

## The correspondence between Shlomo Ha-Levi (Pablo de Santa Maria) and Isaac bar Sheshet as a historical source

*Eleazar GUTWIRTH*

Tel Aviv University. ORCID: 0000-0002-1149-9455

Rebut: 10.01.2024 — Acceptat: 07.06.2024

**Abstract.** Much attention has been devoted to the writings that Shlomo Ha-Levi/Pablo de Santa Maria (d. 1435) produced after his conversion to Christianity. However, there has been far less discussion of his early writings than of those from after his fortieth year. Even the one item from before then that has been studied to some extent has not received the same level of attention as his later works. The goal of this article is to redress the balance by focusing on his earlier phase, particularly his Hebrew correspondence with a famous Catalan senior rabbinic contemporary born in Barcelona: Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet (d. Algiers 1408).

**Keywords:** Jews in the Iberian Peninsula, Pablo de Santa Maria, Shlomo Ha-Levi, R. Isaac bar Sheshet, Jewish and converso authors

## La correspondència entre Salomó ha-Leví (Pablo de Santa María) i Issac bar Xeixet com a font històrica

**Resum.** Els escrits que Salomó ha-Leví, conegut després com a Pablo de Santa María (m. 1435), va produir arran de la seva conversió al cristianisme han estat àmpliament estudiats. En canvi, els seus primers textos han rebut molt menys interès, sobretot els anteriors als seus quaranta anys. Fins i tot l'única obra d'aquesta etapa

---

Correspondència: Eleazar Gutwirth. Tel Aviv University. A/e: [gutwirth@tauex.tau.ac.il](mailto:gutwirth@tauex.tau.ac.il).

que en part ha estat analitzada no ha gaudit de la mateixa atenció que els seus treballs posteriors. Aquest article pretén corregir aquest desequilibri i centrar-se en la seva producció primerenca, especialment la correspondència en hebreu amb el rabí Issac bar Xeixet (m. Algèria, 1408), una figura destacada del món rabínic català, nascut a Barcelona.

**Paraules clau:** jueus a la península Ibèrica, Pablo de Santa María, Salomó ha-Leví, R. Issac bar Xeixet, autors jueus i conversos

In research on medieval intellectual history (Maimonides, Aquinas, Lull), it is common practice to study not only an author's later works but also their early period, to obtain a sense of their development and evolution. This contrasts sharply with the case of Shlomo Ha-Levi/Pablo de Santa Maria (1351–1435). The attention devoted to his early writings pales in comparison to that repeatedly lavished on his works from after his fortieth year. His Hebrew writings are of historical value because, amongst other aspects, they offer highly nuanced evidence of his relations with prominent Hispano-Jewish figures of the late fourteenth century. Even the one item that could claim – to some extent – to have been studied, the *Iggeret Purim* / *Purim Epistle*<sup>1</sup> (1380s), has not been attended to with the same frequency as, say, his *Postilla* (c. 1429/1430) or the *Scrutinium scripturarum* (c. 1432).<sup>2</sup> These later works have been studied often since the sixteenth-century publication by Fr. Christophoro de Sanctotis, Augustiniano Burgensi.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, there still seems to be

1. In 'Paul of Burgos', ABRAHAMS published David Kaufman's copy/edition of a new MS of this *Epistle*, which had variants from previously available editions of the *Epistle* and translated some fragments into English. He propounded the theory that Shlomo was descended from an Anglo-Jewish family that had lived in England till 1290. He could not fathom how close Shlomo's mindset was to that of other Hebrew men of letters of the period in Iberian Peninsula, nor could he reconstruct a context, as some of their literary compositions had not yet been published. See also SCHIRMAN, 'Ha-Shirah'; BAER, *A history*; and KRIEGER, 'Pablo de Santa María'.

2. The list of publications on this topic is large enough to prove our point and would be worthy of a bibliographic essay in itself. Here, we present only a small, relatively recent sample: CALDERS I ARTIS and BARJAU I RICO, 'Pau de Santa Maria'; TÁBET, 'El diàlego'; GARCÍA-JALÓN DE LA LAMA, 'La noción'; SADIK, 'Les voies'; BARTOLUCCI, 'Per dicta antiquorum'; and KRIEGER, 'Paul de Burgos'. Amongst studies of other works by Paul, see CONDE, 'De nuevo', and idem, *La creación*.

3. His work may not be found in catalogues because it was introduced into one of the editions of the *Scrutinium*. SANCTOTIS, 'Vita D. Pauli'.

no total consensus as to the *Iggeret*'s character and the circumstances of its composition.<sup>4</sup> Some opinions seem to ignore its place in the strong Sephardi tradition of burlesque or carnivalesque, satirical, humorous compositions with titles that include the words "of/for Purim"<sup>5</sup> and instead believe it to be a sad, sorrowful lament.<sup>6</sup> To place it in the history of medieval and Sephardi *mentalité*, one may also recall, on a more general level, the existence – in the period of the rise of Christian parody of religious texts – of a medieval *Masekhet Purim*; the *Evening service for the second night of Purim*; and, perhaps, a *Sefer Habakbuk ha-Navi* (Book of the Prophet Bottle).<sup>7</sup> A brief fragment of Shlomo's *Epistle*, re-translated by Cole, may give an inkling of Shlomo's state of mind at the time, as well as of his previous education and culture.

### *Memory's Wine*

These are days when gifts should be given and delight in the cup's colour taken, but friends and favours are far from me now: ... and I'm alone. In their stead I'd find consolation if only I could meet my companion, for there has never been one like him – ever since the world began. Because of his absence the Flood flowed forth in the time of Enosh and Tubal-Cain, and if not for Noah's legacy to us, fear of another would still plague man. Today, however, I'm on my own, and my soul sighed when I went to the fountain. The party's pleasure and joy have been dimmed; the sun above my feast won't shine. Memory alone can comfort me now – and so from my heart I draw up wine.<sup>8</sup>

4. For a *mise en valeur* of Jewish epistolography in the place and period in question, see, for example, GUTWIRTH, 'Medieval Romance epistolarity', and idem, 'Hebrew letters'.

5. On the Sephardi tradition, see, for example, CARRACEDO, 'Textos purimicos', and SCHWARZBAUM, *Studies*.

6. They follow CANTERA BURGOS, 'Selomo ha-Levi', and idem, *Alvar García*, p. 294.

7. HAAS, 'Masekhet Purim'. *Sefer Ha-bakkuk* is obviously a parody of or pun on the biblical *Sefer Habakuk*. In 'Das Sefer Habakbuk', BEDDIG studies a Hebrew text – concerned, like Shlomo, with wine – which parodies the Bible and is associated with Gersonides (d. 1344?) in southern France. The entire direction of Shlomo's composition is, therefore, arguably derivative. Gersonides was an author who was well known in Iberian Peninsula by, for example, Prefet, Crescas, Abravanel, and Moses Arragel. On contemporary Christian parody of sacred texts, see also GREEN, 'On Juan Ruiz's parody'. The existence of Purim humour is more than sufficiently corroborated by the research of CARRACEDO, HAAS, BEDDIG, and SCHWARZBAUM mentioned here.

8. For translations, see COLE, *The dream*. See also MAGDALENA, 'Fuentes'.

To comprehend this text, it needs to be understood that it is partly based on a literary tradition, cultivated with particular intensity in Iberian Peninsula (perhaps especially in the Catalan Crown) at the time in question, of creating Hebrew “poems of distance”, absence or separation; a tradition the text subtly parodies.<sup>9</sup> Such poems are affirmations of friendship and assertions of longing for presence. They remind us of the troubadour’s motif of “amour de loinh”. The *Iggeret* is addressed to the chief rabbi, physician and courtier of Kings Juan I and Enrique III of Castile, don Meir Alguadex (d. 1410). What is crucial in beginning to comprehend the history of the relationship and, therefore, the poetic correspondence between Shlomo and Alguadex is that the latter had mentioned, in his own writings, the travels of the courtiers as an impediment to philosophical studies.<sup>10</sup> So, there is a certain similarity or humorous counterpoint in Shlomo’s negative conceit about the royal court of Castile-León as a prison. Both correspondents were recreating variations on the recently identified motif of “the anxieties of the Jewish courtier”.<sup>11</sup> Both would have been well aware of the irony implicit in a complaint or lamentation about being members of the royal court, a rare and highly privileged status to which, historically, most Jews and non-Jews could not aspire.

Shlomo’s shorter Hebrew poems have barely been commented upon.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, Pablo de Santa Maria’s Hebrew *Epistle* to Joshua Ha-Lorqi (replying to the latter’s epistle, which may have been sent from Alcañiz) is one of his post-conversion writings (possibly dating from the 1390s) that have attracted attention. Of the compositions written by Pablo de Burgos, it is probably the one closest to his early phase. Its popularity may have been enhanced by a number of editions, reprints and translations into modern languages.<sup>13</sup> Unlike in the case of the responsa, there is no evidence to support hypothetical speculation about it having been curtailed by scribes. In the *Epistle*, Joshua wonders about the motives for Shlomo Ha-Levi’s conversion and expresses his doubts about converting to Christianity. It has traditionally been seen as a document on the “psychology” or motivation behind Shlomo’s conversion

9. For transcriptions of such texts, see VARDI, *The ‘Group of Poets’*, and idem, *Shirei Don Vidal Benveniste*. On the Hispano-Jewish genre of poems of absence or separation, see GUTWIRTH, ‘A Hebrew echo’.

10. For original documents on Alguadex, see LEROY, ‘D’un règne’.

11. GUTWIRTH, ‘Daniel 1/4’.

12. SCHIRMAN, ‘Ha-Shirah’.

13. Further references in GUTWIRTH, ‘Pablo de Santa María’.

and, sometimes, the mass conversion of (two hundred thousand?) Jews in 1391 in general. It had been considered a transparent, translucent discourse providing direct access to their minds, hence the belief that one could draw certain conclusions from it, such as that Shlomo's conversion was motivated either by ambition or by genuine religious belief. More recently, research revealed that a great deal of that *Epistle* draws on – previously unidentified – hoary *topoi* of medieval and Hebrew writings, rather than consisting of spontaneous confessions or outpourings of the heart. It was therefore presented and re-read as a highly artful and, to some extent, erudite composition. Pablo's brief reply is also, in some ways, expected, derivative and conventional. Even his assertion that he is no longer interested in producing a polished Hebrew composition stems, it has been argued, from contemporary thinking about and discussions of the fitness or aptness of different languages for different purposes and also, at times, for different religions.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, its reminiscences of the two correspondents' presence at the Benvenist wedding are worthy of noting.

There was even a belief that the *Epistle of Purim* was the only extant Hebrew text remaining from Shlomo's Jewish period,<sup>15</sup> underlining the historically obscure nature of this time in the life and development of a figure who generates interest, although not for his financial role. The financial documents related to his early period are irrelevant or marginal to the history of religion and conversion. In the following lines, we shall attempt to redress the balance by paying some attention to the evidence for Shlomo's earlier and puzzling Jewish phase, particularly his Hebrew correspondence with his (older) Catalan contemporary, Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet (d. Algiers 1408), who had been born in Barcelona. The correspondence consists of six items (numbers 187–192) in the *Responsa* of Ribash. It thus represents historical material of a religious nature, which, in the case of Jewish history, includes halakha.

Part of the neglect of this main, major historical source concerning Shlomo's intellectual development during his lesser-known first forty years may have to do with the simple fact that close readings of juridical texts, such as *responsa*, are an acquired taste.<sup>16</sup> A second factor is possibly more complex.

14. GUTWIRTH, 'Pablo de Santa María'. A revised version appeared in *Iberia Judaica*, vol. 9 (2017), p. 113–140.

15. "His Purim letter is, unfortunately, the only extant Hebrew text remaining to us from his Jewish period." KRIEGER, 'Pablo de Santa María', p. 97.

16. A welcome exception is SLOTNIK, 'Rabi Yitshak'. See also HERSHMAN, *Rabbi Isaac*.

Apart from the nineteenth/twentieth-century satires on *melitza*, there may be a nineteenth-century (Romantic?) current of neglect of the study of juridical correspondence such as that between Rabbi Shlomo ben Isaac Ha-Levi and Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet Perfet in the 1380s. But to understand the history, one needs to address all components of the evidence, including their correspondence. To that end, one must also acknowledge that the two rabbis (like their contemporary Hebrew poets) engaged in an intense, allusive, (poetic/) rhetorical practice of citing the Bible. Fourteenth-century rabbis, such as R. Isaac, had (like their coeval Hebrew poets) mastered the original Hebrew biblical texts. They usually did not assume transparency or instant comprehension but filtered them through the post-biblical interpretations of Targum, Talmud, Midrash, Geonic literature and medieval exegetes, including the best-known examples: Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Nahmanides, Kimhi, Behay, Gersonides, and others. Their mastery allowed them to precisely calibrate the practice of citation for their own individual expressive requirements. It is misleading to view these texts as part of an undifferentiated mass. R. Isaac did not address every one of his correspondents in the same way as he did R. Shlomo.

In responsum 192, R. Isaac concludes his halakhic essay by saying:

May the Lord make thee the head<sup>17</sup> and prepare your heart in His Torah, to seek, to argue and to learn and teach, to be heard and to listen, and the preserved of the Torah will return judgment to the light of the Gentiles,<sup>18</sup> ... your soul will be satiated. As your important soul and the soul of those faithful of your covenant, the one who solaces himself with your love Isaac bar Rabbi Sheshet.

On the outside of the script,<sup>19</sup> he addresses Shlomo in the following way: “To the sage, better than a prophet in the Torah’s war, (who) should rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion, the excellent Don Shlomo Halevi”. Here, for example, he is citing the prophecy of Balaam in Numbers 23:24: “Behold, the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a

17. He takes for granted the reader’s memory of the rest of the verse (Deuteronomy 28:13): “And the LORD shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them.”

18. He alludes to Isaiah 49:6: “It is too small a thing for you to be my servant to restore the tribes of Jacob and bring back *those of Israel I have kept*. I will also make you a light for the Gentiles, that my salvation may reach to the ends of the earth.”

19. Not on the envelope, as some believe. Envelopes are a much later invention.

young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain”, where “should rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion” is clearly part of a prophecy of war and combat and incongruous in this context. R. Isaac evidently reads it through the lens of the Mekhilta (and Rashi ad loc): “When they (the people, the Jews) awake from their sleep they rise up as lions to grasp (the opportunity of) the fulfillment of the commandments: to put on the *talith* and to recite the *Shema* and to put on the *tefillin*”. This is a simple example of R. Isaac’s manner of reading and citing the Bible, as well as of his expectations that his correspondent (Shlomo Ha-Levi) will understand his implications.

In responsum 191, Isaac refers to his own essay: “this is what I managed the discourse of the one who seeks your peace and well being always faithful to your love”. The letter to Shlomo is addressed to “the well of living, profound and refreshing, clean and pure waters the deputy of the Levites”.<sup>20</sup>

In letter number 187 of the responsa collection, bar Sheshet expresses his longing to behold Shlomo “face to face”. The biblical allusion (Deuteronomy 4:5; Exodus 33:11; Genesis 32:31) is to the few who had seen God “face to face”, such as Jacob and Moses. Medieval exegetes (e.g. Ibn Ezra) expanded on the difference between direct – face to face – and indirect encounters. In an indirect encounter, the intermediary (*sarsur*) could be lying (Rashi).

In responsum 192, R. Isaac addresses Shlomo Ha-Levi. Shlomo’s epistles, with his questions and his comments, are not included in the edition of the responsa. We know something about the process of collecting and editing R. Isaac’s voluminous correspondence in the fourteenth/fifteenth century,<sup>21</sup> and it would not be at all odd if, by the time of collection and editing (after 1391), it had been decided that the texts of the convert should not be disseminated. Rabbi Isaac begins by recounting that there had been a libelous attack on him. He expresses his anguish using the words of Isaiah 6:9: “Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.” He is so distraught that he hears but does not understand, he sees but does not perceive. The poignancy of this personal articulation of his disturbed state of mind and anxiety at the time of writing goes beyond the expected qualities of hon-

20. Deputy (*sgan*) but not chief as in Numbers 3:32: “And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall be chief over the chief of the Levites, and have the oversight of them that keep the charge of the sanctuary.”

21. GUTWIRTH, ‘Hebrew letters’.

our and respect in their relations. It reflects a degree of personal intimacy between the two men which transcends their situation of residence in different, distant cities and different kingdoms. This is possibly somewhat and partially more comprehensible if we recall Ha-Levi's family origins in Ribash's Catalan Crown, probably in the select and rarefied circles of the Caballería family of *francos*. The matter to which Ribash refers seems to have been resolved by the time he finished his juridical argument and reached the end of the letter/responsum, in which he asserts that there had been some critics (*meqatregin*) in Calatayud who seemed to oppose his move to a rabbinical position there. R. Isaac was firm in his resolution to serve that community. In the meantime, there had been a change of heart; the community had sent envoys to the king and had already sent him money (500 *dinarin*) for expenses for his journey to Calatayud, as had been stipulated in the relevant conditions. He had already sent his books ahead to Calatayud.<sup>22</sup> Here again, the inclusion of references to highly personal matters, unconnected to the halakhic discussion and not strictly necessary, attests to the friendship and intimacy between the two individuals.

Also in responsum 192, Isaac enlarges on their friendship in personal terms. He refers to Shlomo's (now lost) letter and to his questions. The latter, Isaac writes at the beginning of his letter, are pretexts. We should perhaps remember the medieval convention of asserting *humilitas* in the [*captatio* or] *petitio benevolentiae* sections of prologues. In an affectation of humility, Ribash declares himself ignorant. Shlomo cannot have been seeking his wisdom in sending him a letter with questions, for the gates of wisdom are closed before him. It must have been because Shlomo wishes (*le-'orer 'et ha-ahava*) "to awaken the love". The day he received the letters was an honoured day; he exclaims how good and pleasant<sup>23</sup> it is that Shlomo should have remembered him. The correspondence serves to renew friendship and – in the words of Jeremiah – "the love of thine espousals..." (*le-hadesh yedidut we-ahavat klulot*).

22. On the Jews of Calatayud, see, for example, CEBOLLA BERLANGA, MELGUIZO AÍSA and RUIZ RUIZ, 'La judería', and MOTIS DOLADER, *La expulsión*.

23. He is citing again, this time from Psalms 133: 1 "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! 2 It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard: that went down to the skirts of his garments; 3 As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore" (KJV).



Their friendship is not ephemeral, but, as in Jeremiah 17:1, “(is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond:) *it is graven upon the table of the heart* (and upon the horns of your altars)”. Shlomo had posed Isaac questions or riddles (*hidot*) on matters of law. Shlomo’s intention had been “to awaken the love till it is remembered upon the bed and meditated on in the night watches”, writes Rabbi Isaac, again appropriating the words of the prophet Jeremiah.

Despite all this, there was no absolute agreement between Shlomo and Isaac on juridical/religious matters. They had different views and expressed their disagreements freely. Although Ha-Levi’s side of the communication has been lost, it may be reconstructed from the frequent references to and quotations from it in the juridical correspondence. This may be shown by isolating relevant statements in the historical evidence. In one case, for example, Isaac asserts that Ha-Levi’s whole question should have been formulated otherwise. He frequently evaluates Shlomo’s arguments as far-fetched. Elsewhere, he writes: “and you have said that my argument is impossible”; and (*dahiti ra’ayotekha*) “I have refuted your proofs”; and “I don’t know where your mind/heart was when you wrote this”. Elsewhere again (192), he writes: “I do not understand what you are saying at all or, with apologies to your honour, you have not understood what I said. And I did not speak *with stammering lips and another tongue*<sup>24</sup> but explained at length and more than strictly necessary.” It would not be entirely unreasonable to assume that R. Isaac’s repeated and intense affirmations of friendship are a sensitive attempt to palliate his stringent critiques of Shlomo’s letters and arguments.

The subject of the correspondence is related not to a hazy notion of “ritual” but to a concrete theme and work: Hulin. This tractate of the Babylonian Talmud belongs to the Order Qodashim. Its title literally means “profane (items)”. It covers the laws on preparing meat for consumption in daily life (as opposed to for sacrifices at the Jerusalem Temple) and other laws governing Jewish dietary restrictions. The correspondence begins at responsum number 187, with comments on the tractate’s second chapter, which concerns the organs that must be cut: in quadrupeds, the trachea and the gullet, or the greater part of each, must be cut through; in fowl, cutting through one of those organs, or the greater part of one, is sufficient. In both cases, the jugular vein must be severed. Rules as to the character of the incision follow. The last let-

24. As in Isaiah 28:11.

ter of the correspondence is still concerned with such matters. Amongst the frequently mentioned authorities are Maimonides and R. Nissim of Gerona. One wonders whether the focus on meat throughout the six items of the correspondence may reflect its protagonism in late medieval law in Iberian Peninsula (particularly in the Catalan Crown), as shown by notarial practices, municipal legislation, and even Christian sermons on Jewish butcher's shops.<sup>25</sup>

In any case, the give and take of the juridical disquisition clearly reveals Shlomo's aptitude in matters of Talmudic exegesis and juridical argument. On the other hand, R. Isaac's strictures may seem to point to the conclusion that Shlomo's reasoning was not optimal. Such a conclusion is particularly valuable if we remember the lack of evidence for the usual hyperbolic descriptions of the rather obscure Jewish phase of Paul of Burgos. His activities as a rabbi of Burgos (in the 1370s or 1380s?) – if he really was one – left no trace, and it is hard to point to any evidence that he made a difference in his community in the fourteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

## Bibliography

- ABRAHAM, Israel. 'Paul of Burgos in London'. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 12.2 (1900), p. 255–263.
- BAER, Yitzhak. *A history of the Jews in Christian Spain*. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: JPS, 1966.
- BARTOLUCCI, Guido. 'Per dicta antiquorum Talmudistarum: Flavio Mitridate, Paolo di Santa Maria e l'antico Talmud'. In: PERANI, Mauro (ed.). *Mitridate mediatore fra culture nel contesto dell'ebraismo siciliano del XV secolo*. Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2012, p. 91–104.
- BEDDIG, Mirjam. 'Das Sefer Habakbuk Hanavi: Eine Purim-Parodie aus dem 13. Jahrhundert'. In: LEHNARDT, Andreas (ed.). *Wein und Judentum*. Berlin: Neofelis, 2014, p. 171–184.
- CALDERS I ARTIS, Tessa; BARJAU I RICO, Maria Esperança. 'Pau de Santa Maria 'olim' Salomó ha-Leví'. *Aula Orientalis*, 17–18 (1999–2000), p. 255–259.

25. LACAVE, 'La carnicería'; LLOBET I PORTELLA, 'Les relacions'.

26. On the Jews and conversos of Burgos, see MUÑOZ SOLLA, 'Judeoconversos burgaleses'.

- CANTERA BURGOS, Francisco. 'Selomo ha-Levi, rehén en Inglaterra en 1389'. In: *Homenaje a Millás-Vallícosa*. Barcelona: CSIC, 1954-1956, p. 301-330.
- *Alvar García de Santa María y su familia de conversos: historia de la Judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios*. Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952.
- CARRACEDO, Leonor. 'Textos purímicos de carácter burlesco'. In: *Actas de las Jornadas de Estudios Sefardíes de 1980*. Cáceres: Universidad, 1981, p. 123-130.
- CEBOLLA BERLANGA, José Luis; MELGUIZO AÍSA, Salvador; RUIZ RUIZ, Francisco Javier. 'La judería nueva de Calatayud. Visión arqueológica'. *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval*, 23 (2016), p. 103-123.
- COLE, Peter. *The dream of the poem: Hebrew poetry from Muslim and Christian Spain, 950-1492*. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 2007.
- CONDE, Juan Carlos. 'De nuevo sobre una traducción desconocida de Pablo de Santa María y su parentela'. In: CANTAVELLA, Rosanna; HARO, Marta; REAL, Elena (eds.). *Traducción y práctica literaria en la Edad Media Románica*. Valencia: Facultad de Filología, 2006, p. 171-188.
- *La creación de un discurso historiográfico en el cuatrocientos castellano: Las siete edades del mundo de Pablo Santa María (estudio y edición crítica)*. Salamanca: Universidad, 1999.
- GARCÍA JALÓN DE LA LAMA, Santiago. 'La noción de sentido literal en Pablo de Burgos y Tomás de Aquino'. In: YILDIZ, Efrem (ed.). *Et Amicorum: Estudios en honor al profesor Carlos Carrete Parrondo*. Salamanca: Universidad, 2019, p. 177-189.
- GREEN, Otis H. 'On Juan Ruiz's parody of the canonical hours'. *Hispanic Review*, 26 (1958), p. 12-34.
- GUTWIRTH, Eleazar. 'Pablo de Santa María y Jerónimo de Santa Fe: hacia una re-lectura de la 'Epístola' de Lorqui'. *Estudios de historia de España*, 17.1-2 (2015), p. 1-30.
- 'Pablo de Santa María y Jerónimo de Santa Fe: hacia una re-lectura de la 'Epístola' de Lorqui'. Revised version. *Iberia Judaica*, 9 (2017), p. 113-140.
- 'Hebrew letters, Hispanic mail: Communication among fourteenth-century Aragon Jewry'. In: MENACHE, Sophia (ed.). *Communication in the Jewish diaspora: the pre-modern world*. Leiden: Brill, 1996, p. 257-282.
- 'Daniel 1/4 y las ansiedades del cortesano'. In: CARREIRA DAS NEVES, J.; COLLADO BERTOMEU, Vicente; VILAR HUESO, Vicente (eds.). *III Simposio*

- Bíblico Español (I Luso-Espanhol)*. Valencia-Lisbon: Fundación Bíblica Española, 1991, p. 639–648.
- ‘A Hebrew echo of Catullus’ passer circa 1400? The question of humanism in late medieval Hispano-Jewish communities’. *Rassegna iberistica*, 41 | 110 (2018), p. 219–237.
- ‘Medieval Romance epistolarity: The case of the Iberian Jews’. *Neophilologus*, 84, (2000). p. 207–224.
- HAAS, Peter J. ‘Masekhet Purim’. In: GREENSPOON, Leonard J. (ed.). *Jews and Humor*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2011, p. 55–66.
- HERSHMAN, Abraham M. *Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet Perfet and his times*. New York: JTS, 5704 = 1943.
- KRIEGLER, Maurice. ‘Paul de Burgos et Profiat Duran déchiffrent 1391’. *Atalaya: Revue d’Études Médiévales Romanes*, 14 (2014), p. 1–19.
- KRIEGER, Judith Gale. ‘Pablo de Santa María, the Purim letter and Siete edades del mundo’. *Mester*, 17.2 (1988), p. 95–103.
- LACAVE, José Luis. ‘La carnicería de la aljama zaragozana a fines del siglo xv’. *Sefarad*, 35 (1975), p. 3–35.
- LEROY, Béatrice. ‘D’un règne à l’autre: politique et diplomatie des souverains de Navarre dans les années 1380–1390’. *Principe de Viana*, 46 (1985), p. 723–743.
- LLOBET I PORTELLA, Josep M. ‘Les relacions veïnals entre cristians i jueus a Cervera durant els anys 1426–1436’. *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d’Estudis Hebraics*, 17 (2022), p. 147–168.
- MOTIS DOLADER, Miguel Ángel. *La expulsión de los judíos de Calatayud: anatomía de una encrucijada*. Calatayud: CEB, 2023.
- MUÑOZ SOLLA, Ricardo. ‘Judeoconversos burgaleses a fines de la Edad Media’. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie III, Ha. Medieval, t. 22 (2009), p. 207–228.
- SADIK, Shalom. ‘Les voies menant aux mystères chrétiens dans le ‘Scrutinium Scripturarum’ de Pablo de Santa Maria’. *Materia Giudaica*, 24 (2019), p. 577–586.
- SANCTOTIS, Christophorus. ‘Vita D. Pauli episcopi Burgensis’. In: PAULUS DE SANCTA MARIA. *Scrutinium Scripturarum*. Burgos, 1591.
- SCHIRMAN, H. *Ha-Shirah ha-‘ivrit bi-Sefarad uve-Provanz: mivhar shirim vesipurim mehorazim. Yerushalayim: Hotsa’at Mosad Byalik*; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1959–1960.
- SCHWARZBAUM, Haim. *Studies in Jewish and world folklore*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968.

SLOTNIK, Joseph. *Rabi Yitshak bar Sheshet: ha-Rivash. ,Iyun bi-teshuvotav ve-darkhe pesikato*. M.A. dissertation, Touro College, 2001.

TÁBET, Michelangelo. 'El diálogo judeo-cristiano en el 'Scrutinium Scripturarum' de Pablo de Santa María'. *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi*, 16.2 (1999), p. 537–560.

VARDI, T. *The 'Group of Poets' in Saragossa: Secular Poetry*. (In Hebrew). Ph.D. dissertation, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1996.

— *Shirei Don Vidal Benveniste*. (In Hebrew). M.A. dissertation, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1986.