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**MIGUEL DANIEL LEVI DE BARRIOS: COMPLETE WORKS IN 3 VOLUMES. Vol. 1. Plays.** Edited by Moshe Lazar and F. Javier Pueyo Mena. Pp. xxxii + 985. Lancaster, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 2002. Paper, \$36.00.

Although the scholarship on late medieval Iberia has often considered the plight of many "new Christians" at the hands of the Inquisition, the discussion of *converso* literature has largely excluded the work of those early-modern *marranos*, or forced converts and their descendants who preserved vestiges of their religion in secret, who openly returned to Judaism after a few generations. Thus the current project of Moshe Lazar and F. Javier Pueyo Mena to collect and edit together for the first time the work of one of the best known Sephardic *marranos* in Europe and one of the most important Jews of seventeenth-century Amsterdam, Miguel (Daniel Levi) de Barrios (1635–1701), fills a critical lacuna in the history of Sephardic literature of the post-1492 diaspora. Despite Barrios's prolific and varied literary production, written in Spanish after his rediscovery of his ancestral faith and his flight from persecution to the "Jerusalem of the north," his complete works have never been collected or edited, and the titles that have been published over the last fifty years represent only a part of his total output. Thus, Lazar's and Pueyo Mena's edition of the thousands of pages that make up Barrios's literary corpus performs an invaluable service in widening the canonical purviews of Spanish literary criticism and in offering increasingly more complex cases through which to tell the history of conversion and religious identity in Spain and its empire.

It is hard to imagine another scholar more suitable to undertake the mammoth task of collecting and editing Barrios's works than Moshe Lazar, who has for over thirty years been dedicated to editing and studying neglected works in Ladino and Spanish by Jewish writers of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. His editions of Ladino works—including, among many others, the Psalms, versions of the biblical story of Joseph, and various *romances*, as well as his recent *Sefered in my Heart: A Ladino Reader*—have helped disseminate the literature among modern readers and have provided basic working texts for scholars interested in Ladino writing who have no access to the source manuscripts. Lazar has worked previously with Francisco Javier Pueyo Mena, researcher in the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid, in editing early manuscripts of the Bible in Spanish and Ladino. In addition to the other two projected volumes of Barrios's complete works (volume two will include his poetry, and volume three will include various other writings), Lazar is also editing the work of other *amussim* (Heb. "forced ones") of the seventeenth century including Miguel de Silveyra and Antonio Enriquez Gómez.

The first of three volumes in the edition comprises Barrios's plays and divided into three sections with an introduction and an appendix. The first section contains Barrio's six religious dramas, including the well-known "Contra la verdad no hay fuerza" (Against truth there is no power), previously edited and published by Kenneth Scholberg (*La poesía religiosa de Miguel Barrios* [Madrid: Edhigar and Ohio State University, 1962]). Like the others in this section, this work, probably published in the 1660s, is an allegorical play involving the dialogue of figures such as Virtue, Understanding and Falsehood, not unlike the Christian *autos* of Calderón de la Barca. It is unique, however, in being written from a Jewish perspective in honor of three victims of the Inquisition. The other five religious allegorical plays, dating from around 1684 and recently edited and published by Julia Lieberman (*El teatro alegórico de Miguel [Daniel Lev] Barrios* [Newark, Del.: Juan de la Cuesta, 1996]), dramatize the intellectual concerns of European Jewry in the seventeenth century, including such themes as the punishment of Israel for idolatry, the experience of exile, and the centrality of the law of Moses in belief and community solidarity. As Lieberman has explained, the personification of the Law as an allegorical character in all of these plays marks the point of convergence of Barrio's Spanish Golden Age theatrical models and the religious and philosophical concerns of his community in Amsterdam.

The second section of the volume collects Barrio's secular drama, including such comedies as "Pedir favor al contrario" (Asking favor from the adversary), "El canto junto al encanto" (Chant and enchantment), and "El Español de Orán" (The Spaniard from Oran), as well as three other secular mythological allegories published here for the first time since the seventeenth century. Just as Barrios's allegorical religious plays follow the peninsular model of the Calderonian *auto*, these comedies adopt the decidedly Spanish dramatic form of the cloak-and-dagger (*capa y espada*) *comedia*, involving conflicts between love and social codes and their resolution. The third section contains a number of "dramatized dialogues," some between allegorical voices such as Music, Spain, Poetry, The People, and others or between figures from classical mythology. The volume also includes two supplementary, previously published documents relating to Barrios's biography. The first is a description of Barrios by a contemporary rabbi (both the original Hebrew text and Lazar's English translation are presented); the other is an English translation of a card from Barrios to Antonio Enríquez Gómez. The appendix includes a revised English translation of "Contra la verdad no hay fuerza." (The original translation, by D. Herman and L. Lockwood, was included in Lazar's volume of Ladino and Spanish Sephardic works, *The Sephardic Tradition* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1972].)

Despite the undeniable value of this edition of Barrios's complete works, the accompanying material in the first volume might have been more com-

plete. Lazar's introduction, though dense and fascinating, is oddly brief for an edition of this breadth. Although Lazar does describe the social life of the Jewish community of Amsterdam, a complete introduction to the life and work of Barrios is lacking. In addition, there is little dialogue with previous scholarship on Barrios's work, which sometimes results in discrepancy between editors. For example, Lazar calls "Contra la verdad no hay fuerza" a "Jewish 'auto-sacramental'" (p. xviii), whereas Lieberman considers Barrios's other five religious plays religious "autos" but describes "Contra la Verdad" as an allegorical *comedia*. Indeed, as Scholberg points out in his edition, Barrios himself described the work as a "comedia" within his poem "Coro de las Musas." Regarding the Peninsular influences on Barrios, Lazar also claims, without explanation, that his "theatrical work belongs to the school of Lope de Vega" (p. xviii), while Lieberman and Edward Wilson directly connect much of his drama to Calderón (J. Lieberman, *El teatro alegórico*, p. 52 *et passim*; E. M. Wilson, "Miguel de Barrios and Spanish Religious Poetry," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 40 (1963): 178). More dialogue with existing scholarship and a more detailed introduction could easily address these minor differences and clarify the position of the editors.

Lazar's brief mention of previous editions of Barrios's work in the introduction does not explain how his and Prievo Mena's editorial method differs from previous redactors. In fact, it is not clear if the texts in the volume derive from single sources or are each a combination of previous editions. It is likewise not apparent what the editors' procedures were regarding technical issues such as punctuation and preservation or modernization of spelling. A more serious limitation, however, is that some of the works, particularly the dramatized dialogues, are not clearly attributed to the sources listed in the bibliography, even though sources for many of them are easily found in the bibliographies in previous editions of Barrios's works. Lazar neglects to explain that Barrios's own poems such as *Flor de Apolo* (Flower of Apollo) and *Coro de las musas* (Choir of the muses) provide the sources for some of these texts, nor does he identify which dialogues were published separately. This failure to clearly specify all the sources raises doubts as to the work's critical comprehensiveness and its potential as a standard edition of Barrios's work for future scholarship. These limitations do not diminish the usefulness of this volume for reading and teaching, but clarification of the editorial procedures and clear references with each work to the sources listed in the bibliography would add appreciable merit to the edition and obviate the need for future

editions in years to come. One only hopes the remaining two volumes avoid the peccadilloes of the first.

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