

HISTORY AND CULTURE

SAMUEL ABAS AND HIS PORTUGUESE TRANSLATION OF BAḤYA'S *DUTIES OF THE HEARTS*: A PARTICULAR FORM OF CENSORSHIP AND CULTURAL TRANSFER

Harm den Boer (University of Basel, Switzerland)

The following study examines the Portuguese translation of Baḥya ibn Paqūda's *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā farāiḍ al-qulūb* (*Book of direction to the Duties of the Heart*) by the Hamburg rabbi Samuel Abas (b. after 1634–1691), printed in Amsterdam in 1670 with the title: [*Hovot ha-Levavot*]. *Hobat Alebabet. Obrigação dos corações*. As Abas himself stated, he translated his work on the basis of the Hebrew version by Judah ibn Tibbon. This was not the first vernacular version of the Duties of the Heart. Previously Isaac Formon had presented a Spanish translation in Hebrew characters, printed in Salonika around 1568. This version was then printed again, in Latin characters and adapted by David Pardo, son of Haham Joseph Pardo, in the Northern Netherlands in 1610. Abas knew this translation, but his Portuguese version is a much freer and more fluent translation, accompanied by summaries of the principal arguments, remarks and indexes.

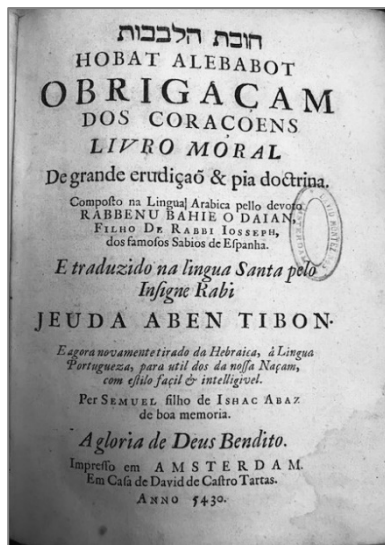
The most notable feature of Abas' printed translation is, however, the intervention of Amsterdam Haham Moses Raphael d'Aguilar in the text. Aguilar found it necessary to expound on chapter 8 of the third treatise, regarding Divine Providence and Free Will, inserting a part on his own, bringing the role of human free will to the fore through extensive argumentation. This remarkable intervention in Baḥya's original text is suggested to be related with the Protestant environment of the Western Sephardic communities of Northern Europe, particularly Amsterdam. It presents a significant case of cultural transfer highlighting the difference between the medieval Iberian Jewish reader of the original text and the New Jewish reader of the seventeenth century and makes a case for examining other romance translations of Jewish classics produced in the Western Sephardic Diaspora.

The present study includes a full critical edition of the Portuguese intervention by Aguilar as contained in *Hobat Alebabet. Obrigação dos corações* and also preserved in a collection of his manuscript works, together with a translation into English. Also included are the edition of the

Approbation and the Foreword to the reader, both in their original Portuguese text, and the contributor's translation.

Samuel de Isaac Abas (b. after 1634–1691) was one of the outstanding rabbinic figures of the Hamburg Portuguese Jewish Community in the seventeenth century, the proud owner of an important library of more than 1136 volumes¹ and the author of three translations: one, a Spanish translation of an Italian anti-Christian work on the Trinity by Haham Judah Carmi (d. 1672),² apparently Abas' teacher; the second, a translation into Portuguese of another polemical work *Keset Jeonathan* (Jonathan's Arch), this time from Dutch, written by Jan Richen, who adopted the Jewish name Jonathan Ger³; and finally, a rendering from Hebrew into Portuguese of the ethical treatise "Duties of the Heart" by the medieval Sephardic philosopher Baḥya ibn Paquda.

Apart from these translations and what can be inferred from his library, surprisingly little is known about Abas' religious and scholarly activities.⁴ At present, we know that he was a pupil of the aforementioned Judah Carmi, who served as Haham (rabbi) in Glückstadt and Hamburg⁵; not



Courtesy Ets Haim / Livraria Montezinos

¹ The number given represents the books and manuscripts that were included in the auction catalogue of his library, published after his death, in 1693. See Studemund-Halévy. "Códices"; Kaplan. "El perfil cultural," 277-281.

² The translation is titled "Discurso contra los deffençores de la Trinidad," in the only extant copy known of, Ms. 48 B 11 from Ets Haim (Livraria Montezinos). It is described in Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Ets Haim*, 274.

³ Two manuscript copies, both written in the eighteenth century, are extant in Ets Haim, 48 A 1, and 48 B 11, described in Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Ets Haim*, 94, 247 respectively. Due to their polemical (anti-Christian) character, these texts only circulated in manuscript.

⁴ See Studemund-Halévy. "Códices," and *Biographisches Lexikon*, 164-166; Kaplan. "El perfil cultural," 277.

⁵ Although his precise function in Hamburg was not clear, he apparently did not serve as a rabbi. Isaac Cassuto, who studied the Archives of the Hamburg Portuguese Jewish

much is known on Carmi either.⁶ As for Abas, when and where he studied is still not clear, but it must have been outside Hamburg, as the Portuguese Jewish Community there lacked institutions of religious education by the years Samuel was instructed. His name does not appear among the extant lists of pupils of Ets Haim of Amsterdam; Michael Studemund-Halévy, who has dedicated several articles to Abas' library and life,⁷ suggests he may have studied either in the Netherlands or in Italy, given the extraordinary presence of books in the languages of both of these countries in his library and, of course, the fact that he was able to translate from Dutch as well as Italian. Abas came from a well-known Portuguese family, called Dias Jorge, installed in Hamburg, Glückstadt and Amsterdam; Studemund-Halévy mentions that members of the family were raised to nobility by Emperor Mathias on the 12 of March 1614.⁸ Where and when Samuel was born has not been established. His parents were Isaac Abas alias Manoel Rodrigues Dias and Sara, who had married in Hamburg in 1631, all according to a wedding poem composed by Jacob Rosales alias Imanuel Bocarro Francês, another distinguished Sephardic personality of the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹ When Isaac died around 1663, he left three children, Jacob, Josuah and Samuel. All three appear in the records of the Hamburg Portuguese Jewish Community in prominent functions between 1652 and 1670, the years with extant documentation.¹⁰ Samuel is not known to have officiated as a rabbi; however, he was appointed in various other honorary functions. In 1661, he appears in the records of the Portuguese Community of Hamburg for the first time, when he was appointed as treasurer (*Gabbay*), later he would also appear as member of the governing board (*Parnas*) of Talmud Tora in 1668 and 1669. A further proof of his status in Hamburg was the fact that he was

Community could only find evidence for other functions. See "Aus dem ältesten Protokollbuch," VII: 181 (1656); VIII: 231 (1663); 59 (1669).

⁶ Carmi was perhaps a native from Italy; he was a private teacher in Glückstadt and succeeded Abraham da Fonseca as Haham. Together with Jacob Rosales and Moses Israel he signed the approbation of Abas' *Obrigaçãõ dos corações*. In 1648 Carmi had published his work *De Charitate et Benevolentia a Christianis erga Judaeos habenda ab Evangelica lege extractus*. Amsterdam: 1648 and the polemical work on the Trinity, written in Italian and translated by Samuel Abas – of which the original text is presently unknown. Carmi was buried in Hamburg, and his gravestone is described by Studemund-Halévy. See for all this information *Biographisches Lexikon*, 534 and also, by the same author, "Codices gentium," 296.

⁷ Studemund-Halévy. *Biographisches Lexikon*, 164-166.

⁸ Studemund-Halévy. *Biographisches Lexikon*, 164.

⁹ On Rosales/Bocarro, see Studemund-Halévy. *Biographisches Lexikon*, 232-234.

¹⁰ Cassuto. "Aus dem ältesten Protokollbuch," VI-XII (1901-1908).

chosen to be sent as an envoy accompanying Haham Moses Israel to Constantinople in 1666, in paying respects to the messianic pretender Shabbetai Zevi. Eventually, due to community quarrels over the selected committee, both did not make the journey.¹¹

These few, although not insignificant, details are about all we presently know about Samuel Abas' life and career, apart from the vast erudition and the breadth of his interests that can be gathered from his extensive library – for which he was admired and visited in his time – and also, recently, through the erudite studies of Yosef Kaplan and Michael Studemund-Halévy.¹²

As for the works he has left us, his translations of polemical works by Carmi and Ger/Richen are mentioned but have hardly received any scholarly attention. And to our surprise, neither has his printed translation of Paquda's *Duties of the Hearts*, although it has been mentioned as a very popular work among Sephardic (ex converso) readers.¹³ I will argue that Abas' translation is well worth a more careful analysis, as it is not only one of the few Portuguese translations in that great "storehouse of Jewish knowledge available in the Spanish and Portuguese languages"¹⁴ that had been made and was still being made available to the Sephardic reader of converso origin – almost all of these works were printed in Spanish¹⁵; the translation also deserves very special attention due to the intervention in

¹¹ Mentioned by Studemund-Halévy. *Biographisches Lexikon*, 164-165, also referring to the community archives (Protokollbuch) as described in Cassuto. "Aus dem ältesten Protokollbuch," XI: 5.

¹² Studemund-Halévy. "Codices gentium"; Kaplan. "El perfil cultural."

¹³ Studemund-Halévy. "Ecos ibéricos"; "Codices gentium," 295; this popularity can be inferred from the presence of the work in several known Sephardic libraries but is also based upon the recommendation to his children by the Jeweler Isaac de Matatiah Aboab to read from time to time some books among which he singled out *Obrigação dos corações*, that was to be read twice, see Den Boer. *La literatura sefardí*, 113-114; Studemund-Halévy. "Codices gentium," 297-298, 314.

¹⁴ Yerushalmi. *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, 47.

¹⁵ See Yerushalmi. *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, 47; and Den Boer. *La literatura sefardí*; *ibid.* "Tratados didácticos," 164-185. In translations, Spanish was used; in original works or compilations, Portuguese alternated with Spanish. Some examples of treatises in Portuguese: *Declaração das 612 Encomendaças da nossa Lei* by Abraham Farrar (and Saul Levi Mortera). Amsterdam: Paulus Aertsen van Ravestein, 1627; *Livro da providência divina* by Isaac Jessurun. Hamburg: [no printer], 1663; Samuel da Silva's *Tratado da immortalidade de alma*. Amsterdam: Paulus Aertsen van Ravestein, 1623; Uriel da Costa. *Examen das tradições*. Amsterdam: Paulus Aertsen van Ravestein, 1624; and Menasseh ben Israel. *Thesouro dos Dinim*, Amsterdam: pr. Eliahu Aboab/Ioseph ben Israel, 1645-1647.

the text by rabbis Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses Raphael d' Aguilar. In fact, among the extant manuscript works by Aguilar there is a text that, according to Leo and Rena Fuks contained "critical remarks on the book *Obrigação dos coraçoes* by Bahya ibn Paqoda, transl. from the Hebr. into Port. by Semuel Abaz."¹⁶ Other scholars have regarded these critical remarks as a reaction, in fact a form of censorship, directed against the translator, Samuel Abas.¹⁷ Upon examining the printed translation together with the manuscript text just mentioned and extant among the works of Aguilar, it becomes evident, however, that it was not the translator Abas who was the target of criticism, but a crucial part of Bahya's text itself, the eighth chapter on the relation between Divine Prescience and human liberty in the third Treatise ("On the Service of God") of the first part of *Duties of the Hearts*.¹⁸

The remarkable intervention by Haham Aguilar (and Isaac Aboab?), documented both in the text of Abas' *Obrigação dos coraçoes* and in a manuscript volume of collected writings by Aguilar is very much worth to be known and studied. Therefore, I have opted to present here a full edition of the pertinent chapter of the Portuguese translation by Abas, including a comparison with Aguilar's text, which is almost identical to that of the printed work. The edition I will provide here is preceded by a description of Abas' published work, including its approbations, praises and forewords, as well as a brief commentary on the principal features of the text as rendered and presented by the Hamburg Haham. I also offer a first appraisal of the nature of the critiques/interventions by Aguilar, which certainly merit a more careful analysis taking into account the Jewish and non-Jewish sources the latter used in his contribution.

The translation of Bahya's famous ethical work by Samuel Abas was printed in Amsterdam by David de Castro Tartas in 5430 [1670], in a volume in quarto format, with an extension of 230 leaves, or 438 numbered pages.¹⁹ The book, reflecting the multilinguistic skills and the aesthetic merits of the printing house, combines an elegant roman type with

¹⁶ Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Ets Haim*, in their description of MS EH 48 A 11, a collection of works from Moses Raphael d' Aguilar, n. 423, p. 229.

¹⁷ Among them Studemund-Halévy. "In diesem Buch, dessen Übersetzung von dem Amsterdamer Rabbiner Mose Raphael d' Aguilar kritisiert wird...", *Biographisches Lexikon*, 165; "cuya traducción fue criticada por el rabino amsterdamés Moseh Raphael d' Aguilar," "Codices Gentium," 295.

¹⁸ Altmann refers to "the celebrated dialogue between soul and intellect," 33.

¹⁹ A full bibliographical description, including references and extant copies in Den Boer. *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, n. 43.

regular use of italics together with Hebrew parts, as in the approbations by the Hamburg rabbis Caro, Sasportas and Israel, Hebrew also being used on occasions in the text itself²⁰; the typographical art is completed by a careful arrangement of running titles, catchwords and marginal notes, together with ornamental pieces to fill the voids. In comparison with the earlier Spanish version of Ibn Paquda by David Pardo, printed in Amsterdam(?) in 1610, also in quarto, but with considerably less details, one can witness the progress of Sephardic printing in the Netherlands from the start of the seventeenth century until its last quarter.²¹ In 1675, David de Castro Tartas would print the beautiful volume dedicated to the inauguration of the new Portuguese Synagogue²² and, in 1679, *Las Excelencias de los hebreos* by Isaac Cardoso, a classic of the Jewish literature in Iberian vernacular.²³ A carefully fashioned work such as the one realized by Abas was meant to be used in one's home library, both as a reference and a book to be meditated. The volumes printed for daily use, which were meant to satisfy the practical needs of the ex-converso worshippers, like the numerous prayer books printed in Spanish throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were printed with less typographical care and in smaller format.²⁴

There are other, more substantial differences between the earlier Spanish version printed in Amsterdam and the Portuguese translation of 1670. The 1610 *Obligación de los coraçones* was in fact an adaption in Roman characters of the Spanish translation made by Isaac Formon, which had been printed in Hebrew characters in Salonica around 1568.²⁵ Whereas Formon and David Pardo already made a service to their (ex-converso) readers with marginal references to the biblical verses quoted in Baḥya's text, Abas took this attention towards the intended reader one step further, providing:

²⁰ For instance, on p. 271, when the various words and epithets used in the Scriptures to describe the humble are evoked.

²¹ For a bibliographical description, Den Boer. *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, n. 44; Pardo certainly used (that is, transcribed and adapted) the translation realized before by Isaac Formon in Salonika around 1568, printed in Hebrew characters. As far as I know, a close comparison between both Spanish versions is still lacking.

²² Den Boer. *La literatura sefardí*, 216, 378; *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, n. 751.

²³ Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto*, particularly 350-354. Den Boer. *Spanish and Portuguese Printing*, n. 315.

²⁴ Some of these 'practical' works had beautiful title pages however, and occasionally their owners had them provided with embellished bindings.

²⁵ On this translation see Schwarzwald. "Linguistic Features," 562 and the secondary sources mentioned therein about the author and the printing.

- running titles of the book’s 10 treatises (e.g. “Tratado da dedicação das obras à Deus,” etc.);
- a brief synopsis of every treatise, and each chapter²⁶;
- biblical and rabbinical quotations singled out in italics and with marginal references;
- some extra explanations or comments provided in the margins²⁷;
- occasionally, he also clarified some parts of the text through the insertion of some explanations or definitions, using parentheses to separate the translation from Abas’ own intervention.²⁸
- In addition, Abas provided a table at the end of the work, which summarizes the work’s contents in the order of the book, with the page numbers of each part.²⁹

In his prologue, Abas comments these (paratextual) aids provided to the reader, very much aware of the effort he had invested in them, and hoping for a reciprocal, benevolent reaction; he asked his reader to attribute possible errors in the work to the “frailty of his intellect,” but please not to any lack of care. If the reader appreciated his service, he would be encouraged to undertake even greater works.³⁰ Perhaps the reaction was not entirely as he had expected, or the Haham had simply no time to publish another translation in the ensuing 20 years of his life, as *Obrigação dos corações* remains the only book published by Samuel Abas.

²⁶ Take for instance the Third Treatise. Abas starts with a short description: “em que se declaram as circunstâncias da obrigação de receber o serviço de Deus Bendito,” followed by an “introdução” that reads (translated in English, HdB): Contains a declaration of why this treatise is added to the previous one; divides the benefits that man provide another into five parts and shows that all are directed towards their own profit; and only those that the Blessed Creator does to men are born out of utmost goodness. And he shows the great imperfection and weakness of man, whereby the duty to serve the Blessed Creator is only bigger” (*Obrigação*, 111).

²⁷ To give but some examples: “Quatro causas dos bens e males do homem” (160), “Deus se serve de todas as causas e meios para premiar e castigar o homem sem forçar o alvidrio. Como dirige as cousas do homem quando é perfeito” (160), “Exemplo curioso para fazer fundamento das cousas do outro mundo” (168), “O prémio da alma não se escreve na Lei porque pareceria for merecida por justiça e Deus o concede por misericórdia” (221).

²⁸ Only one brief example: where the translation reads: “porem no serviço divino, que procede do entendimento, os preceitos interiores do coração (*que são as obrigações do coração*)” (122), Abas has added this/his explanation “which are the duties of the heart” between parenthesis.

²⁹ Occupying the pages 425-439, summing up all the titles and subtitles, Abas provided to Treatises and chapters, and within the chapters.

³⁰ “Prólogo ao devoto lector,” unnumbered leaves *3v-*4v: *4v. An edition and translation of the prologue is included at the end of this article.

Examining the translation itself, it becomes evident that Abas did not want to present an adapted version in Portuguese of the previous Spanish translation. Regarding the Hebrew – all of the romance translations of Ibn Paquda were based on the translation by Judah ibn Tibbon – he stated that he did not want to stick too closely to the original words, as the resulting text would not be very “elegant;” moreover, he feared it would be (very much) misunderstood. The translator’s own judgement, taking care to present an “elegant” and readable Portuguese is also present in his treatment of Biblical quotations, adapting the text of the Spanish Ferrara translation he undoubtedly relied upon into a fluent Portuguese, much less hindered by literalisms.³¹ As to the Spanish version by Formon/Pardo, Abas referred to its “antique” language and found the translation imperfect and “diminuta,” probably meaning that the text was lacking. Nevertheless, he praised Pardo for his good intention and zeal in wanting to publish the work.³² Comparing the version by Formon/Pardo with the Portuguese version by Abas, one can understand what the Portuguese Haham meant by the ancient language. In the Spanish version, due to its use of a Ladino Bible translation or perhaps also to the peculiar Spanish or Judeo-español used by Isaac Formon, words appear that were obsolete in seventeenth century Spanish and Portuguese, like “podestanía,” “atorvar,” “melesinar,” “envoluntar,” “fiúcia” or “estrelleros.”³³ Abas preferred to use the contemporary vocabulary and he also rejected the use of the special morphology and syntax current in the word for word renderings from Hebrew that characterized the Ferrara Bible and other (liturgical) translations intended for former conversos, and present in the Spanish translation.³⁴ Even though the careful examination with the Hebrew text of Ibn Tibbon must remain a scholarly desideratum which we cannot aspire to fulfil here, one cannot but admire the fluent and, indeed elegant, version made by Samuel Abas, still very readable today, and certainly deserving a modern, critical edition.

³¹ I have compared the Portuguese biblical quotations by Abas with the text from the *Biblia de Ferrara*, in its 1661 edition printed by Joseph Athias in Amsterdam. One recognizes that Abas used the literal (so-called “Ladino”) translation from the Bible printed by Usque and Athias in Ferrara in 1553 and subsequently used in later editions (Den Boer. “La Biblia”), but he modernized syntax and lexicon. In another, forthcoming study, I will examine Abas’ use of the Bible with detail.

³² All these remarks on leaves *4r-v of the “Prólogo.”

³³ The modern versions by Abas: potestad, tornar, curar, querer, confiança, astrólogos.

³⁴ Like the continuous use of the apocopated participium praesens in the Spanish translation: “enaltecién,” “dizién,” which Abas replaces by a conjugated verb in a clause (“and they said”).

Let us now consider the criticism veered against the work by two Amsterdam rabbis, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses Raphael d'Aguiar. In their quality as Hahamim of Talmud Torah, both signed the obligatory approbation to the printed work. As was usual, the approbation was also an occasion to express praise; in this case they congratulated the translator for his command and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, for his elegant Portuguese and for his skills as a translator able to find the proper terms for the "true intention" of the author, which was considered quite difficult, since the Hebrew of Ibn Tibbon's version was affected by the Arab text it was based upon.³⁵ Up to this point of the approbation, all was praise in the opinion of Aboab and Aguiar. Upon mentioning the particular condition of the "difficult" Hebrew text, however, they felt it was required that they intervened in the text, "explaining and amplifying the author's words so that no one would misuse its ideas."³⁶ Nevertheless the rabbis admired the work's intention, disposing the minds and hearts of the readers towards the service of God, and they praised it for its pious doctrine of moral and intellectual virtues well suited to conduct the souls of the readers towards the haven of salvation.³⁷

Although the approbation makes it clear that the Amsterdam Hahamim did not in any way interfere with Samuel Abas' translation, a person they expressed to have in high esteem, they did state that Bahya's text required their intervention, insinuating that the author's ideas could otherwise be misused. In his prologue, Abas himself also referred to this peculiar form of rabbinic involvement, in a very neutral – elegant – way, not giving away too much of his personal opinion on the matter:

And the Hahamim who revised the text found it necessary for urgent reasons to alter some places, explaining and amplifying the doctrine of the author, particularly in chapter 8 of the third treatise.³⁸

The extent and the nature of this intervention is well worth a closer look. As noted, the correction is documented as a chapter or "exposition" (Port.

³⁵ Aprobação, f. *4+1r (the recto of the fifth unnumbered leaf). The full text of the approbation, together with an English translation, is included at the end of this article.

³⁶ See the Portuguese approbation: "Tanto assí, que em alguns passos nos pareceu necessário explicar e ampliar as palavras do autor para que ninguem abusasse de seus conceitos," f. *4+1r.

³⁷ "O assumpt do livro é dirigir e preparar os ánimos e corações ao divino serviço e todo ele contém sagrada teologia piússima e espiritual doutrina de virtudes morais e intellectuais, tudo conforme à nossa santa Lei e tradição de nossos Sábios, digna de ser continuamente meditada, como eficás e importantíssima para conduzir as almas ao felice porto da salvação e bemaventurança para que nacemos," f. *4+1r.

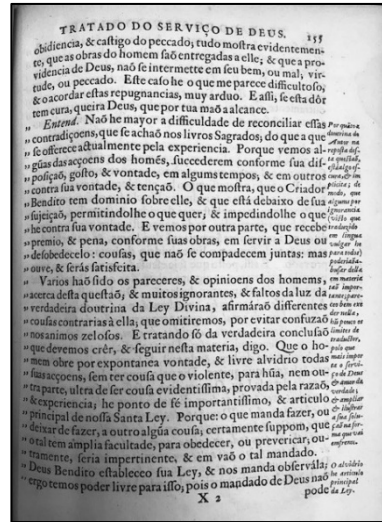
³⁸ Prólogo, f. *4r.

“Discurso”) in an important manuscript volume of works, most of them stemming from Moses Raphael d’Aguilar,³⁹ containing among others his treatises on rhetoric and logic, a short exposition on the use of images for Jews (apparently copied from his master Saul Levi Mortera), a treatise on the immortality of the soul, and other works. The text on *Obrigaçãõ dos corações*, covering 11 pages reads:

Exposition containing an accurate proof of how divine wisdom, His divine decree and human free will are compatible, composed to correct the doctrine of the author of the book *Obrigaçãõ dos corações* recently translated by Samuel Abas, and corrected and reformed by me, as is stated in said book, in the treatise on the service of God, chapter 8.⁴⁰

This description is followed by a very specific mention of the book: “see Hobat Alebobot in Portuguese, page 155 from the end of line 24 until the end of the chapter.”⁴¹ Aguilar’s ensuing text then reproduces the mentioned “correction” and “reformation.”

Even without knowing the existence of Aguilar’s manuscript, Samuel Abas’ printed translation provides the reader with transparent means to see for himself where the intervention – which we now must assume, was solely the work of Aguilar – starts, and where it ends: this *Fremdkörper* is indicated through quotation marks at the outer side of each line of text (see the illustration).



³⁹ For the description of Ms Ets Haim 48 A 11, a collection of works both written by or collected from D’Aguilar see Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Catalogue of the manuscripts of Ets Haim*, n. 423, p. 229, and also the actualized description on <http://etshaimmanuscripts.nl/manuscripts/eh-48-a-11/>.

⁴⁰ “Discurso em que exactamente se mostra como se compadeçem a sabiduria de Ds., seu divino decreto e o Livre alvidrio humano; o qual compuz para corrigir a doutrina do Autor do livro *Obrigaçãõ dos corações* novamente traduzido por Semuel Abaz, e por mi coregido e reformado como consta de ditto livro Tratado do Serviço de Deus, capítulo 8º.” Ets Haim, Ms. EH 48 A 11, f. 72v–77v; pages numbered 144–154.

⁴¹ In the margin: “Véjasse Hobat Alebobot em português, folhia 155 desde o fim da regra 24 até o fim do capítulo.”

The text edited and presented here, is the entire eighth chapter of the third treatise, the dialogue between the Soul and Intellect on the limits of free will against divine prescience and predestination. In his short and well-known essay “The religion of the thinkers,” Alexander Altmann already showed the richness of thought and the multi-layered opinions of three medieval Jewish sages (Saadia, Bahya and Maimonides) living in a Muslim environment.⁴² In the seventeenth-century Western Sephardic world, the question regarding free will and God’s omnipotence gathered a new momentum. Many of the Sephardic scholars of converso origin had been educated or were very familiar with the intense debates and reflections on the topic of *libre albedrío* (free will) and “Grace” and on the position of works versus faith in the Iberian Catholic world, between Dominicans and Jesuits, and in the work of neo-scholastic theologians.⁴³ Extremely sophisticated lines were drawn up and arguments delivered on “efficacious” and “sufficient” grace. The presence of theological terminology and concepts can be verified in the Spanish and Portuguese religious literature, including the sermons, of the Sephardim. The best known text is, no doubt, Menasseh ben Israel’s dissertation on human frailty (*De la fragilidad humana*, Amsterdam, 1642), available in a French translation, introduced and commented by H. Méchoulan and C. Wilke.⁴⁴

In the text written by Aguilar, supported by sufficient scriptural quotations but with no mention of particular Jewish authorities on the matter (Aguilar mentions “articles of faith,” but makes no reference to Maimonides, for instance), structure and syllogistic form of reasoning reflect the profound presence of Iberian Catholic learning and mindset. At the present moment, I have not been able to locate if Aguilar used particular Catholic sources for his exposition, but if not in particular ideas, the Amsterdam rabbi adopted the form of neo-scholastic argumentation.

Finally, this extraordinary seventeenth century “correction” of eleventh century Bahya ibn Paquda, a curious and perhaps unique form of anachronistic censorship, may well be due to the particular environment the Iberian New Jews found themselves in, in Amsterdam. Perhaps Aguilar, as other religious leaders among the Sephardim, sensed the urge to weapon the members of their Jewish community against the Protestant doctrine of predestination they were exposed to. As Menasseh’s work on

⁴² Altmann, “The Religion of the Thinkers,” *op. cit.*

⁴³ There is an abundant bibliography on the subject, see for instance, Martínez Martínez, “Poder y teología”; Franceschi, “El tomismo agustiniano” or Anfray, “Entre Agustín y Pelagio,” in the bibliography below.

⁴⁴ Menasseh ben Israel. *De la fragilité humaine.*

“human frailty and man’s inclination towards sin” shows, the Iberian discussion rooted in Catholic Counter-Reformation gained a new urgency among Sephardim in the Protestant environments the ex conversos found in places such as Amsterdam⁴⁵ and Hamburg. In his respect, a text by Aguilar himself should also be mentioned: his short treatise against predestination, “Breve discurso contra a doctrina de Calvino.”⁴⁶

This particular case of translation, then, once more proves the unavoidable and fascinating transformations inherent in any translation, in its quality of a cultural transfer. Even when in our case the addressees of Baḥya would nominally remain identical, being “Jewish readers,” one can immediately appreciate the considerable differences between the Jewish reader in a medieval Muslim environment, highly influenced by the notion of an omniscient and omnipotent God; and the ex-converso Jew, familiar with the Counter Reformation ideas of Free Will, and guided by Maimonides. It would certainly be of interest to closely examine other Sephardic translations of Jewish literature printed in the Western Sephardic Diaspora to bring processes of transfer and adaptation to the fore and thereby gain a better insight in the continuous dialogue Jewish readers had with their classical texts.

Appendix I.

Edition of Moses Raphael d’Aguilar’s Portuguese treatise on Divine Knowledge and human Free Will inserted in *Obrigaçāo dos coraçōes*, Amsterdam, 1670, 153-167; compared with the text extant in Ms. Ets Haim 48 A 11, folios 72r-77v.

Remarks

The following text represents an edition of chapter 8, belonging to Third Treatise “On the service of God” of Baḥya ibn Paquda’s book *Farā’id al-Qulūb*, based upon the Hebrew version *Hovot ha-Levavot* by Judah ibn Tibbon (c. 1160), in the Portuguese translation *Obrigaçāo dos coraçōes* realized by Samuel de Isaac Abas in 1670.

⁴⁵ Henry Méchoulan insists on the relevance of the Dutch context of the Remonstrant controversy. See his introduction to Menasseh ben Israel. *De la fragilité humaine*, 13-19.

⁴⁶ This short text is extant in the same manuscript volume of works written and collected by Aguilar, MS. EH 48 A 11, 70v-72r. Moreover, it immediately precedes Aguilar’s text on *Obrigaçāo dos coraçōes*.

The text reproduces Abas' translation and the intervention and changes by Moses Raphael d'Aguilar which were incorporated in the text. I have singled out Aguilar's part through the use of *italics*. In the edition I have modernized the punctuation, normalized accents and the use of double letters, "h," "ph," "y/i," "u/v" according to present day norms of Portuguese. Also, the conjugation of verbs follows modern practice in the spelling of nasals, e.g. "encontraõ" is rendered "encontram," etc. However, I have not changed the translator's use of sibilants (s, ss, ç, z) as they reflect the particular, hybrid environment of the Portuguese and Spanish speaking Sephardic communities in the Early Modern Age.

I have added references to the page numbers in *Obrigaçõ dos corações* between square brackets.

In the footnote, besides explaining and/or commenting the text, I have also documented the variations with the text - referred to as "Ms" - as preserved by Moses Raphael d'Aguilar in manuscript Ets Haim 48 A 11.

[153] Capítulo VIII.

Resolve algumas dúvidas que há nos textos da Escritura que parece encontram à verdade do livre alvidrio do homem e ensina⁴⁷ o que podemos entender e devemos crer nesta matéria.

Diz a Alma. Muito has trabalhado em minha cura e com ela restaurado minha saúde; repreendêsteme, doutrinásteme e com grande cuidado e benignidade te aplicaste a buscar meu remédio, tirándome da escuridade da ignorância. Mas ainda me fica um ponto dos que encontram⁴⁸ o serviço de Deus, que me dá grande pena e cuidado: se dele me livrares, me darei por curado perfeitamente [154] de todas minhas chagas.

Entendimento. Qual é essa cousa que tanto te molesta, como dizes?

Alma. É o achar nos livros Sagrados muitos textos que mostram moverem-se todas as cousas por necessidade e força do decreto, potestade e vontade de Deus em todos os géneros de criaturas que criou: minerais, plantas, animais e homens. Como diz o Psalmista "Tudo o que quer Adonai faz nos ceus e na terra [Ps 135:6]." "Adonai mata e da vida, faz descer à cova e faz subir. Adonai faz empobrecer e faz enriquecer, faz abaixar e tambem faz exaltar. [I Sam 2:6]" "Quem é este que disse e foi, Adonai não encomendou? Da boca do Alto não saem os males e os bens? [Lam 3:37]" "O que forma a luz e cria escuridade, faz paz e criou o mal. Eu Adonai faço tudo isto [Is 45:7]." "Se Adonai não fabricar a casa, em vão trabalham nela os que a fabricam. Se Adonai não guarda a cidade, em vão vigiam as guardas etc. [Ps 127:1-2]." E outros muitos versos como estes, que denotam que o homem e os outros

⁴⁷ ensena.

⁴⁸ Encontram: that go against or conflict with.

animais são guiados e dispostos pelo Criador para governo do mundo de tal modo que os faz mover, se movem com sua licença, poder e força; e se os não move, cessam suas obras. Como diz Jib. “E ele faz socegar e quem fará mal? E se esconder as faces, quem o olhará [Jb 34:29]?” “Encubres tuas faces (a saber dos animais) logo se turbam, se recolhes seu espírito perecem e a seu pó se tornam [margin: Ps 104:34, really 104:29].” E os antigos Sábios em alguns lugares parece que manifestam isto mesmo.⁴⁹

Mas por outra parte achamos na Sagrada Escritura o contrário disto expressamente. Pois mostra que as ações do homem são entregadas a seu livre alvídrio para escolher as que quizer à sua vontade; pois estão dadas em seu poder e eleição e por isso está disposto ao premio e pena, pola obediência e polo pecado. Isto é o que diz o verso. “Ve que hoje⁵⁰ ponho diante de ti a vida e o bem, a morte e o mal [Dt 30:15].” “De vossa mão veio isto [Mal 1:9].” “Que a obra do homem paga-a ele [Jb 34:11].” “A ignorância do homem perverte seu caminho [Prov 19:3].” E tudo o que na nossa Lei temos de preceitos, encomendações e doutrina, mostra a verdade disto e juntamente o que nela se refere do prémio da [155] obediência e castigo do pecado. Tudo mostra evidentemente que as obras do homem são ent[r]egadas a ele e que a providência de Deus não se intermete⁵¹ em seu bem ou mal, virtude ou pecado. Este caso é o que me parece dificultoso, e o acordar estas repugnâncias mui árduo. E assí, se esta dor tem cura, queira Deus que por tua mão a alcance.

Entendimento. Não é maior a dificuldade de reconciliar essas contradições que se acham nos Livros Sagrados do que a que se oferece actualmente pela experiência.⁵² Porque vemos algumas das ações dos homens sucederem conforme sua disposição, gosto e vontade em alguns tempos: e em outros,

⁴⁹ The Hebrew version by Ibn Tibbon reads “All the sayings of the Early Ones in every book agree on this, without dissent”; and this sense is also found in Pardo/Formon: “Y mirando en los libros de los antiguos, todos son desta opinion.” Abas or Aguilar play down this rabbinic consensus: “and the ancient sages appear to express the same in some places.”

⁵⁰ Oije.

⁵¹ Abas writes that “God does not interfere” (entromette), whereas Ibn Tibbon had translated “Divine Glory is free from responsibility” (Bahya/Tibbon, tr. 1996, 321) and Bahya “God has nothing to do” (Bahya, tr. Mansoor, 1973, p. 210). Pardo and Formón have: “el Señor no lo fuerça de ser bueno o malo” (p. 74).

⁵² Abas translates “experience” as the responsible for the resolution of the contradictions; Bahya, that it is found by “meditation” (beḥinah) which is more ambiguous as it can imply study of the Scriptures alone, or study of human experience and Scriptures. Ibn Tibbon had translated: “upon reflection, in life’s actual experiences” (tr. 1996, 321). Pardo/Formón: “lo vemos por la vista” (p. 74).

contra sua vontade e tenção.⁵³ O que mostra que o Criador Bendito tem domínio sobre ele e que está debaixo de sua sujeição permitindo-lhe o que quer e impedindo-lhe o que é contra Sua vontade.⁵⁴ E vemos por outra parte que recebe prêmio e pena conforme suas obras em servir a Deus o desobedece-lo: cousas que não se compadecem juntas; mas ouve e serás satisfeita.

Vários não sido os pareceres e opiniões dos homens acerca desta questão e muitos ignorantes e faltos da luz da verdadeira doutrina da Lei divina afirmaram diferentes cousas contrárias a ela que omitiremos por evitar confusão nos ânimos zelosos.⁵⁵ *E tratando só da verdadeira conclusão que devemos crêr e seguir nesta matéria, digo que*⁵⁶ *o homem obra por espontânea vontade e livre alvidrio todas suas ações sem ter cousa que o violente para uma nem outra parte, ultra de ser cousa evidentíssima, provada pela razão e experiência é ponto de fe importantíssimo e artículo principal de nossa Santa Lei.*⁵⁷ *Porque o que manda fazer ou deixar de fazer a outro alguma cousa certamente supõe que o tal tem ampla facultade para obedecer ou prevericar, outramente*⁵⁸ *seria impertinente e em vão o tal mandado.*⁵⁹

⁵³ Bahya and Ibn Tibbon clearly mention the element of *choice*, apart from volition or free will. This is possibly implied in the solution by Abaz: “gosto” = ‘preference’ and/or “tenção” = ‘intention.’ Pardo/Formón only refers to will “lo que envoluta” (p. 74).

⁵⁴ Here, the intervention is more evident: The phrase “You can also see this in the movement of a person’s tongue, in his hearing and sight” has been left out. Perhaps, while it was deemed redundant or not helping to clarify the argument.

⁵⁵ The text clearly marks a different direction from Bahya: Abaz translates that “men had various opinions about this matter” whereas Bahya admits that there “have been long controversies among the sages how to reconcile predetermination with divine justice” (Bahya, tr. Mansoor, 1973, 211). Bahya’s original gives a detailed presentation of philosophers’ opinions on predestination and liberty, which the Portuguese translation has suppressed and replaced with the sentence “e muitos ignorantes [...] zeloso.”

⁵⁶ Here is where the text collected in Ms. EH 48A11 starts, introduced by the following paragraph: “Discurso em que exactamente se mostra como se compadecem a sabiduria de Ds., seu divino decreto e o Livre alvidrio humano; o qual compuz para corrigir a doutrina do Autor do livro *Obrigaçao dos coraçoes* novamente traduzido por Semuel Abaz, e por my coregido e reformado como consta de ditto Livro tratado do serviço de Ds. capítulo 8º.” In the margin: “Véjasse Hobat Alebabot em português, folhia 155 desde o fim da regra 24 até o fim do capítulo,” f. 72v.

⁵⁷ Not only does the addition in Abas’ translation clearly favour the role of free will over determination, the texts changes it speculative nature and becomes prescriptive: “we will only deal with the true conclusion that we should believe and follow in this matter [...] apart from being quite evident, proven by reason human experience, it is a very important and principal article of our Faith.”

⁵⁸ Ms. oytramente.

⁵⁹ Gods commandments presuppose that man has ample freedom to obey or trespass, else they would be in vain.

Deus Bendito estabeleceu sua Lei e nos manda observá-la; ergo temos poder livre para isso, pois o mandado de Deus não [156] pode⁶⁰ ser vão e impertinente.⁶¹ A quem por suas ações se dá prêmio ou pena é força que nelas seja livre, porque o violentado não merece louvor nem vitupério, prêmio nem castigo, mas Deus Bendito nos promete e dá prêmio e pena pela observança de sua Lei. Ergo somos livres para isso, pois outramente⁶² o prêmio não seria gualardão mas pura graça e a pena não seria castigo, senão mera injustiça que totalmente repugna à Divina equidade.⁶³ E assi é doutrina tão universal e constante pelo enchimento⁶⁴ de toda a Sagrada Escritura⁶⁵ que o homem é livre de⁶⁶ suas ações que se pode dizer são tantos os lugares que a afirmão como textos há em toda ela. Pois todo o seu assunto⁶⁷ é estabelecer e mandar lei e preceitos, exortar e reduzir a Israel à sua observância pelos profetas, narrar histórias de vidas e sucessos de santos e bons premiados e de maus castigados per Deus Bendito para nos mover à emulação dos bons e à aversão dos maus e tudo supoem o livre alvidrio⁶⁸ do homem, como fica provado.⁶⁹ E assi,⁷⁰ posto que seja escusado trazer⁷¹ textos para prova-lo, apontaremos alguns, alem dos que alegaste que expressa e directamente o declararam. Diz Deus Bendito por Adam. “Eis o homem é como um de nós (ou dele procede) o saber o bem e o mal e agora porque não estenda sua mão e tome tambem da⁷² árvore das vidas e coma e viva para sempre etc. [Gn 3:21].” Eis aqui o mesmo Deus testefica que o homem tem conhecimento⁷³ do bem e do mal e facu[l]dade livre para eleger e fazer o que quizer. Diz pelo povo de Israel depois do auto da Data da Lei: “O quem dera⁷⁴ e⁷⁵ fosse este seu

⁶⁰ Ms. margin: pag. 4, fl^o 156.

⁶¹ Gods commandments cannot be in vain, therefore we have freedom to choose.

⁶² Ms. oytamente.

⁶³ God is righteous in his rewards and punishments, if persons were coerced, rewards would be pure grace, and punishments totally unjustified.

⁶⁴ Enchimento: fullness.

⁶⁵ Ms. Escripura.

⁶⁶ Ms. em.

⁶⁷ assunto.

⁶⁸ Ms. alvedrio.

⁶⁹ The Scriptures are full of Law and commandments, prophets spur Israel to obey them, and histories of lives and events of those good men that were rewarded and those bad that were punished by God are all meant to move us to imitate the good and reject the bad, and this implies free will, as was proven before.

⁷⁰ Ms. acy.

⁷¹ Ms. frazer.

⁷² Ms. do.

⁷³ Ms. conhesimento.

⁷⁴ Ms. dirá.

⁷⁵ The text has “q” the abbreviation for “que,” but it should have been the “&” for “e.”

coração assí, para me temer todo os dias [Dt 5:25].” E mais adiante “E agora Israel, que é o que Adonai teu Deus te pede, senão o temer a Adonai teu Deus, para andar em seus caminhos, ama-lo e servi-lo como todo teu coração e com toda tua alma, guardando as encomendaças de Adonai e seus foros que eu te encomendo oje para teu bem? [Dt 10-13-14].” Se Deus diz que dezeja que o temamos e o sirvamos, o pretende de nós e com instância no-lo pede, logo está absolutamen [157] te em nossa mão. Diz mais. “Ve (ou considera) que eu dou hoje diante de vos a benção e a maldição [Dt 11:26].” Isto é para que por tua vontade escolhas o que te convem. “Aos ceos e à terra chamo por testigos hoje que pus diante de ti a vida e a morte, a benção e a maldição, e escolherás na vida para que vivas tú e tua semente [Dt 30:19].”

A razão e experiência não menos evidentemente confirmam esta verdade. Pois certamente o homem não é agente natural como os elementos e plantas. Nem menos obra per siemples⁷⁶ instinto como os brutos, mas vemos que com seu entendimento⁷⁷ julga e discerne qual é o bem e o⁷⁸ mal e com a vontade livre elege o que quer e deixa o que não quer.⁷⁹ E ninguém⁸⁰ ignora que o entendimento e vontade, ambas são potências da sua alma e que o obrar por vontade é o mesmo que obrar livre e não violentado. E assi continuamente⁸¹ está o homem experimentando⁸² em sí mesmo esta liberdade e eleição em suas ações, pois todas as vezes que se lhe prepõe uma ação, se reconhece indiferente⁸³ e com potestade absoluta para a fazer ou não fazer, para falar e para calar. Não negará pois, (como doctamente ponderou um sábio nosso) a natureza da possível contingência nas operações do homem, senão o perverso de ingénio ou falsário que pretende sustentar o contrário do que experimenta.⁸⁴ Afirma com a boca o que nega o entendimento; publica

⁷⁶ Ms. simples.

⁷⁷ Ms. intendimento.

⁷⁸ Ms. “ou” instead of “e o.”

⁷⁹ A new argument: men distinguishes himself from inanimate nature, from flora and from animals, because he has understanding and will, both faculties of his soul; to act by will is the same as to act freely.

⁸⁰ Ms. ninguem.

⁸¹ Ms. continuadamente.

⁸² Ms. experimentado.

⁸³ Ms. indiferente. With the meaning: “neutral, impartial.” Cf. the Spanish *Diccionario de Autoridades*, 1734, s.v. “Indiferencia.” “En términos theologicos se dice de la libertad en el estado de poder elegir a su arbitrio qualquiera de los dos extremos opuestos, y sin determinación alguna.”

⁸⁴ Here the tone of the argument is ferocious against those who pretend to uphold the argument of determination, when they experience the opposite, that is denying that they really have a choice. The text calls them “of perverted spirit” and *falsário* “false, treacherous.”

per palavras o mesmo que desmente per⁸⁵ ações, pois sempre se prepara com deligências⁸⁶ e prevenções para conseguir o que elege per bom e conveniente⁸⁷ e para obviar o que julga per mau.⁸⁸

Estabelecido, pois, por verdade infalível este ponto do livre alvidrio humano e costituído por artículo e basa fundamental de nossa Santa Lei se segue que não pode haver textos da Sagrada Escritura que realmente encontrem esta verdade, porque sendo toda ela dictada per Deus que é a mesma verdade, seria implicação contraditória que a verdade se repugna a sí mesma.⁸⁹

[158] *Alma. Não se pode negar a verdade do humano alvidrio e assí a confesso e creio firmemente. Mas como explicarás os textos alegados que parece afirmam que também o homem está sujeito ao Divino decreto?*

Entendimento.⁹⁰ O primeiro verso de David. “Tudo o que quis Adonai fes nos ceos e na terra [Ps 135:6],” antes prova do que nega o livre alvidrio,⁹¹ porque se como fica provado, Deus quis que o homem fosse livre, logo em o haver feito livre, fes⁹² também o que quis e se acaso por seu Divino decreto o forçasse, seria querer o que não quer; e querer e não querer uma mesma cousa é implicação manifesta.⁹³ Ultra que debes também notar que o que diz é que Deus fes tudo quanto quis etc. mas não que Deus quis ou quer tudo quanto se faz; porque muitas cousas se fazem no mundo que Deus as não quer assí, posto que as permite,⁹⁴ como são os pecados⁹⁵ e malefícios dos

⁸⁵ Ms. por.

⁸⁶ Ms. delicências.

⁸⁷ Ms. comvenente.

⁸⁸ Those “perverted and treacherous spirits” (adopting the tone of the text) deny by their actions what they plea with their mouth, because they carefully plan their action to choose what suits them and to avoid what they hold for evil.

⁸⁹ Again, the texts condenses the argument in a doctrinal way: free will is an “infallible truth” that has been constituted as an article and main foundation of our Holy Law, therefore there cannot be texts of the Scriptures that contradict this truth: truth cannot contradict itself.

⁹⁰ Ms. Entende.

⁹¹ Ms. alvedrio.

⁹² Ms. fez.

⁹³ The argument is ingenious. The verse from the Psalms cannot be used in favor of Determination, because if God wanted that men has freedom to choose, then surely God cannot also want that everything is determined. The verse says “all he wanted, he did” but not “he wanted everything he did;” there are many things that God does not want, even when he allows them, such as sins and evil by men. It would be absurd to think that God wanted or decreed such. So, it can be said that God permits or wants everything that is done to happen: some things he wants and others he permits.

⁹⁴ Ms. premite.

⁹⁵ Ms. pecados.

homens. Pois não há maior absurdo que dizer que Deus os quizesse⁹⁶ e decretasse. Que tudo quanto se faz, Deus o permite⁹⁷ ou quer, bem se pode dizer e é verdade, porque umas cousas quer e outras somente permite⁹⁸; mas que tudo Deus quer, implica falsidade.

*Porem, os demais⁹⁹ textos entenderás fácilmente com uma distinção. As obras ou ações dos homens se dividem¹⁰⁰ geralmente em duas partes. A primeira é a das obras virtuosas e honestas ou viciosas que competem¹⁰¹ à observância da Lei ou preverificação dela. E são aquelas com o que merece ou desmerece, se salva ou se condena. Nestas não convém totalmente Divino descreto,¹⁰² predestinação ou reprovação, mas puramente dependem de sua livre vontade e alvidrio¹⁰³ e per elas se entendem todos os textos sagrados que assí o publicam e razões acima referidas. E isto na seguinte forma: se são boas as obras que se lhe prepõem para fazer, não somente é livre na eleição e execução dos meios mas também na consecução do fin o qual se logrará sem algum impedimento se os tais meios forem adequados. E se é má ação e pecaminosa e não for em prejuízo¹⁰⁴ de otre, sera do mesmo mo-
[159] do, mas se é em dano de próximo,¹⁰⁵ posto que na deliberação da vontade e preparação dos meios seja inteiramente livre, tal vez não chegará a executar seu final intento e isso é quando a parte mereça que Deus do tal dano a defenda, como adiante diremos. No obrar a ação virtuosa é o homem assistido da Divina graça e auxílio não eficás mas suficiente; porem, isto bem entendido, depois que o homem delibera o fazé-la¹⁰⁶ por sua vontade e zelo e se dispõe e começa a obrar; porque segundo a nossa verdadeira doutrina o Divino auxílio é especie de prêmio com que Deus alenta e assiste aos que o servem. Mas no obrar o viço, se fica o homem só e desamparado de todo o Divino concurso. Isto é o que nossos sábios quizeram significar na famosa sentença que disseram: “O que vem a contaminarse tem a porta aberta como livre, mas o que vem a limparse, o ajudam e favorecem¹⁰⁷ o intento.” Como diz claramente o propheta Osseas: “Tua corrupção, Israel: que em Mi teu auxílio [Hos 13:9].” Com que, sendo o homem desta sorte livre em suas ações*

⁹⁶ Ms. quissese.

⁹⁷ Ms. premitte.

⁹⁸ Ms. premitte.

⁹⁹ Ms. demas.

¹⁰⁰ Ms. dividem.

¹⁰¹ Ms. competem.

¹⁰² Ms. decreto.

¹⁰³ Ms. alvedrio.

¹⁰⁴ Ms. prejuizo.

¹⁰⁵ Ms. próximo.

¹⁰⁶ Ms. fasela.

¹⁰⁷ Ms. favorecem.

*e ainda favorecido*¹⁰⁸ *para as obras, fica summamente justificado e realçado o direito da Divina justiça com que por elas o prémia ou castiga*¹⁰⁹ *e pelo contrário seria se nelas fosse predestinado ou reprovado.*¹¹⁰

*A segunda parte da distinção nos casos do homem é a dos bens ou males, felicidades ou infelicidades*¹¹¹ *que lhe sobrevêm e goza ou padece no discurso da vida. Estes são os que estão sujeitos ao Divino decreto e destino de Sua soberana justiça e dirigidos por Sua particular providência a fim de premiar e castigar com eles rectamente o*¹¹² *que por suas obras merece ou se condena.*¹¹³ *E principalmente o*¹¹⁴ *povo de Israel a quem depois que o elegeu por parte sua. “Que a Iahacob escolheu para si o Senhor, a Israel para seu pecúlio [Ps 135:4].” Com tão singular*¹¹⁵ *cuidado e exacta providência os protege e governa que todos os seus casos de bens ou males que por qual quer meio ou via lhes*¹¹⁶ *ocurrem são encaminhados e ordenados [160] por ele ao justo prémio e pena de suas obras sem forçar o livre alvidrio.*¹¹⁷ *E procedendo com distinção, para que mais exactamente entendas*¹¹⁸ *esta Sagrada doutrina,*¹¹⁹ *observa o seguinte. Por quatro diferentes*¹²⁰ *vias ou causas podem sobrevir ao homem os males e os bens. A primeira, Divina, e é quando Deus directamente, por modo sobrenatural e milagroso os emprega*

¹⁰⁸ Ms. pavorecido.

¹⁰⁹ Ms. castiga.

¹¹⁰ Ms. reprivado. The idea of the paragraph is as follows: there are two kinds of human actions. The first kind regards the fulfilment of the commandments. Here if a good action is conceived, and it is executed with the freedom to choose the proper means to achieve its goal, it will succeed without impediment. This also holds true for actions that are not good, but do not cause harm to fellow man; these will not be impeded. However, if an action is conceived that causes harm to fellow man, even if the proper means are chosen, it may not be successful, because God can intervene.

¹¹¹ Ms. ymfelicidades.

¹¹² Ms. ao.

¹¹³ The second kind of human acts are those that can be met with good or evil, fortune or misfortune. These are subject to God's will and destiny, in order to punish and reward. Such fortunes and misfortunes can happen by four means or causes: 1) by the intervention of God himself, or way of wonder; 2) naturally or by the influence of the stars ("celestial influence"); 3) accidentally; 4) by human choice. All these can be found in the verses on David when he prevented Saul from being killed, having the opportunity (I Sm 26:10).

¹¹⁴ Ms. ao.

¹¹⁵ Ms. singunlar.

¹¹⁶ Ms. lhe.

¹¹⁷ Ms. alvedrio.

¹¹⁸ Ms. entenda.

¹¹⁹ Ms. doutrina sagrada.

¹²⁰ Ms. diferentes.

nele. A segunda, natural, quando per¹²¹ via natural ou influxo celeste lhe acontecem. A terceira, accidental e é quando per acidente e não por ordem nem disposição precedente lhe succedem. A quarta, quando procedem das livres deligenças humanas que por sua vontade elege e obra. Estas mesmas quatro causas acharás comprehendidas nas palavras de David a Abissay quando lhe impedio¹²² a morte de Saul. Diz¹²³ a Sagrada história: “E disse David vivo Adonai (que o não has de matar) senão que Adonai o ferirá ou seu dia virá e morrerá ou à guerra irá e será talado¹²⁴ [I Sm 26:10].” No que diz “Adonai o ferirá” se comprehende a primeira que é a Divina. “Ou seu dia virá e morrerá,” a natural. “Ou à guerra irá e será talado,”¹²⁵ são as duas últimas do caso e alvidrio¹²⁶ que indo por sua vontade à guerra poderá acaso padecer o suplício que fora da tal ocasião lhe não sucederia. Ora de todas estas quatro causas se serve Deus Bendito para cumprir o decreto de Sua providência, castigando ou premiando ao homem conforme o estado de sua bondade ou malícia. Porque, se bem se considera, não pode deixar de ser o homem perfeitamente bom ou mau ou em grau mediocre, nas ações livres que obra de sí para com Deus. Se é sumamente bom,¹²⁷ não só se serve Deus dos meios naturais do caso e acidente¹²⁸ e das ações do seu próprio¹²⁹ alvidrio¹³⁰ ou do de outrem¹³¹ (que tudo entra na classe das causas medianeiras ou segundas de que a providência Divina usa para o comprimento do fim pretendido por seu decreto, de que o justo se livre do dano e goze do bem, que estas causas podem acarrearlhe) mas ainda [161] o mesmo Deus se aplica directamente a protegê-lo e augmenta-lo, trazendolhe¹³² o bem per¹³³ via milagrosa e defendendo-o¹³⁴ do mal contra todas as causas que possam encontrá-lo, pois a todas elas frustra, sem reservar as do humano alvidrio com que livremente por sua vontade, pretende o mau ofender¹³⁵ ao justo contra o divino decreto, o qual por mais que o procure não logrará seu intento

¹²¹ Ms. por.

¹²² Ms. ympidió.

¹²³ Ms. Dis.

¹²⁴ Ms. talhado.

¹²⁵ Ms. talhado.

¹²⁶ Ms. alvedrio.

¹²⁷ If man is good to a high degree, he will receive help by natural way, by his own actions and even by direct or miraculous assistance.

¹²⁸ Ms. caso haccidente.

¹²⁹ Ms. próprio.

¹³⁰ Ms. alvedrio.

¹³¹ Ms. otrem.

¹³² Ms. trasendolhe.

¹³³ Ms. por.

¹³⁴ Ms. defendendo do mal.

¹³⁵ Ms. ofender.

mas antes de suas próprias diligências, posto que contrárias, saca Deus admiravelmente¹³⁶ o fim que quer em benefício do justo. Ve se mais claro o pode dizer pelo propheta Iesaias:¹³⁷ “Todo o instrumento que for formado contra ti não prosperará e toda a língua que se levantar contra ti a juízo condenarás: esta é a heredade¹³⁸ dos servos de Adonai e sua justiça de por mi, disse Adonai [Is 54:17].” Medita o Psalmo 91 e acharás o mesmo. Considera o caso de Josseph com seus irmãos que de venderem-no por escravo o guiou¹³⁹ Deus ao sceptro que le tinha decretado. E tudo sem torcer o livre alvidrio¹⁴⁰ e pelo admirável conselho e mistério de sua imensa¹⁴¹ sabiduria e exacta providência.

Se o homem é mau extremamente,¹⁴² todas as mesmas causas sobreditas emprega o juiz¹⁴³ Soberano em seu dano e castigo. A natureza e planeta, o caso e o alvidrio¹⁴⁴ seu e alheo: todos conspiram em seu abatimento, porque desamparado da Divina proteção fica por branco das setas e armas de todos eles. E não menos a Divina providência per vias sobrenaturais¹⁴⁵ directamente executa nele o seu suplício, já seja, obviádo-lhe os bens a que per¹⁴⁶ natureza, fortuna e caso está disposto e per¹⁴⁷ sua própria agência se procura, como tambem (contra o que todas elas requerem) maravilhosamente o destrue.¹⁴⁸ Pondera os casos de Korah com Mosseh, nosso mestre; o de Haman, contra Mordechai; o de Sancherib contra Hizquiya, e acharás o exemplo dobrado a saber, de justo e mau, portentosamente, abatido este, e exaltado aquele. E sempre reservando o sagrado do hu [162] mano alvidrio, posto que cumprido¹⁴⁹ o Divino decreto.

¹³⁶ Ms. admiração.

¹³⁷ Ms. Jesayas.

¹³⁸ Ms. heradade.

¹³⁹ Ms. guyou.

¹⁴⁰ Ms. alvedrio.

¹⁴¹ Ms. immença.

¹⁴² Ms. ~~extremamente~~ stricken trough. If man is evil to a high degree (“extremamente”), then God will use all these four ways (supernatural, natural, accidental or, the use of one’s own free will) against him. All the forces unite against the evil, as the cases of Korah, Aman, Sancherib show.

¹⁴³ Ms. juizo.

¹⁴⁴ Ms. alvedrio.

¹⁴⁵ Ms. sobrenaturays.

¹⁴⁶ Ms. por.

¹⁴⁷ Ms. por.

¹⁴⁸ Ms. destroe.

¹⁴⁹ Ms. cumprido.

Pois, considerado o homem em estado mediocre,¹⁵⁰ em tal caso por pecados e falta de merecimentos suficientes para obrar Deus por ele milagrosamente, se serve dos demais meios, permitindo e não preservando ao homem dos males que por parte da natureza ou influxo celeste, caso e mau alvidrio¹⁵¹ próprio ou alheo estão aptos a sucederlhe; mais deixa correr¹⁵² as cousas seu curso natural e ordinário. O que vem a servirlhe por desconto ou castigo de seus pecados. E assí mesmo tambem permite e quer que o tal homem logre todos aqueles bens que pelas mesmas vias se lhe endereçam e ainda ordinariamente o favorece e ajuda nos meios e diligências que emprega em afastar de si o mal e chegar¹⁵³ o bem, segundo o prêmio que requer o grau de seus merecimentos. Ora, como seja que pelo ordinário o estado dos homens é desta sorte, se deve cada qual (como no-lo aconselham Nossos Sábios) considerar em grau mediocre, para com isso applicar as ações e meios possíveis para conseguir o bem e preservar o mal, encomendando e suplicando a Deus por meio de devota oração e obras pias o bom sucesso deles,¹⁵⁴ conhecéndose incapaz de que Deus obre por ele milagrosamente sem concurso dos meios adequados à sua conveniência.¹⁵⁵ Mas não largando já mais a fé, esperança e confiança em Deus, tendo sempre por firme, que nada tem valor sem sua vontade, permissão e auxílio e que tudo Dele procede e depende, por via próxima ou remota. De modo que deve sempre procurar os meios humanos como senão ouvesse os Divinos (em quanto a não deixar de fazer, tudo quanto está em sua mão) e solicitar os divinos, como se não ouvesse os humanos, pois nenhum deles sem Deus tem subsistência. E se com tudo isso não conseguir seu intento, tenha por infalível ser ou por pena e castigo de seus pecados ou por prova de sua constância

¹⁵⁰ Regular man will not be assisted directly or through miracles; God uses the other ways, so that by nature or the stars or by his wrong choices or by wrong choices of others he is affected. These things will be his punishment or will compensate for his sins (“desconto”). Likewise, God will permit that man succeeds by the same ways – nature, stars, his own actions – when he does good things; God “ordinarily” (“ordinariamente”) favours him and helps him with the actions he undertakes to distance himself from evil and approach good; according to the award that is required by the degree of his merits.

¹⁵¹ Ms. alvedrio.

¹⁵² Ms. corer.

¹⁵³ Ms. chegar.

¹⁵⁴ Man should consider himself such a “regular man” and to what is in his capacity to achieve good and refrain from evil considering himself unfit to receive special miraculous assistance. He must act for himself as if there were no divine means and invoke divine help as if there were no human means, as none of these has any substance without God. If with all that he does not achieve his goals, then he must be sure that it is by way of punishment for his sins, or as a trial of his perseverance.

¹⁵⁵ Ms. convinência.

qualquer das vias que julgar mais com- [163] forme ao seu estado, justificando¹⁵⁶ sempre os Divinos juízos. Este é o caminho que nos ensina Selomoh¹⁵⁷ quando diz “O coração do homem pensa seu caminho e Adonai aparelha seus passos [Prov 16:9].” E Moseh nosso mestre: “Não seja que digas em teu coração minha potência e a fortaleza de minha mão me há feito esta riqueza, mas debes lembrarte de Adonai teu Deus, porque Ele é o que te da a potência para fazer as riquezas [Dt 8:17].” E finalmente, esta admirável providência com que o Juiz¹⁵⁸ Supremo governa e determina os casos do homem conforme o estado de suas obras admira o propheta Jeremias nestas breves e compendiosas palavras: “O grande em conselho e magnífico em obra que teus olhos estão abertos sobre todos os caminhos dos filios do homem, para dar a cada um conforme seus caminhos e segundo o fruto de suas obras [Jer 32:19].” Entitula a Deus Bendito “Grande de conselho” pola imensa sabiduria com que governa e dirige todos os efeitos das tres sobreditas causas dos sucessos¹⁵⁹ bons e maus humanos para¹⁶⁰ cada um, por decreto de Sua recta justiça¹⁶¹ distributiva o prémio, ou castigo, segundo os caminhos que segue em seu serviço ou ofensa,¹⁶² sem violentar o humano alvidrio. Consideram “manífico¹⁶³ de obra” quando milagrosamente obra polo o homem, contra todas as causas naturais, sendo o tal homem sumamente¹⁶⁴ justo ou mau, para que alcance o que lhe convem “conforme o fruto de suas obras”¹⁶⁵ isto é quando as ações do bom são tão meritórias e virtuosas que produzem saudáveis frutos de eterna bemaventurança e as do mau tão péssimas que brotam¹⁶⁶ o venenoso¹⁶⁷ de sua perpetua condenação.¹⁶⁸

Com isto ficam entendidos e explicados os tex[t]os¹⁶⁹ que citaste e todos os demais que na Sagrada escriptura mostram que os casos do homem estão sujeitos ao Divino decreto. Que todos se entendem polos bens ou males¹⁷⁰ que lhe sobrem em que consiste o prémio e pena de suas ações livres, feitas

¹⁵⁶ Ms. justificando.

¹⁵⁷ Ms. Selomo.

¹⁵⁸ Ms. juizo.

¹⁵⁹ Ms. sucessos.

¹⁶⁰ Ms. para dar a.

¹⁶¹ Ms. justisa.

¹⁶² Ms. offença.

¹⁶³ Ms. magnífico.

¹⁶⁴ Ms. sumamente.

¹⁶⁵ Ms. obras.

¹⁶⁶ Ms. tortão.

¹⁶⁷ Ms. veneoroso.

¹⁶⁸ Ms. condição.

¹⁶⁹ Ms. textos.

¹⁷⁰ Ms. malez.

para com Deus, e tudo sem [164] torcer¹⁷¹ o livre alvidrio humano. Com que um e outro¹⁷² tem seu lugar, sem contradição alguma. E assi, concluindo a matéria, digo que toda a doutrina¹⁷³ comprehendida¹⁷⁴ neste discurso cifraram nossos Sábios naquela breve sentença; “Tudo está nas mãos de Deus excepto o temor de Deus.” Como se mais claro dissessem: todas as cousas do homem e seus bons e maus sucessos¹⁷⁵ “estão nas mãos de Deus,” isto é: procedem, não¹⁷⁶ são dirigidos da mão da Divina providência, na forma que te ensinei, “Excepto¹⁷⁷ o temor de Deus,” a saber os actos da religião que constão do temor e amor divino, que estes (como fica provado) não estão na mão de Deus, senão na mão da humana faculdade¹⁷⁸ e alvidrio.

Alma. Já com a tua distinção e exacta doutrina vejo como não se encontram o Divino decreto com a sua justiça¹⁷⁹ e humano alvidrio, cuja aparente repugnância tanta pena e confusão me causava. E assi, depois de admirar o Altíssimo conselho e maravilhosa providência com que Deus governa e julga o homem, lhe dou infinitas graças pola grande estimação que dele faz,¹⁸⁰ mais que de todas as criaturas do universo, pois de todas elas se serve e pospoem sua natureza ao governo do homem. Mas ainda, para de todo ficar edificada, careço da solução de outra dificuldade e é: que dado e concedido por verdade firme que os actos de religião com que o homem merece ou se condena são totalmente livres do Divino decreto, não me negarás pelo menos que a presciência de Deus os sabe e alcança todos, ab eterno, antes que o homem os obre. E suposto que os sabe, não podem deixar de ser, porque a eterna sciência de Deus é certa e infalível¹⁸¹ e consequentemente¹⁸² o homem fica obrigado a obrar tudo aquilo que Deus soube que havia de obrar. Ergo pois, é forçado e não livre, em todas suas ações.¹⁸³

¹⁷¹ Ms. tracer.

¹⁷² Ms. e oytro.

¹⁷³ Ms. doytрина.

¹⁷⁴ Ms. comprehendida.

¹⁷⁵ Ms. susessos.

¹⁷⁶ Ms. e [instead of “não”].

¹⁷⁷ Ms. execpto.

¹⁷⁸ Ms. facultade.

¹⁷⁹ Ms. justiza.

¹⁸⁰ Ms. fas.

¹⁸¹ Ms. decreto infalível.

¹⁸² Ms. comsequentemente.

¹⁸³ Now comes the latest doubt of the soul: if all the religious acts with which man achieves reward or punishment are entirely free from divine determination you will surely agree that God’s prescience knows them all, *ab eterno* before man acts them out. Therefore, they must happen and man is thus determined to do as God already knew that he would do. Ergo, man is forced and not free in his acts.

*Entend.*¹⁸⁴ *Convém saber que há grande diferença entre o Divino decreto a sua presciência, em respeito das cousas [165] que futuramente hão de suceder. Porque as cousas que Deus decreta consiste sua existência no Divino decreto, assi*¹⁸⁵ *são e sucedem*¹⁸⁶ *porque Deus as decreta*¹⁸⁷; *e se as não decretasse,*¹⁸⁸ *seria contingente o sucederem. Mas as cousas futuras que Deus sabe não depende o seu ser de sua presciência e assi, não sucedem elas porque Deus as soube, mas soube-as Deus porque havião de ser e o homem por sua livre vontade as havia*¹⁸⁹ *de obrar,*¹⁹⁰ *de sorte que se acaso (o que não é) se desse que Deus as não quizesse saber, não por isso deixarião de ser.*

*Nota mais. Deus Bendito sabe tudo quanto o homem, por sua livre vontade há de obrar, não como futuro contingente, mas como presente infalível, porque a Divina eternidade não admite diferenças*¹⁹¹ *de tempos e assi não passa em pretérito nem futuro, mas*¹⁹² *sempre é presente. E assi como sabendo tú per humana sciência, as cousas passadas, as quais já não podem retroceder, e com tudo isso essa tua sciência não é causa, mas prova de haverem sucedido; e do mesmo modo nas cousas que presentemente ves e sabes que estão sucedendo, nada obriga ao seu ser a tua sabiduria, porque nem umas nem outras são porque tú as sabes, porem sabélas porque forão e são: assi a Divina presciência das cousas futuras não obriga ao seu ser, do mesmo modo que a nossa do passado e presente não obriga.*¹⁹³ *E sendo Deus bendito*¹⁹⁴ *(como te hei ensinado) puro e simplicíssimo acto,*¹⁹⁵ *é um mesmo sempre e Nele*¹⁹⁶ *não há antes nem depois, e assi lhe são todas as cousas*

¹⁸⁴ Ms. Entende.

¹⁸⁵ Ms. e asi.

¹⁸⁶ Ms. sucedem.

¹⁸⁷ Ms. decretou.

¹⁸⁸ Ms. e se não as decretasse.

¹⁸⁹ Ms. avya.

¹⁹⁰ Future events known by God do not depend on His foreknowledge and therefore do not happen because God knew them, but God knew them because they had to be and man by his free will had to perform them. Thus, supposed that God did not want to know them – which is not true – they would occur still the same.

¹⁹¹ Ms. diferença.

¹⁹² Ms. ma.

¹⁹³ The same way that our human knowledge of past and present things does not determine them happening, the same way God for Whom there is no time, knows of future events but does not force human behaviour, he merely knows of men's choices.

¹⁹⁴ Ms. E Deus Bendito.

¹⁹⁵ Ms. “sendo simplicíssimo acto é hum mesmo sempre” instead of “E sendo Deus Bendito [...] puro e simplicíssimo acto.”

¹⁹⁶ Ms. “nelle são todas as cousas preentes de modo que o mesmo é dizer” instead of “não há antes nem depois e assi lhe são todas as cousas presentes de modo que o mesmo é dizer.”

presentes de modo que o mesmo é dizer que sabe que dizer que soube e saberá,¹⁹⁷ logo a sua presciência não força as ações humanas porque não as ve como futuras¹⁹⁸ senão em respeito das criaturas, mas em respeito de si as ve presentes ainda que futuramente, obradas polo livre alvidrio que concedeu aos homens. Esta doutrina em brevíssimas palavras incluem nossos Sábios dizendo “Todo está previsto e a liberdade é dada” [Pirkei Avot 3:14].

Alma. Supposto que assí seja, cessa todo o modo de dificuldade, mas não posso compreender como¹⁹⁹ o passado e [166] futuro²⁰⁰ possam ser em Deus presentes eternamente?²⁰¹

Entend.²⁰² Isso procede de queres regular a sabiduria de Deus pela tua, sendo engano e ignorância manifesta, porque debes advertir que o nosso saber não tem nenhuma semelhança nem analogia com o de Deus, mais que per equivocação de nome.²⁰³ Como disse o mesmo Deus pelo propheta Iesaias. “Meus pensamentos não são como os vossos pensamentos, nem vossos caminhos como os meus caminhos, disse Adonai mas assi como são mais altos os ceos que a terra, assi são mais altos meus caminhos que vossos caminhos e meus pensamentos mais que vossos pensamentos [Is 55:8-9].”

A sabiduria de Deus é a sua mesma essência,²⁰⁴ assí pois como²⁰⁴ não podemos compreender a sua essência²⁰⁵ e saber como²⁰⁶ é, assí mesmo não podemos entender a sua sabiduria e saber como²⁰⁷ sabe como²⁰⁸ não²⁰⁹ está em tempo, e como²¹⁰ nele são todas as cousas presentes, porque todos obramos em tempo e somos agentes finitos e limitados.

E não é muito que não comprehendamos mistérios de cousas Divinas que excedem a nossa capacidade pois ignoramos os de tantas cousas²¹¹ naturais e artificiosas que estamos vendo e admirando, e se antes de as

¹⁹⁷ Ms. eliminated “e saberá.”

¹⁹⁸ Ms. after “futuras”: “mas presentes e obradas com o livre alvedrio que concedeu aos homens.”

¹⁹⁹ Texto: Quomo. Ms. quomo.

²⁰⁰ Ms. o futuro.

²⁰¹ The Soul wants to know how it is that past and future can be eternally present in God.

²⁰² Ms. Entende.

²⁰³ The Mind answers that man cannot access God’s wisdom, our knowledge does not have any analogy with that of God.

²⁰⁴ Ms. quomo.

²⁰⁵ Ms. essência.

²⁰⁶ Ms. quomo.

²⁰⁷ Ms. quomo.

²⁰⁸ Ms. quomo.

²⁰⁹ Ms. nas.

²¹⁰ Ms. e nelle são.

²¹¹ Ms. coussas.

vermos e experimentarmos no-las contassem, as negariamos. Como o astrolábio,²¹² de que usam os astrólogos que se o não alcançassemos como nossa vista e alguém de fora nos referisse a sua forma e figura e que com ele se conhece o moto das esferas e lugares das estrelas e as horas ajustadas de cada tempo dos do anno e que com ele se sabe a distância de cousas diferentes e outras muitas que não se sabem, não o pudermos ter por certo em nosso pensamento, nem perceber com ele como é. A assi vemos no que é vulgar entre os instrumentos com que se servem os homens a romana²¹³ que se não o alcançassemos com nossa vista, não poderíamos penetrar como se pudesse pesar peso justo, como umas balanças que uma parte delas é mais longa que a outra e é de admirar que com ela se pesam mui [167] tos pesos diferentes pequenos e grandes, como um peso. E o que ainda se vé mais a miudo é o moverse aquela pedra que está encima²¹⁴ das pedras do moinho que rodea sobre a outra igualmente por meios muy debis que os faz mover a agua e se botarmos uma piquena pedra em uma furiosa corrente de aguas não estará muito sem chegar ao fundo e a pedra do moinho pesa muitas vezes mais que esta e a força daqueles meios pelos quais se movem as pedras do moinho é muito menos que a fúria da agua. Se isto alguém no lo contasse e o não víssemos com nossos olhos logo lho negariamos e arguiriamos a suas palavras e isto polo pouco que alcançamos os segredos da natureza e por ser fraco o nosso entendimento para conhecer as raizes das criaturas seus princípios, naturezas e virtudes particulares. Quem pois, ignora tanto naquilo que continuamente tem entre suas mãos, não é maravilha que não saiba os caminhos da Divina sabiduria que são infinitamente mais ocultos e exaltados. Por isto disse o psalmista. “Adonai não se solevou meu coração nem se levantaram meus olhos, nem aindei em cousas grandes e ocultas de mi.”²¹⁵ E diz depois, mostrando que se entregava a Deus. “Se não puz e fiz calar a minha alma, como a criança tirada das tetas de sua mai etc. [Ps 131:2].”

Mas com tudo, para chegar por algum modo ao entendimento como todas as cousas passadas e futuras são presentes a Deus é excelente exemplo o do círculo cujo centro igualmente vé todas as partes da circunferência, ainda que se va movendo em discurso de tempo sucessivo. E assi como o centro é

²¹² Ms. astrolábio o estribio, ahoman, a pedra calamista. The whole rest of the paragraph is left out and is continued by the next, ending paragraph: “Mas com tudo, para chegar [...]”

²¹³ The printed text reads: “roman,” an obvious typographical error.

²¹⁴ Encima: from Spanish ‘above’; the Portuguese word is “acima.”

²¹⁵ Margin: Ps 131:1 [the text refers to Ps 132 without reference to the verse]. [Cf. Biblia 1661: Adonai no se enaltecíó mi corazón y no se enaltecieron mis ojos, y no anduve en grandezas y en ocultas de mí].

*ponto indivisível e sem partes e tem seu ser todo junto, assí a eternidade Divina toda é junta e não tem foi nem será, mas tudo é presente.*²¹⁶

Appendix I.2

English translation of Moses Raphael d'Aguilar's intervention in *Obrigações dos corações*, 1670, 155-167.

For an English version of Judah ibn Tibbon's version of Duties of the Heart, see Bahya, 1996. The following part only records Moses Raphael d'Aguilar's intervention.

"In Ms. 48 A 11, Aguilar's insertion in Obrigações is reproduced as a short treatise, preceded by the following paragraph":

"Discourse in which is accurately proven how God's wisdom, His divine decree and human free will are compatible, which I composed to correct the doctrine of the author of the book *Duty of the hearts* recently translated by Samuel Abaz, and corrected and reformed by me, as is stated in said book, in its Treatise on the Service of God, chapter 8." In the margin is written: see Hobat Alebabot in Portuguese, page 155 from the end of line 24 until the end of the chapter. [Ms. EH 48 A 11, f. 144r]."

[155] Mind. Reconciling these contradictions present in the Scriptures is not more difficult than what our experience actually teaches us. Because we observe that on some occasions some of man's actions happen according to his own disposition, preference and will and on others they happen against his will and intention. This proves that he is under the control and dominion of the Creator who permits what He wants and prevents what is against His will. And on the other hand, we see that [man] receives reward and punishment according to his actions, in serving or disobeying God. These things are mutually incompatible, but hear my explanation and you will be satisfied.

There have been various opinions amongst men about his matter. Many ignorants, lacking the light of true doctrine of the divine Law have expressed different things contrary to the Law that we will omit here, to prevent confusion in the zealous minds And dealing only with the true conclusion we have to believe in this matter, I say that man carries out all his actions by spontaneous choice and free will, without anything that forces him towards one or another part; this, besides being most evident, proven by reason and experience, is a very important point of faith and the principal article of our Holy Law. Because he who commands another to do or not do a thing certainly assumes that this person has full power to obey or transgress; otherwise, such a command would be impertinent and idle.

²¹⁶ Ms. presente.

Our Holy God established his Law and commands for us to observe them; ergo, for this [observance] we have free power, as God's command [156] cannot be idle and impertinent. He whom is given reward or punishment is necessarily free; because he who is forced, does not merit praise nor reproof, reward nor punishment; to the contrary, our Holy God promises us rewards and punishments for the observance of His Law. Ergo we are free for that, because otherwise a reward would not be a remuneration but pure grace; and a punishment would not be a retribution but mere injustice, which totally contradicts Gods' equity. And therefore, this is such a universal doctrine, so continuous through the whole Sacred Scripture that man is free in his actions, that it can be said that there are so many passages that confirm it as there are texts in the whole Scripture. Because its subject matter is to establish and command law and precepts, to exhort and bring Israel to its observance through the prophets, to narrate stories of lives and events of holy and good men who are rewarded and of wicked who are punished by our Holy God to move us to imitate the good and repulse the wicked. And this all is assumed by man's free will, as has been proven. Therefore, even it would be needless to bring texts to prove it, we will note some of them, besides the ones you have adduced, which clearly and directly make it plain. Our Holy God says through Adam: And the LORD God said: 'Behold, the man is become as one of us [*or originates from Him*], to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever, etc. [Gn 3:21].' See here that God Himself testifies that man has knowledge of good and evil and free power to choose and do what he wishes. He says, through the people of Israel after the act of the Giving of the Law: "Oh that they had such a heart as this always, to fear Me, and keep all My commandments, that it might be well with them, and with their children for ever! [Dt 5:29]" And further on: "And now, Israel, what doth the LORD thy God require of thee, but to fear the LORD thy God, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve the LORD thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul; to keep for thy good the commandments of the LORD, and His statutes, which I command thee this day? [Dt 10:12-13]" If God says he wishes that we fear and serve him, he wants that from us and asks for it insistently, that is therefore entirely [157] in our hand. He says more. "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse. [Dt 11:26]" That is, so that by your will you choose what you think best. "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore, choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed. [Dt 30:19]"

Reason and experience confirm this truth with no less evidence, as certainly man is not a natural agent like the elements and the plants. Even less does he act by simple instinct like animals, but we observe that with his mind

he judges and discerns what is good and evil and with his free will he chooses what he wants and he avoids what he does not want. And nobody ignores that both mind and will are potentials of the soul and that acting by will is the same as acting freely and not by force. And therefore, man continuously experiences in himself this freedom and choice in his actions, as every time an action is proposed to him, he recognizes himself to be neutral and with absolute power to do or not to do, to speak and to be silent. He does not deny, therefore (as one of our sages reasoned with much learning) the nature of possible contingency in man, with exception of the perverse of mind or the deceiver who pretends to uphold the contrary of what he experiences. He affirms with his mouth what the mind denies; he manifests through words what he contradicts by actions, as he always prepares himself with skills and anticipations to obtain what he thinks is good and convenient and to avoid what he thinks is bad.

Having established thus the infallible truth of this point of human free will; and having established it as an article and fundamental socket of our Holy Law it follows that there can be no texts of the Sacred Scripture that really go against this truth; as, being all of it dictated by God who is the very truth itself, it would be a contradictory implication that truth is repugnant to itself.

[158] Soul. The truth of human free will cannot be denied and as such I confess and believe it firmly. But how do you explain the texts that have been put forward that appear to affirm that man is also subjected to divine decree?

Mind. The first verse of David. “Whatsoever the LORD pleased, that hath He done, in heaven and in earth [Ps 135:6]” rather proves than denies free will because if, as was proven God wanted that man were free, than in having made him free, he also did what he wanted and if we suppose that by his divine decree he forced him, that would be willing and not willing; and willing and not willing the same thing is an obvious *implication*. In addition, you should also note that what is said is that God did everything He wanted etc., but not that God wanted or wants everything that is being done; as many things are done in this world not wanted in this way by God, although he permits them, like human sins and harm. There is no greater absurdity than to say that God wanted and decreed such actions. One can very well say that it is true that God permits or wants everything that is done, because he wants some things and other ones he only lets them happen; but that God wants everything implies falseness.

However, you will understand the remaining texts easily with one distinction. Human works or actions are generally divided into two parts. The first comprises virtuous and honest, or vicious acts that regard observance or transgression of the Law. And these are the ones with which man deserves or fails to deserve, saves or condemns himself. In these [actions] divine decree,

predestination or reprobation do not apply entirely, they rather depend solely on his free will and arbitrium and by these all the sacred texts that say so and the reasons mentioned before are understood. And this is in the following manner: if the works that man intends to do are good, he is not only free in the choice and execution of the means, but also in the consecution of the end, which is obtained without impediment if those means were suited. And if it is an evil and sinful action, and is not harmful to another, it will be in the [159] same manner; but if it were in detriment of his fellow man, though he is entirely free in the deliberation of his will and the preparation of his means, he would perhaps not succeed executing his final intent, and this happens if the part merits that God defends him from such harm, as we will explain further on. In carrying out a virtuous action man is assisted by divine grace and help, not only efficacious but sufficient; however, and this be well understood, *after* man assesses to carry it out by his will and zeal and he prepares himself and starts to act. Because, according to our true doctrine divine assistance is a species of reward with which God encourages and helps those who serve him. But in acting out evil man is left alone and devoid of all of divine assistance. This is what our Sages wanted to convey in the famous sentence they spoke: “He who contaminates himself is free and has an open door, but he who comes to cleanse himself will be helped and favoured in his intent.” As the prophet Hosea clearly says: “It is thy destruction, O Israel, *as your help is in Me* [Hos 13:9].” Therefore, man being free in this way in his actions and even favoured for his works, there is an utmost justification and enhancement of the right of divine justice with which He rewards or punishes for these actions, and the contrary would happen if man would be predestined or rejected by them.

The second part of the distinction in the fortunes of men are the hardships, good or bad fortunes that happen to him, and that he enjoys or suffers in the course of his life. These are the ones subject to divine decree and destiny of His sovereign justice and are guided by His particular providence in order to justly reward and punish whom for his works merits or condemns himself. And particularly the people of Israel after He chose them for Himself. “For the Lord hath chosen Jacob unto Himself, and Israel for His own treasure [Ps 135:4].” He protects and governs them with such an extraordinary care and exact providence, that all their events of fortunes or mishaps that befall them for whatever way are directed and arranged by Him towards [160] the just reward and punishment for their actions, without forcing free will. And continuing with distinction, so that you can more exactly understand this Sacred doctrine, pay attention to the following. The good and the bad can occur to man by four different ways or causes. The first one is divine, when God uses what happens to man by supernatural and miraculous ways. The second is natural, when they happen naturally or by celestial influence. The third,

accidental, which is when they happen by accident and not on order nor previous disposition. The fourth, when they proceed from the free actions of man who by his will chooses and acts. The same four causes you will find comprised in David's words to Abissay when he prevented him from killing Saul. The Sacred History tells: "And David said: 'As the Lord liveth, nay, but the Lord shall smite him; or his day shall come to die; or he shall go down into battle and be swept away' [I Sam 26:10]." Where it says "the Lord shall smite him" the first, divine one, is comprised. In "or his day shall come to die" the natural. And "or he shall go down into battle and be swept away" are the last two of fortune and free will when going to war by his own will he can perhaps suffer the ordeal which would not happen otherwise. Well now, God uses these four causes to fulfil the decree of His providence, rewarding or punishing man according to the state of his kindness or wickedness. Because, if you consider it properly, man could not stop being perfectly good or bad or in between, in the free actions he performs towards God. If he is good to an utmost degree, God not only uses the natural means of fortune and accident and the actions of mans' own free will or that of another – as everything is included in the class of middle or secondary causes that divine providence uses to accomplish the end wanted by his decree, that the righteous escapes the harm and enjoys the good these causes can bring him, [161] but God himself even intervenes directly to protect and make him prosper, bringing him wellbeing by miraculous way and protecting him from harm against all causes that may work against him, because He frustrates them all, without sparing those of the free will with which the wicked freely by his will tries to offend the righteous against the divine decree; whatever he tries, he will not succeed in his intent but rather through his own actions, although they are directed towards evil, God will extract from them the goal that He wants to benefit the righteous. Regard if it can be expressed more clearly than by the prophet Jesaiah: "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their due reward from Me, saith the Lord [Is 54:17]." Reflect on Psalm 91 and you will find the same. Ponder on the case of Joseph with his brothers who by selling him as a slave God directed him towards the sceptre that he had decreed for him. And this all without altering free will, through wonderous direction and the mystery of His immense wisdom and precise providence.

If man is extremely wicked all the causes mentioned before are employed by the Sovereign Judge in his harm and punishment. Nature and planet, fortune and his own or another man's free will, all will conspire towards his defeat, because deprived of divine protection he will be left as a target for the arrows and arms of all of them. And through supernatural ways will divine providence also here execute on him his hardship, either by keeping him from

the goods that by the disposition of nature, fortune or case or through his own actions he procures, as he – against all that they would seem to require – miraculously destroys him. Reflect on the cases of Korah with Moses, our master; or on Haman against Mordechay; or Sancherib against Hezekiah, and you will find examples for both, that is, of the righteous and the wicked; the latter miraculously defeated, the first heightened. And this always with human [162] free will intact, although with the fulfilment of divine decree.

Considering now man in his average condition, in this case by his sins and lack of sufficient merits God does not work by miraculous ways but uses the remaining means, allowing and not protecting man from the adversities that are prone to happen to him by nature or celestial influx, by fortune or bad free will of his own or other man's. But God lets things take their natural and ordinary course, which then serves as a discount or a punishment for his sins. And He also permits and wills that man accomplishes all the goods that are directed towards him through the same means and He even uses to favour and assist in the means and actions that man uses to distance himself from the bad and to bring the good to him, according to the reward required by the degree of his merits. As this condition of man is the most ordinary one, everyone (as our Sages recommend) should consider himself to be in this average degree, so that he can then employ his actions and possible means to accomplish good and keep from evil, commending himself to God, pleading they succeed through devout praying and pious works, and knowing himself that he cannot make God work for him through miracles, without collaborating himself by the means that are adequate to his needs. But without ever forgetting his faith, hope and trust in God, he must hold a firm belief that nothing has any value without His will, permission and help and that everything comes from Him and depends on Him, through adjacent or remote means. Therefore, he must always look for human means as if the divine means did not exist (so that he does not stop doing everything is in his power) and ask for divine help as if there were no human means, because none of them has any substance without God. And if he still not accomplishes his intent, let him be certain that it will be in punishment and retribution for his sins or as a proof of his perseverance, whichever of the ways he considers more appropriate [163] to his state and always justifying God's judgments. This is the way which Solomon teaches us when he says: "A man's heart deviseth his way; but the Lord directeth his steps" [Prov 16:9]. And Moses our master: "and thou say in thy heart: 'My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth.' [Dt 8:17]" And finally, the prophet Jeremiah admires this marvellous providence with which the Supreme Judge governs and determines man's destinies according to the condition of his acts, with these brief and succinct words: "Great in counsel, and mighty in work; whose eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men, to give everyone according to his ways,

and according to the fruit of his doings [Jer 32:19].” He calls our Holy God “great in counsel” by the immense wisdom with which he governs and orders all effects of the three afore mentioned causes of good and bad human events for everyone, by decree of his righteous distributive justice a reward or punishment, according to the ways man has followed in His service or offense, without violating human free will. He is considered “mighty in work” when he acts miraculously for man against all natural causes, if man is extremely righteous or wicked, so that he gets what he deserves “according to the fruit of his doings,” that is, when the actions of the good are so meritorious and virtuous they produce healthy fruits of eternal bliss and that of the wicked so bad that they produce the venom of his perpetual condemnation.

With this part, the texts you quoted and all the other ones in the Scriptures that show that human fortunes are subject to divine decree can now be considered explained and understood. All are to be understood for the good and the bad events that occur and in which consist the reward and the punishment for human’s free actions, towards God, and all without [164] bending human free will. So that both have their place, without any contradiction. And thus, concluding this matter, I say that the entire doctrine comprised in this discourse has been condensed by our Sages in this maxim: “All is in the hands of God, except for the fear of God.” As if they had said with more precision: all human things and his good and bad affairs “are in God’s hands,” that is: they derive from God, but are not commanded by divine providence, in the form I have taught you, “except for the fear of God,” which is, the acts of religion that consist of the fear and love for God, because these (as is proven) are not in the hand of God, but in the hand of human faculty and free will.

Soul. With your distinction and precise doctrine, I now see that divine decree is not opposed to His justice and human free will, an apparent contradiction that has caused me so much sorrow and confusion. And thus, after admiring the highest governance and marvellous providence with which God governs and judges man, I thank Him infinitely for the great value He confers to him, more than to any other creature of the universe, because man disposes of all of them and they subject their nature to man’s governance. However, in order to be completely educated, I still lack a solution for another difficulty which is: given and conceded for a firm truth that the acts of religion through which man merits or condemns himself are entirely free from divine decree, you will not deny that at least Gods prescience knows and embraces all, *ab aeterno*, before man brings them into effect. Ergo, he is forced and not free in all his actions.

Mind. It should be known that there is a great difference between divine decree and His prescience with respect of things that will happen in the future. Because the existence of the things God decrees resides in the divine decree, they are so, and they happen because God decrees them; and if he did not

decree them, their happening would be contingent. But as for future things [165] that God knows, their being does not depend on His prescience and hence they do not happen because God knows them, but God knows them because they had to be, and man of his free will had to act them, so that if by chance (which is not the case) God would not want to know them, they would not be prevented from being for that reason.

Consider another thing. Our glorious God knows everything man by his free resolve has to act, not as something future contingent, but as an infallible present, because divine eternity does not admit differences of times and thus does not pass in past nor in the future but is always present. And equally as you know by human science the things of the past, which cannot move back, but still your knowledge is not the cause of them, but a proof that they have happened; in the same fashion in the things you observe and know that are happening, nothing of their being depends on your knowledge, because neither the one or other exist because you know them, although you know them as past and present events; and so it is with divine prescience of future things which does not force them in their being, in the same way our knowledge of past and present does not force. And our glorious God being (as I have taught you) pure and one-only act, always being one and the same, and in him there is no before and no afterwards, so are all the present things to Him, so that it is the same to say that He knows than to say that He knew and will know; therefore His prescience does not force human actions because He sees them as events in the future relative to the creatures, but with respect to Himself he sees them as present even if they are in the future and acted by the free will he conceded to humans. This doctrine is comprised in a nutshell in what is said by our Sages: "Everything is foreseen, yet free will is given" (Pirkei Avot 3:14).

Soul. If this is true then every type of difficulty disappears, but how can I understand how the past [166] and future can be eternally present in God?

Mind. This difficulty is caused by your wish to regulate Gods wisdom through yours, which is a manifest deceit and ignorance, because you have to be aware that our knowledge has no likening or analogy whatsoever with that of God, except for the confusion of bearing the same name. As God himself said through his prophet Jesaiah: Is. 55:8-9. Gods wisdom is His very essence and equally as we cannot comprehend His essence and know how He is, can we not understand His wisdom and know how He knows that he is not in time, and that in Him are all present things. This is because we all act in time and we are finite and limited agents.

And it is not surprising that we do not comprehend the mysteries of divine things that exceed our capacity, ignoring as we are so many natural and elaborate things that we witness and admire. And if these would be told to us before seeing and experiencing them, we would deny their existence.

[Take, for instance, the astrolabe used by astronomers.²¹⁷ If we had never seen this instrument with our eyes, but someone had told us of its form and appearance and what can be apprehended through it of the movements of the spheres, the positions of the stars, the precise determination of each of the seasons,²¹⁸ the distances between disparate things, and many other facts that would otherwise be unknown to us, we would have no clear conception of it, nor could we form a picture of it in our minds.

The same is true of something more familiar to us, which is in common use: the balance. For had we not perceived it with our sense of sight, we would not have thought it conceivable that one could weigh truly with a balance in which one part is longer than the other. And what is still more surprising is that on this balance and by means of a single stone many objects, varying in weight, can be weighed, some of these weighing more, others weighing less than the single stone.

What is even more commonly used is the upper millstone which the water, by a slight device, causes to revolve regu-[327]larly. When we cast a small stone into a swift current of flowing water, it does not stay on the surface for a single moment, but sinks to the bottom, while the millstone is many times heavier than the stone, and the force of the water by which the mill is set in motion is much less than that of the current. If anyone had told us this and we had not seen it with our own eyes, we would have quickly denied and repudiated his story. All this is because we know so little of the secrets of creation and because of our limited understanding of the foundations of the created things, their effects, nature, and particular qualities.

Now, if we are ignorant of ordinary, accessible things, it is not surprising that we do not understand the workings of divine wisdom²¹⁹ in the exalted Creator's judgments, these being infinitely more hidden and sublime than the things mentioned above. In a similar vein the Psalmist [...],²²⁰ said: "God, my heart is not haughty, my eyes are not raised high; I do not occupy myself with things too great and mysterious for me [Ps 131:1]." He followed this with a related statement on submission to God: "Surely I have stilled and quieted my soul, like a weaned child with its mother, my soul is with me like a weaned child, etc. [Ps 131:2]."

²¹⁷ The following two paragraphs reflect the interaction between the Portuguese translation by Abas and the inserted part by Aguilar. The text in italics, corresponding to Abas' translation is here taken from the English translation in Bahya, 1996.

²¹⁸ The Portuguese reads: "as horas ajustadas de cada tempo dos do anno," which in a more literal translation would read "the hours corrected to each season's time."

²¹⁹ The original reads "predetermination and justice," whereas "the exalted Creator's judgments" has been left out in Abas' version.

²²⁰ Abas has changed "the Psalmist" for David and has left out the ritualistic epithet: "peace may be upon him."

[167] However, in order to reach in some way the understanding of how past and future things are present in God, there is an excellent example, that of the circle, the centre of which sees all the parts of the circumference, although it is moving in the discourse of successive time. And equally as the centre is an indivisible point, without parts and has its existence all together, so divine eternity is all together and has no was nor will be, but everything is present.

Appendix II.

Edition and English Translation of the Prólogo by Samuel Abas and of the Approbation by Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses Raphael d' Aguilar.

II.1.1 Prólogo

E considerando juntamente que nem bastou o estar este famoso livro escrito na língua santa para todos se poderem aproveitar de tão rara e exquisita doutrina, qual a que ele contém, pois muita parte dos de nossa nação portugueza carecem de sua notícia por não o ter da língua hebraica, e nem todos os que sabem, podem entender fácilmente o estilo deste livro, por ser levantado de ponto e em partes escuro por causa da tradução, me resolvi, invocando o favor e graça do Senhor do mundo, a emprender o trabalho de traduzir esta famosa obra da língua hebraica²²¹ na nossa vulgar portugueza, para glória del Dio Bendito e útil de todos aqueles que movidos de um pio zelo quiserem aplicar algumas horas do ócio à leitura deste tão prezado livro. Em cuja tradução me empreguei com todo o cuidado, buscando sempre o estilo mais fácil e inteligível. Procurei não sair um ponto da tenção do autor, ponderando suas palavras uma e muitas vezes antes de as traduzir. Não me peguei demasiadamente aos vocábulos do hebraico porque ficaria o discurso pouco elegante e muito malentendido, como sucedeu em outra tradução que há, feita em espanhol antigo, a qual achei em muitos lugares imperfeita e em outros diminuta. Porém, seja louvado o autor dela, a boa tenção e zelo de [5] querer tirar à luz este livro. Acrecentei (valéndome das leis da tradução que o permitem) tal vez para melhor inteligência do conceito algumas palavras que pus (entre paréntesis). O mesmo fiz nos versos que alega o autor da Sagrada Escritura, comentando alguns deles, segundo meu débil talento, como se poderá ver no progresso da obra. E aos senhores Hahamim que o reviram tambem pareceu bem, por urgentes respeitos, alterar alguns lugares explicando e ampliando neles a doutrina do autor, principalmente o capítulo VIII do terceiro tratado. Notei no princípio de todos os capítulos os argumentos, declarando distintamente os pontos sobre que trata. Tambem os assinalaei compendiosamente na

²²¹ Hebrica.

margem. No fim do livro fiz uma copiosa taboada, de tudo o que nele se contém. O fruto que pretendo colher deste meu trabalho é ser instrumento de apartarte da prejudicial meditação dos livros vãos e profanos, para a lectura deste, cheo de divina e pia doutrina, e em lugar de empregares mal o tempo de teu ócio, em outros passatempos recrees a tua alma com leres estes divinos documentos. Por fim (benigno lector), te suplico aceites com benévolo ánimo a sinceridade do que te oferece esta pequena obra. As faltas que achares nela, atribue à fraqueza de meu saber e não ao pouco cuidado com que lhe assisti. Por isso rogo não te apresses a condenar-me, mas antes louvando minha boa tenção, da-me azas para emprender obras maiores. Pondera a doutrina do livro e imprime-a em teu coração, para por em efeito seus proveitosos documentos. E Deus te concederá para isso Sua graça e ajuda. Ele queira plantar em nosso coração seu divino amor e temor, para fazer sua vontade e servi-lo com ánimo perfeito. Amen.

II.1.2. Prologue

Considering, firstly, that it was not enough that this famous book was versed into the Holy Language so that all could benefit from the exceptional and exquisite doctrine it contains, because many of those from our Portuguese nation do not know the work because they ignore Hebrew; and, secondly, that even those who know Hebrew would not easily understand the book's style, as it has an elevated language and is obscure in some parts due to the translation; I have resolved, invoking the favour and mercy of the Lord of the World to undertake the endeavour of translating this famous work from Hebrew into our common Portuguese, for the glory of the Blessed Lord and benefit of all those who are driven by a pious zeal to dedicate some hours of their spare time to the reading of this so prized work.

In the translation where of, I have dedicated myself with all care, always procuring the easiest and most intelligible style. I have striven not to depart one inch of the author's intention, weighing his words time and again before translating them. I have not stuck too close to the Hebrew words because the discourse would become unrefined and prone to misunderstandings, as happened with another extant translation, made in old-fashioned Spanish, which I found imperfect in many places and in others lacking. However, may its author be praised for the good intention and zeal of having wanted to publish this book!

On some occasions I have added – taking advantage of the laws of translation that permit such – some words that I put (between parenthesis) for a better understanding of the ideas. The same I did regarding the verses of the Sacred Scriptures cited by the author, commenting on some of them according to my feeble talent, as can be seen in the course of the work.

The gentlemen Hahamim who checked the work also thought it was good, for urgent reasons, to change some places, explaining and extending the doctrine of the author, mainly in Chapter eight of the Third Treatise.

At the beginning of all chapters I have annotated the arguments, distinguishing the different points they deal with; I also pointed these out succinctly in the margin. At the end of the work I have made a copious table of everything contained in the work.

The fruit I wish to recollect from my work is that it can be an instrument to hold you back from the damaging meditation of vain and profane works, and direct you towards this one, full of divine and pious doctrine, so that, instead of making ill use of your free time through other pastimes, you will delight your soul reading these divine documents.

Finally, benign reader, I ask you to accept what this small work offers you with a well-disposed mind and with fairness. The faults you will find, blame them on the frailty of my knowledge and not on any lack of care. For this reason, I beg you not to hasten to condemn me, but rather praising my good intention, to lend me wings to carry out major tasks. Ponder on the doctrine of this book and print it in your heart, so that its healthy lessons can be carried out. And for this, let God give you His grace and help: let He plant His divine love and fear in our heart, so that we act according to His will and serve Him with a perfect spirit. Amen.

II.2.1. Aprovação dos eminentes e doctíssimos senhores Hahamim do Kahal Kadós de Amsterdam [p. 6]

Por mandado dos senhores do Mahamad deste Kahal Kados revimos exactamente este livro intitulado *Obrigação dos corações* traduzido da língua hebraica à portuguesa pelo docto senhor Haham Rabi Semuel Abaz. Nele mostrou sua muita suficiênciã e erudição nas Sagradas Letras, elegância no português idioma e singular estudo na perfeição da tradução, exprimindo²²² com termos próprios a verdadeira tenção de seu insigne autor, que tão dificultosa é a muitos por haver sido o hebraico traduzido do arábigo em que originalmente foi composto. Tanto assí, que em alguns passos nos pareceu necessário explicar e ampliar as palavras do autor para que ninguém abusasse de seus conceitos.

O assumpto do livro é dirigir e preparar os ánimos e corações ao divino serviço e todo ele contém sagrada teologia piíssima e espiritual doutrina de virtudes morais e intellectuais, tudo conforme à nossa santa Lei e tradição de nossos Sábios, digna de ser continuamente meditada, como eficás e importantíssima para conduzir as almas ao felice porto da salvação e bemaventurança para que nacemos.

²²² exprimiendo.

Pelo que julgamos se lhe deve dar a licença que pede para que impresso saia à luz, para glória del Dio Bendito e benefício comum dos de nossa nação.

Dada em Amsterdam aos 26 do mez de Nisan, anno 5430 [= 16 April 1670].

Yshac Abuab, Moseh Rephael de Aguilar

II.2.2. Approbation by the eminent and most learned gentlemen Hahamim of the Kahal Kados of Amsterdam

On the order of the gentlemen of the Mahamad of this Kahal Kados we have very carefully revised this work titled *Obrigação dos corações* [Duty of the Hearts], translated from Hebrew into Portuguese by the learned sir Haham Rabbi Samuel Abas. In it he displayed his great dominion and learning of the Sacred Letters, his elegance in the Portuguese language and his exceptional care in the perfection of the translation, expressing with proper terms the true meaning of its illustrious author, which is so difficult to many because of the Hebrew being a translation of the Arab language in which the work was originally composed. This holds true to such extension, that we deemed it necessary to explain and amplify the author's words in some places, so that nobody would misuse its ideas.

The subject matter of the book is to direct and prepare the spirits and hearts towards the divine service and the whole work contains a sacred, very pious and spiritual doctrine on moral and intellectual virtues, all in conformity with our holy Law and the Tradition of our Sages; worthy to be continuously meditated upon, as a powerful and very important [instrument] to lead the souls to the blissful haven of salvation and happiness we have been born to.

Therefore, we judge that he must be given permission to have it printed for the glory of our Holy God and common benefit for those of our nation.

Given in Amsterdam on the 26th of Nisan, 5430 [= 16 April 1670].

Isaac Aboab, Moses Raphael de Aguilar

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