, the Remonstrants, Lutherans, and Mennonites all recited special prayers, see GA Haarlem, *Stad Haarlem 10* (Burgermeestersresoluties), no. 27, fos. 88–9, res. 13 Nov. 1688.

of Amsterdam to participate enthusiastically and conspicuously in the prayers and general fast decreed throughout the Republic for that day of 1688. For the Amsterdam Sephardi community had enjoyed the favour of the House of Orange since early in the seventeenth century and their synagogue had been honoured by visits by several of William III's forebears including, on one occasion, in 1642, his mother in the company of Prince Frederick Henry, William's grand-father, and Queen Henrietta Maria of England. Of course, Jews like members of the other religious minorities dwelling in the Republic had reason to be grateful for William III's disinclination to espouse the intolerant policies advocated by the orthodox wing of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Prince's well-advertised commitment to religious toleration. But there was also another, more direct reason why the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam proved strongly supportive of the Prince's expedition to England: several leading members of the community were closely involved with the financial and other practical aspects of the Prince's ambitious statecraft. These included, in particular, the Baron Francisco Lopes Suasso who was involved in various aspects of the financing of the Dutch invasion armada and who, through his father-in-law in Hamburg, Manoel Teixeira, arranged the speedy transfer of the transit costs of the Swedish troops sent to assist the Dutch Republic in November 1688 from Pomerania and Sweden, Jeronimo Nunes da Costa who had various links with the Stadholder, Antonio Alvares Machado who had been handling the bread supply of the Dutch army since the 1670s and who, in 1688, was the main supplier of the Dutch army of the Rhine, Jacob Pereira who had organized the provisioning of the Amsterdam section of the invasion fleet and the latter's son, Isaac, who was already developing those links with the Stadholder which were to make him the main military contractor for the allied Protestant army fighting in Ireland in 1690–1.²

The prayer quoted above appears in the *Atlas angélico de la Gran Bretaña* (1688/9) by Miguel (Daniel Levi) de Barrios (1635–1701), one of several texts dedicated by Sephardi Jewish writers of Amsterdam to the Stadholder-king during

² In November 1688, Lopes Suasso was contracted by the States General's receiver-general, Cornelis de Jonge van Ellemeet, to advance an initial 188,000 guilders in local currency, via Hamburg, to be paid within ten days to the governor of Swedish Pomerania, to finance the transportation of the hired 6,000 Swedish troops to Dutch territory, see ARH SG 3318, fo. 488v, res. 30 Nov. 1688; on Alvares Machado's contract, negotiated with him by William III in October 1688, to supply bread, wagons, and ovens for the provisioning of the Dutch army on the Rhine during 1689, see ARH SG Raad van State 109, fo. 520v, res. 25 Oct. 1688, and, for a copy of the text of his contract, BL MS Add. 38695, fos. 72–3; on Jacob Pereira's victualling of the Amsterdam contingent of the invasion armada, see BL MS Add. 41816, fo. 229, and John Childs, *The British Army of William III, 1689–1702* (Manchester, 1987), p. 250; generally on the role of the Dutch Sephardi leadership in William III's statecraft, see D. J. Roorda, 'De joodse entourage van de koning-stadhouder', *Spiegel Historiae* (May 1979), pp. 258–61; J. I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 130–4; L. Schönduive, 'Antonio en Francisco Lopes Suasso: joodse baronnen in Holland', *Holland. Regionaal-Historisch Tijdschrift*, 20 (1988), pp. 175–85.



28 *The Baron Francisco Lopes Suasso.*

the years of the revolutions in Britain and Ireland (1688–91).³ Before examining the picture which these texts project of the Stadholder, crowned king of England, and the events of the Glorious Revolution, let us first have a brief

³ Besides the works by the three Dutch Sephardi writers discussed in this essay, a fourth, Duarte (Moseh) Lopes Rosa, also celebrated the Glorious Revolution with a literary flourish in his *Panegyrico sobre la restauración de Inglaterra* (Amsterdam, 1690); unfortunately neither author of this present essay has been able to locate a copy of this extremely rare publication.

look at the character and scope of the literature in Spanish and Portuguese produced by the Dutch Sephardi Jewish community.

The latter part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth are justly known as the Golden Age of Dutch Sephardi literature. Between 1650 and 1730 more than 250 literary works written in Spanish or Portuguese were published at Amsterdam, making up almost one third of the entire printed production in these languages in the northern Netherlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ This output includes genres of every type: religious, moralistic, burlesque, and (above all) occasional poetry; religious and secular drama; and a wide variety of prose ranging from philosophical treatises and doctrinal works to rhetorical discourses and even a kind of novella. Among other indications of the importance of literary activity in Dutch Sephardi Jewish life, an importance to which the Italian Protestant city historiographer of Amsterdam, Gregorio Leti, strongly attests, is the evident popularity of Spanish *comedias*, performed for the Sephardi audience in warehouses and the existence (however briefly) of two literary academies based on the Spanish model.⁵

Although the Dutch Sephardi literature of this period has received a certain amount of attention, beginning with the studies of Meyer Kayserling and José Amador de los Ríos,⁶ it has, until now, been studied mainly as an aspect of Jewish life. Attention has consequently focused only on certain aspects of the subject, with a tendency to neglect that dimension which is purely secular. For Dutch Sephardi literature forms a dichotomy, with two quite distinct streams expressing, on the one hand, the newly strengthened sense of Jewish identity of the Dutch Sephardi community and, on the other, the worldly ambition and preoccupations of its secular leadership.⁷

This dichotomy becomes fully evident when we examine the Sephardi Spanish and Portuguese literary works of the period in terms of the readership to which they were presented. By studying their title pages, dedications, and prefaces, we see that one large category of works was directed almost exclusively towards a Jewish audience, familiar with the forms of synagogue life, while another substantial category was directed essentially to a general Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking and reading public.

In the first class of works authors present themselves under their Jewish, or

⁴ For a recent general bibliographical survey of this literature, see Harm den Boer, 'Spanish and Portuguese Editions from the Northern Netherlands in Madrid and Lisbon Public Collections', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 22 (1988), pp. 97–143, and 23 (1989), pp. 38–77, 138–77.

⁵ Harm den Boer, 'El teatro entre los sefardíes de Amsterdam a fines del siglo XVII', *Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam*, 8 (1989), pp. 679–90.

⁶ See Meyer Kayserling, *Sephardim. Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1859); José Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España* (Madrid, 1848), pp. 608–18; see also Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (New York, 1974), pp. 322–38.

⁷ D. M. Swetschinski, 'The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: Cultural Continuity and Adaptation', in F. Malino and Ph. Cohen Albert (eds.), *Essays in Modern Jewish History* (London and Toronto, 1982), pp. 56–80.

synagogue, names as do all the other persons mentioned on the title page or elsewhere in the book. The titles of these literary works usually have a specific Jewish content. These also, as a matter of course, specify Amsterdam as the place of publication and give a Jewish rather than Christian date in their *impressum*. In many cases approbation by the Mahamad, or board of governors of the Sephardi community, is also expressly stated on the title page or in the preliminaries. Finally, most of these editions mention the patronage of leading figures of the community. Patrons appear not only under their Jewish names but with reference to the offices which they held in the administration of the community and its charities.

In the other category of publication, Sephardi writers and other members of the community mentioned in the text or prefaces appear under their alternative secular names, as for example 'Miguel' for 'Daniel Levi' de Barrios, 'Francisco' for 'Abraham Isaac' Lopes Suasso, and 'Antonio Alvares' for 'Moses' Machado. From the titles of these works all specifically Jewish features are excluded. Sometimes the *impressum* specifies Brussels, Antwerp, or another Catholic city to conceal their origin in the 'apostatical' city of Amsterdam. These publications are dedicated or addressed to Christian statesman or royalty, or Sephardi patrons, in which case the latter appear exclusively in terms of their secular functions and dignities, usually a diplomatic function on behalf of a Christian king or other potentate. All these features indicate that these publications were directed to a Spanish- or Portuguese-reading public which was not exclusively Jewish and which included Spanish officials and soldiers in the southern Netherlands as well as readers in the Iberian Peninsula and, more marginally, hispanic America.

We could perhaps think of the latter class of literature as the expression of an Iberian identity, or as a mere extension of Spanish and Portuguese cultural life outside of the Iberian Peninsula, at any rate in the case of authors such as Miguel de Barrios or Manuel de Leão who were born in Spain or Portugal and raised in an Iberian cultural milieu. Barrios later served in the Spanish army of Flanders and became acquainted with numerous Spanish army officers in the southern Netherlands. Indeed, he continued to address poetry to friends and influential Spanish noblemen even after reverting to formal Judaism in Amsterdam. But other Sephardi authors such as Joseph Penso de la Vega were born in Amsterdam and raised in a specifically Jewish context and lacked personal relationships with Spaniards and Portuguese outside the Republic. The latter, however, still endeavoured to write a Spanish intended to be acceptable to a non-Jewish audience. In Penso de la Vega's case, we cannot speak of any direct personal or cultural links with the Iberian Peninsula other than his tireless dedication to the cultivation of a highly literary Spanish in the Sephardi diaspora. Being Spanish was simply part of his cultural identity and was socially more

highly esteemed – even in the Protestant United Provinces – than being a Jew. In his case, as in that of so many others, this Iberian identity was unmistakably tinged with quasi-aristocratic pretensions. Among other things, this explains why Penso de la Vega prided himself on writing such a highly refined, fashionable Spanish, styling himself Don Joseph de la Vega.

One distinct group of Sephardi secular texts in Spanish and Portuguese addressed to Christian kings, princes, and statesmen which cannot be understood as being essentially either Iberian or Jewish in character are the occasional works dealing with contemporary European events, a literary phenomenon mainly of the last part of the seventeenth century. There is no obvious religious dimension to these writings. On the occasion of the defeat of the Ottoman Turks at Vienna, in 1683, by John III Sobieski, for example, both Barrios and Penso de la Vega immediately addressed themselves to the Polish monarch, congratulating him on this triumph.⁸ This was not a victory of any particular benefit to the Jews of Vienna, or the Austrian lands, or of Jews more generally. How, then, should we explain the interest which writers such as Barrios and Penso de la Vega took in the event? The answer, we believe, is to be found in the relations which the Dutch Sephardi elite had developed by this time with various European courts, especially with courts allied with, or sympathetic to, the United Provinces in its continuing confrontation with the might of Louis XIV, such as the Holy Roman Emperor, the king of Spain, various German princes and – after the Glorious Revolution – the king of England. This literature, then, formed part of the refined aristocratic behaviour, and especially of the elaborate hospitality, with which leading members of the Sephardi community, such as Lopes Suasso, Alvares Machado, Nunes da Costa, and the Baron Manuel de Belmonte, agent-general of Spain at Amsterdam, honoured their noble and diplomatic guests and furthered their connections with European courts.⁹ The prose and poetry written on the occasion of the Glorious Revolution belong clearly to this sub-group of the secular category of Sephardi literature.

MIGUEL DE BARRIOS: 'ATLAS ANGÉLICO DE LA GRAN
BRETAÑA'

Miguel de Barrios is the best known writer among the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam writing in Spanish or Portuguese. Born in Spain in the province of Córdoba, at Montilla, in 1635, he left his native country – probably through

⁸ Miguel de Barrios, *Panegírico al Juan Tercero, Rey de Polonia* (Amsterdam, 1683), and Joseph Penso de la Vega, *Los triumphos del águila y eclipses de la luna* (Amsterdam, 1684); Barrios also published an *Epístola y panegírico al ínclito y victorioso monarca de Polonia Ivan Tercero* (Amsterdam, 1684); see also den Boer, 'Spanish and Portuguese Editions', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 23, pp. 53, 59, 154.

⁹ J. I. Israel, 'Gregorio Leti (1631–1701) and the Dutch Sephardi Elite at the Close of the Seventeenth Century', in A. Rapoport-Albert and S. J. Zipperstein (eds.), *Jewish History. Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky* (London, 1988), pp. 274–7.

fear of the Inquisition – and led a wandering life in Italy, the Caribbean, and the Spanish Netherlands where he served as a captain in the Spanish army, before settling in the Dutch Republic around 1663.¹⁰ Here he joined the Talmud Torah community in Amsterdam, leading a somewhat threadbare existence until his death in 1701. His wayward poetical temperament inspired him to write poetry (in a highly cultivated baroque fashion) addressed to a variety of Christian noblemen (mostly Spaniards) as well as sovereigns. This brought the poet into a degree of conflict with the community and with co-religionists eager to bury their Christian past. But, at the same time, the adulatory verses he wrote to celebrate the most prominent members of the Talmud Torah community and its religious, charitable, and educational institutions earned him the unofficial position of poet laureate of Amsterdam Sephardi Jewry. It is in his poetry that both the Jewish and secular preoccupations of Amsterdam Sephardi literature were fully expressed. In his collection, the *Coro de musas*, the poet, styling himself ‘the Captain Don Miguel de Barrios’, published verse in the fashionable contemporary Spanish manner full of convoluted mythological allusions directed to a Christian public in which he not only concealed his own religious beliefs but, on occasion, praised the Catholic faith and, indeed, even the Inquisition! By contrast, in other verse works, as Daniel Levi de Barrios, he presented himself as the poetical champion of the Law of Moses and adversary of its Catholic detractors.¹¹

The *Atlas angélico de la Gran Bretaña* is a curious mixture of both facets of the poet. To see how the two dimensions interweave in this compilation, we will consider how the work is presented to the reader. The title page presents the *Atlas angélico* as a ‘declaration to [Great Britain’s] great king James II, that Atlas was Enoch, son of Jared, before the Flood’ and as a discussion of what Isaiah xix ‘foretold ... until the present year 1688 and what is about to happen’.¹² The author is presented under his Christian name: ‘Don Miguel de Barrios’. At first sight, the work appears to be dedicated to the Catholic king of England, James II. However, the title page is immediately followed by a passage from Isaiah (xix:7) in which Barrios elaborates on the spiritual significance of the birth of the Prince of Wales in June 1688, interpreting the event

¹⁰ On Miguel de Barrios, see Kenneth Scholberg, *La poesía religiosa de Miguel de Barrios* (Madrid, 1963); I. S. Revah, ‘Les Ecrivains Manuel de Pina et Miguel de Barrios et la censure de la communauté judeo-portugaise d’Amsterdam’, *Tesoro de los Judíos Sefardíes (Otzar Yehude Sefarad)*, 8 (1965), pp. lxxiv–xc; W. Ch. Pieterse, *Daniel Levi de Barrios als geschiedschrijver van de Portugees-Israëlietische gemeente de Amsterdam in zijn ‘Triumpho del gobierno popular’* (Amsterdam, 1968); also still well worth consulting is M. Kayserling, ‘Une histoire de la littérature juive de Daniel Lévi de Barrios’, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 18 (1889), pp. 276–80.

¹¹ Thus amongst his writings is a satirical work on the pope and the Inquisition, the *Trompeta del juizio. Contra el Papa y la Inquisición* (Amsterdam, 1675).

¹² The title page reads ‘Atlas angélico de la Gran Bretaña, declaración a su Gran Rey Jacobo Segundo, de que Atlante fue Henoch hijo de Jared, antes de Diluvio con la Monarchía Británica. Y de lo que predixo de ella Isaías cap 19. Hasta el presente año de 1688 y de lo que ha de ha contecerle [sic] hasta que sane de sus interiores heridas. Declarador Don Miguel de Barrios.’

Atlas Angelico de la Gran Bretaña,
 Declaracion
 A SU GRAN REY
JACOBO SEGUNDO,
 De que Atlante fue Henoch hijo de Jared,
 antes del Diluvio con la Monarchia
 Britanica.

Y de lo que predixo de ella Isaius cap. 19.

Hasta el presente año de 1688. y de lo que ha
 de ha conecerle hasta que sane de sus
 interiores heridas.



DECLARADOR
DON MIGUEL DE BARRIOS.

29 The title page of Miguel de Barrios' *Atlas angélico de la Gran Bretaña* (1688).

as a (hidden) defeat of popery in London and triumph of the Protestant religion whose cause is embodied by the Prince of Orange.¹³

After this 'prophecy' comes a dedication to the Creator. Here Barrios asserts that he writes the 'Angelic Atlas of Britain', consecrated to the Divine King, 'not to flatter any king, but for the Glory of 'He who is always One'.¹⁴ The

¹³ Barrios, *Atlas angélico*, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

poet was clearly caught up in the mood of political elation which swept the United Provinces at the time of the departure of the great invasion fleet to England. In a letter written to the Prince of Orange on 28 September 1688, just a few days before the embarkation of the Prince's army was due to begin, Barrios writes: 'the obligation and goodwill which we the Spanish Hebrews of this city owe to their [*Altipotencias*] and to Your Royal Highness prompt me to send you the still unfinished book *Angélico atlas de la Gran Bretaña*, because of the happy events announced there, explaining chapter xix of Isaiah'.¹⁵ Thus, instead of dedicating his book about England to James II, the poet had decided, by September 1688, that it would be more judicious to submit it to the Almighty but at the same time, address it to the Prince of Orange.

The text of more than 150 pages contains in the first place an interpretation of the ancient origins of Great Britain. After specifying the virtues and shortcomings of democracy, monarchy, and aristocracy in turn, the author introduces the first biblical monarchy, that of Enoch, son of Yerek. The monarchy of Enoch, Barrios decides, from Scripture, was situated in the 'Atlantic Land', separated from the Netherlands on 4 November of the year 225 since the beginning of the world.¹⁶ By the 'Atlantic Land' Britain is meant. The notion that Britain once belonged to the continent was, of course, not new. But the way Barrios develops the idea was, in a way, original. To illustrate his manner of reasoning, we may mention the story – recounted by William Camden in the *Atlas Maior o geografia blaviana* of Joan Blaeu – that when Henry II was in Scotland, a violent storm blew away the sand that had long covered the surface of the shore, revealing underneath a dark soil with black tree trunks (a petrified wood?). These were interpreted as the remnants of a former land washed away by a flood. Now, according to Barrios, in the Bible Britain was always called *Chus* meaning 'black' or 'brown'. The name Britain itself, he claims, confirms this since it is derived from the Germanic word *brein* – as the poet renders it – or 'brown'. William Camden moreover calls the Britons *Pretones* which Barrios derives from the Portuguese *preto*, meaning 'black'.¹⁷ Continuing in this style, Barrios develops an elaborate account of the biblical origins of Britain.

The interpretation of the prophecies contained in Isaiah xix relies on a similar

¹⁵ 'Epístola a su Alteza Real el Príncipe de Orange en Amsterdam a 28. de Septiembre de 1688. años', included in Barrios, *Atlas angélico*, pp. 3–4: 'La obligación, y benevolencia que devemos los Hebreos Españoles de esta Ciudad a sus Altipotencias, y a V.R.A. me animan a remitirle el libro aun no acabado del *Angélico Atlas de la Gran Bretaña*, por los felizes sucessos que le anuncian, explicando el capítulo 19. de Isaias: y espero que se cumplan sus anuncios, de que fueron vislumbres las dos celebres Victorias que alcançó la Armada de sus Altipotencias, a 7 y 14 de Junio de 1673'; in the battles of Schoonevelt, in June 1673, de Ruyter defeated the English and forced them to retreat back to English shores.

¹⁶ Barrios, *Atlas angélico*, p. 9; Barrios here quoted from the Spanish version of Blaeu's great atlas, on which he and other Sephardi writers of Amsterdam had actively collaborated, see the volume entitled *Nuevo Atlas del reyno de Inglaterra* (Amsterdam, printed after 1672), p. 337.

¹⁷ *Nuevo Atlas del reyno de Inglaterra*, p. 5.

technique. Barrios was deeply imbued with the idea that great contemporary political events such as the Glorious Revolution in England were of profound spiritual significance for all mankind and had been foretold and announced in Scripture, but that the revelation of such events in Scripture needs, before it can be understood, to be analysed and explained by a process of mystical, poetical, and etymological insight. Indeed, for years after 1688, the poet continued to see the Revolution, and events connected with it, as the fulfilment of the mystical prognostications of William III's triumph and 'Dutch salvation' which he had set out in 1688. In a letter to the financier and military contractor Jacob Pereira written at Amsterdam on 3 June 1692, for example, Barrios claimed to have foretold, as part of his more general foretelling of the Revolution, the great naval battle of La Hougue which had taken place off the French coast a few days before.¹⁸ In the battle the French admiral Tourville with forty-four warships had again taken on the combined Anglo-Dutch fleets, comprising eighty-eight warships, hoping for a similar victory to that which he had achieved, owing to dissension and lack of co-ordination among the allies, at the battle off Beachy Head in 1690: but this time the French were defeated and the English and Dutch gained supremacy in the Channel. Strategically the battle was an important turning-point for both England and the United Provinces.

In the *Atlas angélico* Barrios develops an elaborate poetical prophecy concerning the birth of James, Prince of Wales, and the then imminent triumph of the Prince of Orange. The passage of Isaiah unravelled by Barrios is rendered: 'Flourished over the river, near the mouth of the river, and all the vegetation will dry up, it will be cast across, not *he*'.¹⁹ Barrios develops his reading of this text in two stages. First, he explains that there are here two subjects which flourished: on the one hand, the Prince of Wales (rendered *Walles*) – since it is a characteristic of valleys (Sp. *valles*) to flourish – who 'flourished' in the vicinity of the River Thames; and, on the other hand, the world Catholic cause residing in London on the 'banks of the River Thames filled with the green hope of flourishing'. But, he continues, 'all Jesuitical seeds will dry up, while that which is produced [or blown over] in childbirth will not dry up.'²⁰ Barrios subsequently explains that the *flourished* will, and will not, dry up in two opposite ways, one ciphered in the verb *Arot*, which means 'flourish', and in the opposite

¹⁸ GA Amsterdam PJG 334/680, pp. 740–1, Daniel Levi de Barrios to Jacob Pereira, Amsterdam, 3 June 1692; we are indebted to Edgar Samuel, Director of the Jewish Museum in London, for this reference.

¹⁹ Barrios, *Atlas angélico*, pp. 2, 27: 'Anuncio del Nacimiento del Príncipe de Walles en Isaias cap. 19 n. 7. y explicado en la hoja 27. de este libro'; the passage of Isaiah on which Barrios focuses he renders 'Reverdecidos sobre río junto a la boca del río, y toda sembradura de río se secará: será arrodo [*sic*], no el.'

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27: 'Escrito en 4 de Septiembre de 1688 años. Dos son los reverdecidos, uno el Príncipe de Walles (por ser propio de Valles reverdecen) sobre el río Río Támisís: y otro el Pontificio en la ciudad de Londres, a la boca, o ribera del río con la verde esperanza de florecer: mas toda sembradura Jesuitica se secará: y no se secará el arrojado en el parto.'

direction 'Torah', the Hebrew for 'Law'. The allusion, Barrios explains, is to the 'Law or Religion of the Protestants, flourishing in the Orange tree so 'as to forge with its flowers deadly destinies for its enemies'. The key contradiction is, then, contained in the words *no el* (not he) which, according to Barrios, refer to the *león* (lion). The meaning of the prophecy is that the 'flourished will be cast up in vain hope [i.e. the Prince of Wales], but not the arrowed Lion of the Seven United Provinces, and the thrown out [blown over] in childbirth [Sp. *parto*] – or departure [Sp. *partida*] to England from Holland'.²¹ This is because, the poet explains, the '*arrojado* thrown [blown over] derives from *arrojo*, that is a *rojo* [red], because of the red, or orange, colour of the courageous Orange'.

Practically the whole of the text of the *Atlas angélico* consists of these intricate prognostications and etymological derivations. They are based on a technique which the poet employed increasingly from the 1680s onwards. Deeply impressed by cabala, and cabalistic methods of interpretation, Barrios combined cabalistic readings of Hebrew words and their Spanish equivalents in the early modern Sephardi Spanish translation of the Bible with an extreme form of *conceptismo*, a style within the Spanish baroque in which rhetorical devices such as paradox, paranomasia, and (often highly contrived) etymologies are used to establish affinities and correspondence between subjects. In Miguel de Barrios, however, these correspondences are often so far-fetched that it is not easy to take them seriously. However, the evidence we have strongly suggests that the poet believed in them. Although it cannot be denied that Barrios displayed a certain poetic ingenuity in combining and reconciling the most disparate allusions and texts, to the modern reader his derivations appear not only utterly unconvincing but confused and tiresome.

However, Barrios' poetic technique possessed one great advantage in enabling him to integrate the world of contemporary political events with the traditional Jewish zeal for uncovering the secrets of the biblical text. He celebrated William III's invasion armada of 1688 in verse as a great and ordained happening and judged the deposing of James II a just and necessary punishment of that king's active promotion of popery in England. The Prince of Orange is depicted (with considerable justification) as the champion of religious freedom generally and thus worthy to be helped by the God of Israel. 'To have a steadfast Faith, is pious love / and forcing the People that follow it, / is not to imitate God who gives free / will, and God will punish him who tries to force the consciences of others.'²² It was precisely by seeking to force their Catholic faith on the Dutch that Spain lost the seven provinces, and the Ottomans, by mistreating

²¹ Ibid., '*Será arrojado lo reverdecido [the Prince of Wales] en vana esperanza, mas no el León flechero de las siete Unidas Provincias, y no se secará el arrojado en el Parto, o Partida a Inglaterra de Holanda. Pues la dición arrojado, se deduce de arrojó, y quiere dezir a rojo por el color roxo o naranjado del animoso Oranje.*'

²² Ibid., p. 41.

non-Muslims, lost Vienna. This all may seem rather unjust to James II who, after all pursued a policy of religious toleration in Britain, Ireland, and North America, but in 1688 the important point for Dutch Jews, as for the Dutch generally, was that James II was the protégé (and assumed ally) of Louis XIV, the perpetrator of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the would-be enslaver of the United Provinces and all Europe. In this sense he saw James II as the enemy of religious freedom and Dutch Protestantism. At the same time, Barrios also sees the rest of the allied coalition ranged against the might of Louis XIV – the emperor, king of Spain and German princes – as in some sense committed, along with the Dutch Republic and William III, to the defence of freedom both religious and otherwise. Accordingly, the work is in part also addressed to these allied powers, particularly Spain. It contains, for example, a poem dedicated to Don Manuel Coloma, the Spanish envoy in the United Provinces, and his Austrian wife, Maximiliana Doratea, and a section of prose addressed to the Spanish ambassador in England, Don Pedro Ronquillo, who was a strong sympathizer with William III and the Glorious Revolution and, like other Spanish diplomats in northern Europe during the late seventeenth century, had links with Lopes Suasso, Belmonte, and other members of the Dutch Sephardi leadership. Assuming that either of these Spanish Catholic noblemen actually read Barrios' text, one can only wonder what they can have made of such a bizarre mixture of reaching out towards Spain, defence of Dutch Protestantism, and Jewish allusions.²³

Many of the seeming contradictions in the *Atlas angélico de la Gran Bretaña* are resolved if we bear in mind that it was specifically a literary product of the crucial months of the Glorious Revolution. In the period that he wrote this work, both his poverty and the conviction that he was a great visionary encouraged Miguel de Barrios to address whoever he reckoned should be interested in his revelations, hoping that they would reward him accordingly. Thus, the work had clearly been originally intended to be presented to James II as a biblical history of Great Britain in which no aspersions would be cast on either the late Stuart dynasty or the Catholic faith. The work was unfinished in September 1688, when Barrios, along with the rest of the population of Amsterdam was profoundly excited by the prospects opened up by William III's pending invasion of England. He thereupon changed parts of the book and added his 'prophecies' which were in one sense rather typical of the confident and fervent speculation which characterized the Dutch public's intense excitement in the autumn of 1688, differing from other more run-of-the-mill prognostications about William

²³ However, it is apparent that Barrios intended that only his original version of the *Atlas angélico*, written before the Dutch invasion of England, and incorporated into his *Palma angélica de los Campos Eliseos* (Amsterdam, 1688) should circulate in Spain. (The only known copy of this work is to be found in the collection of the Hispanic Society of New York.)

III's prospects mainly in being dressed up in an elaborate pseudo-biblical garb. Writing to the Prince himself, more than six weeks before the successful landing at Torbay, Barrios could with all sincerity praise the Dutch enterprise, in his capacity as a Jewish writer, as a defence of religious freedom.

JOSEPH PENSO DE LA VEGA: 'RETRATO DE LA PRUDENCIA'

Joseph Penso de la Vega (1650–92) presents analogies but also some notable differences when compared with Miguel de Barrios.²⁴ He too had an Andalusian background, his father having lived in Espejo in the region of Córdoba prior to emigrating to Amsterdam. Joseph may have been born in Spain but, if so, was still very young on being brought to the Dutch Republic. He spent the major part of his youth in Amsterdam where he had the benefit of the excellent Jewish education provided by the Talmud Torah community. At the age of seventeen he already made a literary name for himself with a drama in Hebrew which was one of the first to be published in that language.²⁵ Yet, though this work met with effusive praise, he preferred to write the rest of his interesting literary output in Spanish and, on one occasion, Portuguese. In contrast to Barrios, the literary oeuvre of Penso de la Vega was that of a personality raised and educated in a specifically Jewish milieu and thoroughly familiar with Hebrew, nevertheless like so many other Sephardi writers he chose to express himself chiefly in Spanish. He devoted himself exclusively to prose, cultivating a contrived, sometimes obscure style somewhat reminiscent of that of the great Spanish master of *conceptismo*-prose, Baltasar Gracián, though Penso de la Vega usually lacked the concision, terseness, and brilliance of the great Castilian. Besides some interesting novellas in his *Rumbos peligrosos* and *Ideas posibles*, Penso de la Vega wrote his now famous literary recreation of the Amsterdam stock exchange – the first detailed description of a stock exchange ever to be written – entitled the *Confusión de confusiones*.

As it happens the *Confusión de confusiones* was written during the year 1688 and the last of the four convoluted dialogues of which the work is composed deals with the great stock exchange crash of late August and September which resulted from the panic which ensued when the Amsterdam financial markets first realized that the Dutch state was about to attempt an invasion of England

²⁴ On Joseph Penso de la Vega, see M. F. J. Smith, 'Inleiding' to Joseph Penso de la Vega, *Confusión de Confusiones* (The Hague, 1939) (Dutch translation published together with the original Spanish text); Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (3 vols., Madrid, 1978), II, pp. 169–72; Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism. The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 288–90, 293–5, 297–302, 426–7; at the end of his life Penso de la Vega moved to Livorno where he was the secretary of the local Spanish literary academy among the Sephardim *Los Sitibundos*, see F. Aghib Levi d'Ancona, 'The Sephardi Community of Leghorn (Livorno)', in R. Barnett and W. Schwab (eds.), *The Sephardi Heritage, II: The Western Sephardim* (Grendon, Northants., 1989), p. 185; Penso de la Vega died in Livorno at the age of forty-two.

²⁵ Joseph Penso de la Vega, *Asirey ha-Tiqvah* (Amsterdam, 1673).

in open defiance of Louis XIV as well as of James II.²⁶ At the close of this dialogue, Penso de la Vega, who himself belonged to a well-known Sephardi business family, urges his readership – mainly but not necessarily exclusively Sephardi Jews – to invest in East and West India Company shares only in a sober, responsible manner and, as far as possible, to support the *patria*, their Dutch homeland, and the great colonial Companies, by preferring to buy rather than sell!

Penso de la Vega's other work with a direct bearing on the Glorious Revolution is his *Retrato de la Prudencia y Simulacro del Valor* (*Portrait of Wisdom and Image of Valour*) which was published after William III's triumphs over James II in Ireland, in 1690.²⁷ Essentially, this work is a portrait of William III, and in places also of Mary, containing relatively little about the actual historical events of the Glorious Revolution and still less about its ideological implications. Apart from the work's obvious bias in favour of the Stadholder-king, there is nothing in it which reveals, or asserts, any affinity which a Sephardi Jew ought feel for the Williamite cause, no discussion of the Stadholder-king's religious policy for example. The title page bears the name of Don Josseph de la Vega, the name the author used when addressing a not exclusively Jewish readership. The title with its symmetric, two-part structure is typical of the Iberian baroque literature of the period. Being a literary portrait of William III, the work also carries a dedication to the Stadholder-king. In it the author declares his intention to illustrate with 240 passages of the 'Sacred Volume', the two essential qualities which characterized the sovereign: 'wisdom' and 'courage'.

Wisdom and courage, we read, are the two pillars on which monarchs base their achievements and heroes their triumphs. The people of Israel in their passage through the desert were supported by these pillars in the form of a pillar of cloud (wisdom) and a pillar of fire (courage). Likewise, King Solomon installed two pillars, representing wisdom and courage to support his Temple, pillars which Penso de la Vega sees as foreshadowing the coronation of William and Mary being adorned with roses and crowns: for roses feature on the arms of England while the two crowns prognosticate the crowns of William and Mary. The Bible, he claims, also foretold that the coronation would take place on a Tuesday: for Tuesday corresponds to the third day of the Creation on which God says *twice* that 'it was good!' thereby foretelling the dual crowning. Another example of this type of *conceptismo* in the work is the comparison of William

²⁶ Penso de la Vega, *Confusión de Confusiones*, pp. 286–7; Otto Pringsheim, *Don Joseph de la Vega. Die Verwirrung der Verwirrungen. Vier Dialoge über die Börse in Amsterdam* (Breslau, 1919), p. xiv; see also J. I. Israel, 'Een merkwaardig literair werk en de Amsterdam effectenmarkt in 1688: Joseph Penso de la Vega's *Confusión de Confusiones*', *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 6 (1990), pp. 160–1.

²⁷ Joseph Penso de la Vega, *Retrato de la Prudencia y Simulacro del Valor* (Amsterdam, 1960), p. 13; de Boer, 'Spanish and Portuguese Editions', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 23, p. 153; copies are to be found at the Royal Library in The Hague and the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana and Ets Haim collections in Amsterdam.

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CONFUSION
DE CONFUSIONES
Dialogos Curiosos
Entre un Philo sopho agudo, un Mer-
cader discreto, y un Accionista erudito
Describiendo el negocio de las Acciones,
su origen, su ethimologia, su realidad,
su juego. y su enredo,
Compuesto
por Don Iosseph de la Vega,
Que con reverente obsequio lo dedica
al Merito y Curiosidad
Del muy Ilustre Señor
Duarte Nunez da Costa.



EN AMSTERDAM.

Año 1688.

30 The title page of Joseph Penso de la Vega's *Confusión de Confusiones* (1688), the first ever description of the workings of a stock exchange, dedicated to the eldest son of Jeronimo Nunes da Costa.

with David, a favourite theme amongst Dutch Calvinist and Huguenot preachers during the years of the Glorious Revolution. The biblical David whom the People of Israel chose to replace the formerly anointed but now rejected (and no longer deserving) King Saul (James) is characterized as wise, courageous and swift. 'David defeated Goliath', our author tells, 'whose name means 'slavery' and this fearless monarch defeated with courage and swiftness the slavery that was

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R E T R A T O

De la KW 366
714

PRUDENCIA

Y

SIMULACRO DEL VALOR

Que en obsequioso Panegirico Consagra

AL AUGUSTO MONARCHA

GUILLERMO TERCERO

REY DE LA GRAN BRETAÑA.

DON JOSEPH DE LA VEGA.



Impresso

En A M S T E R D A M,

En la Empronta donde tiene la Administracion **JOAN BUS,**

A.º. 1690.



31 The title page of Joseph Penso de la Vega's *Retrato de la Prudencia y Simulacro del Valor* (1690).

being fostered against his religion and against his fatherland.²⁸ David slew Goliath with five smooth (Sp. *lisas*) stones: these correspond to the five *fleurs de lis* in William's coat of arms. Furthermore, the author reminds us, Goliath was killed by hurled stones, the punishment for blasphemy.

²⁸ Penso de la Vega, *Retrato de la Prudencia*, p. 13.

Penso de la Vega, then, like Barrios, is convinced of the moral justification for the dethroning of James II in favour of William and Mary. The way both writers make extensive use of biblical passages and themes to depict and analyse contemporary political events might be held to be analogous. But there is a basic difference between the two writers' ways of working. Barrios assumes the role of prophet, and assumes that there are hidden secrets in passages of Scripture, relating to contemporary events, which can be revealed by means of poetic and etymological insight. Penso de la Vega by contrast is merely displaying his refined rhetorical skills to flatter the king and entertain the reader.

MANUEL DE LEÃO: 'EL DUELO DE LOS APLAUSOS, O TRIUMPHO DE LOS TRIUMPHOS'

Very little is known about Manuel de Leão. He did not participate in Amsterdam literary life in Amsterdam as described in 1684/5 by Barrios.²⁹ As the five texts he published do not reveal anything concrete about his religion, we do not know even whether he lived in Holland as a professing Jew. All we know for certain is that, from the late 1680s onwards, he had close links with Amsterdam and that he received the patronage of the Dutch Sephardi figures of the day – Jeronimo Nunes da Costa (Moses Curiel), agent of the Portuguese Crown in the United Provinces, and Francisco Lopes Suasso, baron of Auvergnele-Gras.

Manuel de Leão's first work was the *Triumpho Lusitano, Applausos festivos* (1688) which, according to the *impressum* was published in Brussels but was probably in fact published at Amsterdam with 'Brussels' being given, to make the work more acceptable in Portugal.³⁰ The book was commissioned by Jeronimo Nunes da Costa who, in 1687, had played a large part in arranging the stately journey of Maria Sophia of Bavaria, daughter of the Elector Palatine, the new bride of King Pedro II of Portugal, from Heidelberg via the Dutch Republic to Lisbon as well as the banquets and festivities which marked her brief stay in Holland.³¹ The book was embellished, presumably at Jeronimo's expense, with one of the most splendid title pages of all the works ever published in Spanish or Portuguese in the Low Countries. The book may indeed be said to be a sort of a celebration of the rapprochement in Dutch–Portuguese relations

²⁹ Miguel de Barrios, *Relación de los poetas y escritores judíos amstelodamos* (Amsterdam, 1684), and Miguel de Barrios *Academia de los floridos. Memoria plausible de sus juezes, y académicos* (Amsterdam, 1685); see also den Boer, 'Spanish and Portuguese Editions', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 23, p. 45.

³⁰ M. Kayserling, *Bibliografía española-portuguesa judaica* (Strasburg, 1890), p. 57; den Boer, 'Spanish and Portuguese Editions', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 23, pp. 140–1.

³¹ ARH SG 7015/1, Jeronimo Nunes da Costa to SG, The Hague, 21 Sept. 1686 and 11 Apr. 1687; Jeronimo's sons, Duarte (to whom Penso de la Vega dedicated his *Confusión de Confusiones*) and Alexandre Nunes da Costa travelled to Düsseldorf and accompanied Maria Sophia's party back from there to The Hague; see also Manuel de Leão, *Triumpho Lusitano, Applausos festivos* (Brussels [Amsterdam], 1688), dedication.

and William III's efforts to detach Portugal from the sphere of influence of Louis XIV.³²

El Duelo do los Aplausos, Triumpho de los Triumphos is likewise clearly addressed to a secular and not necessarily, or even primarily, a Jewish audience. Its title page explains that it is a literary portrait of the 'unvanquished Augustus, William III British Monarch', and that it is a panegyric on his grand entrance to The Hague which took place on 5 February 1691, the first occasion that he returned to his Dutch homeland since his crossing to England in November 1688, an occasion marked by great festivities and the presence of diplomatic representatives of all the allied princes participating in the coalition against Louis XIV.³³ Manuel de Leão dedicates his 'metrical praise' to the princess of Soissons and Savoy, the mother of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and a lady with longstanding links with the Sephardi Jewish business elite of Amsterdam (and with the stock exchange).³⁴ The dedication is dated 20 February 1691.

In his dedication, the poet declares that the representatives of the illustrious princes of the coalition had gathered together in The Hague in the presence of the Stadholder-king for two purposes: one, of just vengeance against France, and, the other, of 'courtesy', and ceremony, in the salon of the Princess of Soissons. Manuel de Leão promises her that on a later occasion he will celebrate the heroic actions of her son, Prince Eugene, meanwhile offering this description of William III so that she will afterwards be able to compare the illustrious virtues of both heroes.

The metrical portrait of William III is written in *silvas*, the form in which Iberian pastoral poetry was written. The opening verses indeed allude to the *Soledades*, a much admired work by the great Spanish baroque poet, Luis de Góngora. In verse replete with classical comparisons, the poet celebrates William III's entry in the depths of winter to The Hague where the gods are gathered

³² We see from the reports which Jeronimo Nunes da Costa sent to the Conde de Castelmelhor, in Lisbon, in the opening months of the Nine Years' War that he was certainly endeavouring to influence Portugal against France, claiming (for example) that the Anglo-Dutch alliance would be far superior to France at sea and that Anglo-Dutch sea-power would prevent France sending any significant assistance to James II in Ireland, see Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, MS Caixa 208, no. 45, Jeronimo Nunes da Costa to Conde de Castelmelhor, Amsterdam, 26 Feb. 1689; Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Diplomatic Career of Jeronimo Nunes da Costa: An Episode in Dutch-Portuguese Relations of the Seventeenth Century', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 98 (1983), p. 189; according to Gregorio Leti, Jeronimo was one of the most enthusiastic patrons of literature among the Amsterdam Sephardi patrician elite, Israel, 'Gregorio Leti (1631-1701) and the Dutch Sephardi Elite', pp. 274-6; Duarte Lopes Rosa wrote several eulogistic works in honour of Pedro II and the 'serene Princess Dona Maria Sophia of Neuburg' in the years 1687-91, doubtless also at the request of Jeronimo Nunes da Costa, see den Boer, 'Spanish and Portuguese Editions', 23, pp. 144-5.

³³ See the *Relation du Voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande, et de la réception qui luy a été faite* (The Hague, 1692), with engravings by Romeyn de Hooghe; N. Japikse, *Prins Willem III, de Stadhouder-koning* (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1930-3), II, pp. 326-7.

³⁴ E. R. Samuel, 'Manuel Levy Duarte (1631-1714): An Amsterdam Merchant Jeweller and his Trade with London', *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 27 (1982), pp. 19-20.

EL DUELO

DE

LOS APLAUSOS

Triumpho de los Triumphos.

RETRATO

DEL INVICTO AUGUSTO,

GUILLERMO III

MONARCA BRITANICO.

PANEGIRICO.

En la entrada que hizo en el Haya

SU MAGESTAD

Con la Real asistencia de los Princeses Aliados.

Cuyo metrico Elogio

DEDICA

A LA

SERENISSIMA ALTA Y PODEROSA

PRINCESA
DE SOISONS Y SABOYA.

Manuel de Leon.

Haya, en 20 de Febrero 1691.



32 The title page of Manuel de Leão's *Duelo de los Aplausos* (1691).

together for a momentous reunion. The gods – Mars of England, Neptune of Holland, Jupiter of the empire, Phoebus of Spain, Hercules of Denmark and several less significant demi-gods (the German principalities) – have convened not only to receive the heroic William III following his triumphs in Britain and Ireland but to ‘halt the furies of the Gallic Giant’.

The poet celebrates the unprecedented splendour of the festivities amid which the Stadholder-king was received which, according to Manuel de Leão, no pre-

GUILLERMO III



DEDICATORIA
 A LA SERENISSIMA
 Alta y Poderosa Señora
 PRINCESA
 DE SOISSONS Y SAVOYA

EXcelsa Serenissima Señora:
 reverente os dedico este famoso
 Retrato, Augustamente Soberano:
 sera más precioso
 si vos lo recibis, pues tendrà aora
 bella Lista de Plata en vuestra Mano.

para

33 Manuel de Leão's Dedication to the Princess of Soissons and Savoy, Headed by a Portrait of William III.

vious triumphs could match. These were indeed very elaborate and were recorded for posterity at the time in a series of magnificent engravings by Dutch artists including Romeyn de Hooghe. In typical baroque fashion, the poet challenges other poets to a poetical contest. A 'duel of applauses' is celebrated and the 'canaille' of the Olympic Games, and the Saturnian and other feasts, required to submit; for theirs are but pagan spectacles inferior to the triumphs of William

of Orange. The achievements of this great contemporary hero are compared with those of nine famous heroes of the past, the names of the latter being taken from the letters that form the name 'Guillermo'. Thus, if Ulysses, corresponding to the second letter of William's name, gained fame by refusing to fear the tempests of the sea, William III 'to the astonishment of the ages' acquired glory by braving Neptune when the latter was at his most angry. This, as we are informed in a note, refers not only to the rough winter crossing from England which William had just experienced, but all three of his crossings from England to Holland, his four crossings, thus far, from Holland to England, and his crossings from England to, and from, Ireland.

The 'triumph of triumphs' refers to the splendour of the Stadholder-king's grand entry into The Hague. No ancient hero was received with ceremony of comparable magnificence, though William's carriage was not drawn by elephants, like Caesar's, nor by lions, like Mark Anthony's, but rather by horses like that of Apollo: for like Apollo, William resembles a sun, shining in England, reflecting in Holland and casting rays in France. The three arches of triumph which formed the centre-piece of ceremonial decorations erected in the centre of The Hague, and adorned by leading artists (see Plate 34), surpassed in splendour Manuel de Leão tells us, the famous monuments of ancient Memphis, Babilonia, and Rhodes while the firework displays put on in The Hague surpassed the flashing of volcanoes and the very flames of Vesuvius.

El Duelo de los Aplausos, if possibly the most elegant of the eulogistic works we have discussed, is certainly also the most superficial as a comment on William III and the Glorious Revolution. It is merely a typical baroque panegyric of the late seventeenth century, a light entertainment in a classical mythological style, devoted to a monarch. It is mainly significant for us today as a cultural historical document illustrating the elaborate festivities which were put on at The Hague in celebration of William III's triumphs in February 1691.

CONCLUSION

The Glorious Revolution and the elevation of William and Mary to the three thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was enthusiastically prayed for, and celebrated, by the Sephardi Jews of Amsterdam. A number of eulogistic and other occasional works written at this time by Miguel de Barrios, Joseph Penso de la Vega, Manuel de Leão, and Duarte (Moseh) Lopes Rosa reflect this support and enthusiasm.

In the case of the *Atlas angélico* of Miguel (Daniel Levi) de Barrios we may speak of Sephardi literature containing a discernible Jewish response to the triumphs of William III. Barrios includes in his book one of the several prayers which the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam recited for the success



34 *William III's Triumphal Entry into The Hague on 5 February 1691.*

Note the several specially erected triumphal arches adorned with elaborate depictions of his victories. William is riding in the carriage marked '5', Bentinck, now Lord Portland, is in the carriage marked '9', Lord Devonshire is in the carriage marked '10'.

of the Stadholder, Dutch state, and their invasion armada in the autumn of 1688. Parts of his text reveal a definite sympathy for the Calvinist religion which William defended and aversion to the popery he defeated. More importantly, the penchant for cabalistic explanations rooted in etymology and biblical prophecies characteristic of this author impart an unmistakable Jewish flavour to his work. Despite the fact that it is clearly a reworking of a book originally intended to be dedicated to James II and designed to please that Catholic and absolutist Stuart monarch, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the pro-Revolution sentiments Barrios expressed in the revised version of the book, and privately.

By contrast, Joseph Penso de la Vega and Manuel de Leão avoided introducing any specifically Jewish overtones into their eulogies. They wrote elaborate, entertaining, courtly panegyrics of slight literary value doubtless but of considerable significance for the cultural historian. Of ideological content there is very little.

Even the defence of the international Protestant cause by the Stadholder-king is touched on only very lightly so as to avoid offending the sensibilities of the Catholic allies. The one key idea which is basic to all three of the works discussed in this essay is the three authors' common view of the Glorious Revolution and the dethroning of James II in favour of William and Mary as something important, and indeed necessary, for the Dutch Republic and Europe as well as Britain, events to be placed firmly within the framework of Europe's struggle against the insatiable tyranny of Louis XIV. The lack of Jewish content in the eulogies by Joseph Penso de le Vega and Manuel de Leão, indeed the fact that these works were written at all, has to be understood in the context of the political, financial, and diplomatic role of the Dutch Sephardi patrician elite. The leading figures of the community were eager to build on their links with the Stadholder-king, his entourage, and the ambassadors of his allies, and their patronage of the type of occasional literature the Sephardi writers of Amsterdam produced at the time of the Glorious Revolution was an integral part of what was at once a political, cultural, and social strategy: by increasing their ties with William III and his allies, the Dutch Sephardi leadership gained in influence and prestige in both Jewish and non-Jewish circles and further enhanced their quasi-aristocratic pretensions.