Between Iberia, the Dutch Republic and Western Africa: Portuguese Sephardic long- and short-term mobility in the seventeenth century

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Most scholarship on early modern Jewish history has used the Portuguese Inquisition archives to study the persecution and diaspora of Jews and New Christians. The Notarial acts of the Amsterdam Municipal archive and its Jewish collection, on the other hand, have been used mainly to reconstruct Jewish migration to the city and its Jewish community. Few studies, however, have utilised these collections to analyse Jewish short-term mobility. When utilised alongside one another, these materials prove to be an effective means to study Jewish movement. This article will shed new light on this topic by looking at seventeenth-century Jewish long- and short-term mobility between Europe and western Africa.

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Keywords: mobility; Dutch Republic; Iberia; Western Africa; seventeenth century; archival sources

1. Introduction

In the last decades an extensive body of literature both on the diverse forms of contact between Sephardim and the Iberian Inquisition Courts and on the Jewish involvement in seventeenth-century Amsterdam society and business elites has been produced.¹ Few studies, however, have used the collections of the Portuguese Inquisition and the Amsterdam Notarial archive to analyse Jewish short-term mobility, and few scholars have attempted at combining both to understand patterns of Jewish geographical mobility beyond the study of permanent migration and the formation of diasporic communities.

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As in the study of Jewish Migration and Diaspora, combining information from the Portuguese Inquisition² and the Amsterdam Notarial Archives³ can be an efficient way to examine Jewish short-term mobility in the early modern period related not only to religious persecution, but also to business interests. Based on these two major source collections this study will examine in some detail the mobility of Portuguese Sephardic Jews from Iberia to the Dutch Republic and discuss their business-related mobility within the Atlantic, in particular, between the two aforementioned regions and the western coast of Africa. Here, I will also analyse the nature of their activities in this area during the first half of the seventeenth century.

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I will start with a brief discussion of the definition and theoretical framework developed around the concept of mobility and its use in historical studies; in particular, in studies of Jewish migration and Diaspora. This will be followed by an overview of the two primary source collections used for this study, their potential for the analysis of

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this topic, and the methodological challenges posed for the researcher. I will then study in some detail the policies and measures implemented by the Portuguese Crown to control forms of religious, social and geographical mobility among the Sephardim. An overview of the main forms of mobility adopted by the Portuguese Sephardic Jews following the implementation of these regulations by the Portuguese Crown will follow. Here, I will look into both permanent migration and forms of short-term mobility, made possible by the establishment of regular routes between Europe and its overseas territories, and the types of interactions Sephardic Jews wished to foster by moving between these regions.

2. Mobility, migration and diaspora

The term mobility is generally defined as the ability to move or to be moved free and easily, or the ability to travel from one place to another. In recent decades, partially due to the development of the information society, scholars in the fields of computer science, economics, political science, and sociology have become increasingly interested in human mobility and have started to explore its implications and dimensions from a scholarly point of view in an attempt to study, understand and explain patterns and varieties of human mobility in the modern world.

In the 1980s, when debates around mobility emerged, the concept was mainly regarded from the point of view of human movement across space. By the turn of the century, however, scholars started to develop a complex theoretical framework that looked at mobility not merely as the simple act of moving and the elements that could facilitate and/or obstruct that movement, but rather as a process that led to different types of interactions. In view of this, scholars have designed a theoretical framework that examines human mobility by looking at human interactions resulting from the act of moving. According to their theoretical model human mobility needs to be analysed in three different dimensions: spatial, temporal and contextual mobility, which are, in fact, interrelated. To put it in simple terms, in order to study mobility we need to know where people move to and what kinds of objects, ideas, etc., move along with them; when people move and at what pace; in what contexts did people move, under what circumstances and towards what goal(s), and to interact with which actor(s)?⁴

The use of the concept of mobility in history is less common. Historical studies have, instead, focused mainly on the analysis of certain forms of human mobility; in particular, migration, temporary or permanent, and free or coerced, and the outcomes of migration movements with the formation of migrant communities in host-societies and the development of the diaspora phenomena. The latter have, meanwhile, been divided and categorised in four main types: 'victim', labour, imperial, and cultural diasporas.⁵ Little attention has, however, been devoted to the study of individuals who travelled for business or leisure purposes, forms of short-term mobility that cannot be considered as migration.

In the context of Jewish history and Jewish studies, migration and diaspora have been central topics of research and analysis for a long-time.⁶ The early modern Sephardic migration and diaspora within the context of the establishment of the Iberian Inquisition and the persecution of the New Christians, as well as the expulsion of the Iberian Jews, are cases in point.⁷ The subsequent formation of Sephardic Jewish communities across Europe, the Mediterranean Basin, the Middle East, western Africa, the Caribbean, Spanish and Portuguese Americas, and even in the East and Far East

has also been widely studied, as well as the persecution against New Christians based in the Iberian Catholic metropolitan and overseas territories.⁸

Most of these studies have, however, focused on permanent migration, the development of the Diaspora, and the social and economic activities of the members of the various Jewish communities.⁹ Yet, the simple act of moving in for the short term has not been examined in as much detail, nor have the types of interactions established by Sephardic Jews in their geographical mobility. Therefore, many questions remain only partially answered. In my analysis of short-term mobility I will pay special attention to the following questions: how did the Portuguese Crown try to restrict or regulate the social and geographical mobility of New Christians?¹⁰ What did these New Christians do to overcome these limitations, to safeguard their freedom of movement and to continue their interactions associated with and dependent on their ability to move? In this context, the theoretical framework provided by the scholarly debates in other fields of study concerning mobility can be of great use to the study of human mobility in the past.

In the following pages, we will attempt to address some of these points by looking at where, when, how, under what circumstances and why Sephardic Jews moved between Europe and its overseas territories, whenever permanent migration purposes were not the main aim, using western Africa as a case study.

3. Primary source collections and their use for the study of Jewish mobility 20

The analysis of seventeenth-century source materials from the Portuguese Inquisition and the Amsterdam Notarial Archives will shed new light on the nature of the Jewish presence in the region. In the case of the Portuguese Inquisition, the most valuable materials for the study of Jewish mobility can be found in the sub-collections of the Portuguese Inquisition District Courts: Lisbon, Coimbra and Évora, the former being the most important when it came to movement to the overseas territories, given the jurisdiction of this Court over the Empire. Here, researchers find a wide range of sources with information on the geographic mobility of New Christians and other individuals. The information available allows for the study of various types of geographic mobility, such as movement from rural to urban areas, from urban to rural areas and between different urban areas. These different types of geographical movement most often comprised multiple areas, either within Portugal, Iberia and Europe, or between Europe, the Mediterranean Basin, Africa, the Americas and Asia.

The most significant source materials produced by the Inquisition District Courts are the books of the Inquisition's attorney (*cadernos do Promotor*), the books of denunciations (*livros de denúncias*), and the court cases (*processos*). By way of example let us look at the figures for the collection of court cases from the Lisbon Inquisition, comprising a total of 18,383. About 41% of the court cases refer to New Christians and in each information on place of birth and residence can be found. In addition, suspects arrested and questioned by the Inquisition officials were required to provide details about their travels, business connections and partners, an array of information that allows for the study of multiple forms of Jewish long- and short-term migration.¹¹

However, most studies based on the Inquisition records have rather focused on the institution itself, its judicial role and strength as part of the growing power of Church and State to increase social control. The general works by Henry Kamen, Francisco Bethencourt, John A. Tedeschi, and Gaetano Greco for the Spanish, Portuguese and

Italian Inquisitions are good examples, paying special attention to the activities of the Courts, the number of individuals persecuted, the religious, social and cultural manifestations of their deviant behaviour in the eyes of Inquisition officials, as well as the forms of punishment they were subjected to.¹² An identical approach has been followed by scholars interested in studying the religious control imposed by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions on overseas communities in the Atlantic Islands, western Africa, the Americas and Asia in general, and on the Sephardic Jewish and New Christian communities in particular.¹³

In recent years, a new approach to research using the framework of diaspora and network studies has started to look at Inquisition records with a new focus, using some of the information available to reconstruct the social and business networks of Jewish and New Christian men and women operating in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, Africa and the Far East. This new approach looks at Jewish diaspora and identity in a more fluid way and it opens up new ways to approach Jewish migration and other forms of mobility. The work of Daviken Stunicky-Gizbert, Toby Green, Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta on Jewish communities in Spanish America, Senegambia and Cape Verde are cases in point.¹⁴ These scholars have also moved beyond the idea that Jewish merchant communities only did business and interacted with individuals of the same kind and religious background.

There are, however, risks associated with the use of Inquisition sources for the study of New Christian and Jewish forms of mobility across the world. These risks derive from the ways and circumstances under which the information was gathered. The data on individuals suspected of being Jews and New Christians available in the Portuguese Inquisition primary sources was assembled through denunciations and confessions (sometimes forced through physical and psychological torture). A denunciation and testimony was not only a report of events, but also someone's opinion on other people's behaviour. Besides, both denouncers and witnesses had one or more reasons to report someone to the Inquisition court. The denouncers' motive could simply be their wish to defend religious and moral orthodoxy, but there could also be rivalry, disagreement, or grievance in the background. Moreover, most denouncers showed a considerable lack of knowledge about Jewish religion, providing Inquisition officials with erroneous information about the New Christians' religious practices. Denunciations of imaginary practices were regularly made by Old Christians to the Portuguese Inquisition Court. These denunciations were also made against the New Christian families and larger communities that settled on the western coast of Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁵ Due to all these obstacles, the use of Inquisition archival materials for the study of New Christians' mobility requires careful and critical analysis, as well as the use of primary sources produced by other historical institutions and individual actors with different purposes, as for example Amsterdam's city archive.

The Amsterdam Municipal Archive and its Jewish collections have been extensively used by scholars working on Jewish history and have been made widely known through the work of Jonathan Israel and Daniel Swestincki, among others.¹⁶ The *Archief van de Portugees-Israëlietische Gemeente van Amsterdam* has been the prime focus of research by those aiming to study Jewish migration and diaspora and to reconstruct the social and economic history of the city's Jewish community and its connections with the wider early modern world. Yet, within Amsterdam's city archive there are non-Jewish collections that reveal much about Jewish long, medium and short-term mobility in Europe and overseas, in particular the collection of the Amsterdam Notarial Contracts.

This vast collection comprises various types of notary acts including freight contracts, bills of exchange, labour contracts, commercial credits, powers of attorney, insurances, mortgages, deeds, etc. Although most of these source materials were produced for business purposes as a way to reduce risk and safeguard the rights of parties involved, they can inform us about the nature of Jewish permanent or temporary relocation, their circumstances and reasons. Most of the research conducted in the Amsterdam Notarial Archives has, however, stimulated studies of economic and business history, with a focus on the reconstruction of commercial circuits and business networks across northern and southern Europe, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic World. Work by Jessica Roitman, Christopher Ebert, Catia Antunes and Oscar Gelderblom, among others, illustrates well this type of use of the Notarial Archives of Amsterdam.¹⁷ Although none of these researchers had Jewish mobility as their prime focus of research, their studies tell us a great deal about the geographical movements of Jewish populations between the southern and northern Netherlands, between Portugal, the Dutch Republic and the Baltic port cities, as well as between all these regions, the early modern Atlantic, or even worldwide. To have a better understanding of the mobility of the Portuguese Sephardim between these regions, let us start by looking into the policies adopted by the Portuguese monarchs to control the geographical mobility of the Sephardic Jews after they were forced either to convert to Christianity or to flee Portugal.

4. Portuguese Crown and Inquisition Courts: attempts to control Sephardic mobility

In 1496, Manuel I., King of Portugal, ordered the forced conversion of all Jews living in the Kingdom to the Catholic religion. Both children and adult Jews were baptised in Catholic churches and took Portuguese Catholic names similar to those of their godparents; those who chose not to convert were forced to leave.¹⁸ After the forced conversion, several mechanisms were created and developed to identify and control this newly converted group: (i) the use of the terms 'New Christian' and 'Old Christian'; (ii) enquiries into the 'purity of blood' (*pureza de sangue*) of individuals wanting to attain certain royal and municipal offices, ecclesiastic posts and enter professional guilds; (iii) legislation to control New Christians' geographical mobility; and (iv) the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal. Being a New or Old Christian was not just a distinction in religious status, but rather a mechanism of social control. In general, before the forced conversion Jews had already had limited access to administrative offices in both royal and municipal institutions. Their social mobility, as well as intercultural marriages, was strictly controlled by the general legal codes of the Kingdom: the so-called *Ordenações Afonsinas* and later the *Ordenações Manuelinas*.¹⁹ Hence, the distinction between ancestral Catholics and recently converted ones by the use of the expressions New and Old Christian was also a way to keep the social status quo and prevent New Christians from ascending socially and economically and to limit their political leverage.

In the long-term, the use of the aforementioned expressions alone proved to be insufficient for controlling the social mobility and access to political power of the New Christians, since this mechanism would only work efficiently for the first and second generations following the forced conversion. Over time, it became more difficult to identify and distinguish between New and Old Christians.

Another practice was then initiated: the enquiries into the purity of blood – a legal procedure intended to distinguish New Christians from Old Christians by tracing their blood lines on both their mothers' and fathers' families back to the fifth and sometimes even the seventh generation. This procedure would guarantee the 'purity of blood' – Catholic blood – of those accepted as officers in the royal political, administrative, and fiscal central and peripheral institutions, as well as members of staff of the municipal councils, the Church, the religious and military Orders, and even as officers of the Inquisition Courts. The use of such an enquiry, of course, drove the New Christians to develop strategies to hide their Jewish ancestry or to get to those positions through different means in order to be able to climb the social ladder.

These were not, however, the only mechanisms developed within Portuguese metropolitan and overseas societies to distinguish New Christians and control their social mobility. After 1496, several Portuguese monarchs also took measures to regulate the geographical mobility of the New Christians in Portugal, within the Empire and to other areas. Several decrees were promulgated between 1499 and 1629 to control the New Christians' spatial mobility. During this period, Portuguese legislation on New Christians' mobility changed periodically from a prohibition of circulation to free migration and *vice versa*. For example, between 1499 and 1507, all New Christians living in Portugal were forbidden to leave the kingdom either on a temporary or permanent basis, without a special permission or licence from the Crown, including those aiming to travel to the Portuguese overseas settlements or any other areas. This legal situation changed between 1507 and 1532 when New Christians were free to migrate to any country or any Portuguese overseas settlement.²⁰

After the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition, due to the growing migration of New Christians to northern and Eastern Europe, as well as to the Portuguese and Spanish overseas colonies, legislation to control New Christians' migration became stricter. Only between 1577 and 1580 were New Christian residents of Portugal free to travel as they wished. Finally, in 1629, New Christians were definitively granted the freedom to migrate on a long, medium and short-term basis, and to sell their belongings – a privilege they were granted by purchasing 250 thousand *cruzados* of *padrões de juro*.²¹

The establishment of the Inquisition was another important mechanism adopted by the Portuguese Crown in its attempts at controlling New Christians' social and religious behaviour. The need to control New Christians' moral and religious behaviour towards Catholicism and check any resurgence of their previous religious beliefs was in fact one of the main reasons given to justify the Papal Bull, '*Cum ad nihil*', which granted permission to the creation of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536 and the extension of its jurisdiction to the overseas empire.²² The practice of Judaism, blasphemy, sorcery, Lutheranism, sodomy, and bigamy were the main crimes that fell under the scrutiny of this institution.²³

In order to exercise its power overseas, the Court of Lisbon counted on the cooperation of the Portuguese local authorities. Most of them were members of the literate and educated elite, recruited mainly among ecclesiastics, especially bishops, vicars general and governors of dioceses, pastoral visitors, members of chapters of main cathedrals, and occupants of judicial and military offices, such as sheriffs, judges, captains, judicial officers, governors and even members of town councils.²⁴ This was also the case in the Upper Guinea region and the islands of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, which are the main focus of this study.²⁵

After 1613, the Inquisition was also allowed to choose and nominate its own officials in Portugal and the Empire.²⁶ As a consequence, new Inquisitorial officials were sent to the overseas territories, including the Cape Verde and São Tomé Archipelagos. Like the aforementioned local authorities, these Inquisition officials were well-educated members of local elites, and holders of high positions in the local hierarchies. Although their number was scarce in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁷ Portuguese local authorities together with the Inquisition officials tried to put into practice the jurisdiction of the Inquisition court in these posts and settlements on the western coast of Africa between 1565 and 1821. In order to do so, these formal officers and informal agents of the Inquisition collected denunciations, organised inquisitorial and episcopal visits and enquiries, and arrested, judged and condemned many inhabitants of these territories to spiritual and physical penalties, including exile.²⁸

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5. The Sephardic Jews' struggle for geographical mobility within Europe and its overseas territories

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In order to overcome some of the limitations imposed on their movements by the Portuguese Crown, Sephardic Jews resorted to permanent migration to places either in Europe or around the Mediterranean Sea, and relied on short-term mobility to continue their businesses, especially because many of them were active in various branches of long-distance trade and involved in trans-imperial financial operations.²⁹ It was in this context that the Sephardic Jewish community of Amsterdam took shape and started to develop its economic activities with the overseas territories, either under Dutch, Portuguese or Spanish control, including several posts and settlements on the western coast of Africa.

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In the early modern period, the Dutch Republic became home to two main groups of merchants with economic interests in western Africa: a group of Christian merchants of Dutch, Flemish, and German origin and the Portuguese Sephardim established in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities. The Flemish had moved to the Republic after the blockage of Antwerp by the Dutch insurgents, together with the Sephardic Jews and other Portuguese traders based in the city. The group of Portuguese Sephardim grew in number throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to persecution by the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions both in Europe and overseas. Among these Portuguese Sephardic Jews established in Amsterdam and other Dutch ports were Gaspar Sanches, Gaspar Nunes, Pedro Rodrigues da Veiga, Duarte Fernandes, Diogo da Silva, and the Belmonte family, to quote just a few names.³⁰

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Together with the Flemish merchants who migrated from Antwerp, they continued regular interactions with the Americas and Africa and combined businesses in Brazilian sugar and dyewood trades with commerce in African commodities as well as enslaved Africans. Alongside these activities the Sephardim also appeared engaged in the Iberian, Mediterranean and Baltic trades.³¹ Their commercial knowledge of the Portuguese and Spanish circuits, in particular with Brazil, western Africa and the Spanish Americas, would be of great importance in enhancing the expansion of the Dutch Republic shipping and trade in the southern Atlantic and the Caribbean after the 1590s.

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It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that in the early years of participation in Atlantic commerce merchants based in the Republic did rely in part on various forms of collaboration and/or partnership with merchants who had previous experience in the Iberian colonial trades, as was the case of the Flemish and the Portuguese Sephardic

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Jews. This is evident, for instance, in the organisation of joint freight contracts. Christian merchants of different geographical origins based in the Republic as well as Portuguese Sephardic Jews and other Portuguese merchants based in Iberia and sometimes in Portuguese colonies in the Atlantic would appear engaged in joint commercial ventures. These practices are also evident in the choice of commercial partners, agents, supercargoes, factors and attorneys to operate the different branches of the Atlantic commerce; whereas Sephardic and Flemish merchants relied on the insurance and financial expertise of the financiers and entrepreneurs based in the city.³²

During the late sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese Sephardim in Amsterdam were also the connecting factor for the mercantile groups operating from Portugal and the Iberian empires to obtain credit, insurance, and communities for the commercial operations of Portuguese merchants based in Portugal and the Empire. A case in point was the direct connection between the lease-holders (*contratadores*) of the monopolies on the Brazilian dyewood and African trades with Amsterdam-based Jews. The links between João Soeiro, *contratador* of the Cape Verde and Guinea monopoly in 1608 and 1614, with Gaspar Nunes, Diogo da Silva and Diogo Dias Querido are a good example; all were prominent Portuguese Sephardic Jews in Amsterdam involved in several branches of the trade between Iberia, western Europe, and the Baltic, and in the colonial trade to Brazil, Spanish America and the western coast of Africa.³³ Luís Fernandes, supercargo of Gaspar Nunes, and Simão Rodrigues Pinel and Estêvão Rodrigues (Penso), supercargoes of Diogo da Silva, as well as Jacob Pelegrino, factor of Diogo Dias Querido, were also referred to in the Inquisition records as factors of the Portuguese *contratador*. Pedro Rodrigues da Veiga, partner and supercargo of Gaspar Sanches, was also listed among Soeiro's factors.³⁴ Jacob Pelegrino, factor of Diogo Dias Querido and João Soeiro, also had business connections with Duarte Fernandes, a Jewish merchant in Amsterdam, and Duarte Dias Henriques, the *contratador* of Angola in the period of 1607–1614.³⁵ All these men would be denounced by Inquisition informants as members of the seventeenth-century Portuguese Sephardic community of the Upper Guinea Coast.

This brief portrait of the Portuguese Sephardim based in the Dutch Republic and their commercial activities within the Iberian and the Dutch Atlantic economies during the decades between the 1590s and the 1620s help us to better understand the short-term mobility and presence of the Portuguese Sephardim in the overseas territories, including the western coast of Africa. In this context the Notarial Records of the Amsterdam City Archive are paramount. Simultaneously, the evidence provided by these source materials puts into question the permanent character of certain Jewish communities, which have been previously identified and studied mainly on the basis of the Inquisition records.

6. The Portuguese Sephardic presence on the western coast of Africa

To deal with the limitations imposed by the Portuguese Crown on geographical mobility, Portuguese Sephardic Jews and New Christians also migrated on a permanent basis to overseas territories, which were not subject to such tight control on the part of the Crown and the Church. It was in this context that several Jewish communities were formed throughout the Portuguese Empire, like the ones on the western coast of Africa.

In the past two decades several scholars have studied the presence of Sephardic Jews and New Christians on the western coast of Africa and their activities in this region, using both the Inquisition Archives and, more recently, the Amsterdam Notarial

Records.³⁶ It is now widely accepted that in the earliest period of Portuguese expansion and settlement overseas which preceded the forced conversion, Sephardic Jews were among the first settlers of the Portuguese colonies in the Atlantic, as were later numerous New Christians. The posts and settlements on the western coast of Africa in the fifteenth century were no exception to this trend.³⁷ But, information about their presence in these territories only becomes more detailed after the mid-sixteenth century.³⁸ During this period, the number of New Christians settled in these areas was not very high. According to testimonies given to the Lisbon Inquisition, they appear to have been organised in small nuclear families spread through the several Portuguese territories on the western coast of Africa. The Fonseca brothers living on the island of Santiago (Cape Verde) in the 1540s,³⁹ the Dias family inhabitants of the island of Fogo in the 1550s,⁴⁰ the Lopes brothers, residents in the village of Bugengo in the Upper Guinea Coast in the 1560s,⁴¹ and the Lopes family, residing in the islands of São Tomé in the 1580s,⁴² are some examples of these small New Christian families established in these areas.⁴³ Some members of these households were also reported as being involved in trade and/or employed in the local government of the Portuguese Crown in these territories. Often this was possible because the inquiries into the 'purity of blood' were not so strict and in the settlements there was a great demand for literate individuals, whose numbers were always small. For instance, the Fonseca and the Lopes brothers were merchants, while Manuel Dias, head of the Dias family, was factor of the Crown in the island of Fogo; Aleixo Lopes, leader of the Lopes family, held an office in the municipal council of the town of São Tomé.

According to the Portuguese Inquisition records in the early seventeenth century, the New Christians' presence in western Africa appears to have become more intense with these small nuclear families giving way to wider communities. The members of the latter appear to have still been linked by ties of consanguinity, but also by business connections. Testimonies available in the Lisbon Inquisition archives report the existence of permanent communities of New Christians living in the Upper Guinea Coast, the Cape Verde Islands and the São Tomé and Príncipe Archipelago in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

The New Christian community in Upper Guinea is described by the Inquisition informers as based in the ports of Alé, Joal, and Rufisque (present-day Petite Côte of Senegal). Its members are referred to as Sephardic Jews baptised in Portugal, who had run away from the kingdom to Flanders and Holland due to the suspicion of practising Judaism and charges against them in the Portuguese and the Spanish Inquisition Courts. According to testimonies some of them reached these northern European countries via Castile, Andalusia, the Canary Islands and Lisbon. Others were reported as having sailed from Lisbon to Senegambia and from there directly to Flanders and the Dutch Republic. To the knowledge of the informers, most of the members of this community were men, mainly merchants, ship-owners, skippers, as well as medical doctors and factors of the lease-holder of the contract over the monopoly of the Portuguese Crown on the trade with the Upper Guinea Region and the islands of Cape Verde.⁴⁴ Mark's and Horta's study corroborates these ideas.⁴⁵ However, the descriptions of Jewish religious practices given by the Inquisition informants were often not accurate. Often, these informants were businessmen who had interests in accusing their direct business competitors, who happened to be Sephardic Jews or New Christians, as a way to get them arrested and removed them from the region. It is, therefore, difficult to state with any level of accuracy if these men lived in these regions as New Christians or Sephardic Jews.

Among the men denounced to the Inquisition Court as members of this community were Baltasar Lopes de Setúbal, Diogo Taborda and Heitor Cardoso, factors of the royal *contratador* of the Guinean and Cape Verdean trades. Jorge Carneiro or Jorge Fernandes Carneiro from Portalegre, Jerónimo Nunes, also known as Jerónimo Gomes da Silva, medical doctor from Alter do Chão and Diogo Martins Bomdia, from Mértola or Aiamonte appear to have also been members of the same group. The informers also recognised as part of the same community: the Rodrigues brothers, Pedro and Gaspar, the brothers António Nunes and Lourenço Francisco, and the brothers Pedro Rodrigues da Veiga (Jewish name: Abraham Touro) and Gaspar Fernandes; Luís Rodrigues Duarte (Jewish name: Jesué Israel) and Gaspar Nunes, uncle and nephew, both from Faro. The Inquisition records also refer to the Vaz de Sousa family, as members of this Jewish community in the Upper Guinea Coast: Diogo Vaz de Sousa 'o Velho' and his two nephews, Diogo Vaz de Sousa 'o Moço' and his brother Felipe de Sousa, as well as to Estevão Rodrigues Penso or Pinho, from Elvas, Simão Rodrigues from Évora, Simão do Mercado, skipper, and Simão Rodrigues Pinel or Coronel. Duarte Rodrigues Garcia from Santarém, the *mestiço* António Lopes Mesquita (Jewish name Moisés Mesquita) from Porto, and Abraham Farque from Aveiro were also denounced as members of this community, together with Luís Fernandes Soeiro Colaço, Gonçalo Anes Francês, Pedro Nunes de Andrade, from Alter do Chão, Duarte Lopes Rosa and Manuel Soares Pinto.

Jerónimo Freire or Jerónimo Rodrigues Freire, attending by the Jewish name of Jacob Peregrino, was reputed among the informers to be the rabbi of this synagogue. According to the testimonies Jerónimo was born in the small village of Tancos in Portugal, and before leaving Flanders and settling in Upper Guinea he had been commercial agent of Estevãodel Cairo in Lisbon.⁴⁶

Still, according to Inquisition sources and as argued by Horta and Mark, the main activities of these men were the freightage and equipage of their own ships or Dutch and Flemish vessels for operating in a direct commercial route linking some ports of Holland and Flanders with the Upper Guinea Coast, more precisely, the Senegambia and the Petite Côte.⁴⁷

References to a second community based in the islands of Cape Verde can also be found in records of the Lisbon Inquisition Court. Informers reported that the New Christian community of the Archipelago was formed by rich and powerful inhabitants of the islands of Santiago and Fogo. The group included the New Christians Diogo Lopes Ferreira, his brother-in-law João Lopes O Velho, his nephew Álvaro Dias Santiago, priest, António Mendes Peixoto, Pedro Henriques, Leonor da Costa, and several other rich men from the island of Santiago, such as Álvaro Quaresma. Three other men, inhabitants of Fogo, were also mentioned as members of the community: Duarte Rodrigues, João Gonçalves de Miranda and Simão Henriques Franco, the latter two factor and farmer of the tax collection in the island.⁴⁸

A third New Christian community appears to have been based in the Gulf of Guinea islands, especially in São Tomé. Its members were reported as rich landowners and holders of offices in the royal and local municipal administration, as well as clerks of the royal factory, merchants, shop-owners, medical doctors and even priests serving in the main cathedral of the diocese.⁴⁹ The Alva Brandão brothers Francisco and Mateus, besides being powerful landowners, also held different royal offices between 1627 and 1641. Mateus was judicial chief-officer (*ouvidor-geral*), in 1627, and chief-officer of the royal treasury (*provedor da fazenda*), in 1629. His brother Francisco, on the other hand, was sergeant-general (*sargento-mor*) between 1640 and 1641 and held the royal posts of customs officer (*almoxarife*) and tax collector (*recebedor*) before 1641.⁵⁰

Diogo Caldeira Pinel is denounced as the leader and rabbi of this synagogue. Like the aforementioned Alva Brandão brothers, he is also described as a prominent member of the local elite and holder of several royal offices between 1605 and 1626. In fact, he was clerk of the royal factory, in 1605, *juiz dos órfãos*,⁵¹ in 1611, 1615 and 1626, *provedor da fazenda dos defuntos e ausentes*,⁵² between 1612 and 1615, and judicial chief-officer, between 1617 and 1621.⁵³

In summary, according to data gathered from the Inquisition Courts, small nuclear families followed by larger communities of New Christians appear to have settled permanently in the Portuguese settlements on the western coast of Africa. Their members were described as part of the local educated and literate elite and often held some of the most important offices in the administrative, judicial and fiscal apparatus of the Portuguese Crown in these areas, giving them great power. Besides, many of them were reported as being engaged in inter-continental trade with Dutch and Flemish merchants managing wide commercial networks, while at the same time taking part in the coastal African trade along the Senegambia and the Guinea-Bissau coastline and their vast network of waterways.

After the mid-seventeenth century, however, information about the New Christian communities settled in the Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau regions, Cape Verde and São Tomé, becomes scarcer and by the early eighteenth century no reference to these communities can be found in the records of the Portuguese Inquisition. Such evidence leads to the questions: what happened to these communities? Did they integrate into the local societies? Did they move elsewhere? Or were these communities not permanent but rather formed by individuals staying in these regions only on a short-term basis?

The information in the collection of Notarial Records of the Amsterdam City Archive can help us to shed some light on these queries, by offering a set of data on the commercial activities of the Sephardic merchants based in the Dutch Republic and their connections with the western coast of Africa, in particular the Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau region.

7. Sephardic Communities in Western Africa: new insights from the Amsterdam Notarial Records

Based on cross-referenced research conducted in the Portuguese Inquisition Archive and the Amsterdam Notarial records, and inspired by the body of literature produced over the past decades based on these two sets of data, I have attempted to reconstruct the commercial circuits and business networks used by the Portuguese Sephardic merchants based in Amsterdam, the so-called *Portugees Natie*, for their trade with the western coast of Africa between the 1580s and 1670s.

As we have seen earlier, according to information in the Lisbon Inquisition records, more precisely the *Cadernos do Promotor*, in the early seventeenth century there were permanent communities of New Christians living in the Upper Guinea region, more precisely in the ports of Ale, Rufisque and Joal; the composition of those communities and their practices are described in detail by Mark and Horta's study.⁵⁴ According to the Inquisition informers, many of these men set up residence in Senegambia and Guinea Bissau, and regarded these as 'the promised land'.⁵⁵ Among several other members mentioned earlier, this community included Diogo Vaz de Sousa, Estevão Rodrigues Penso, Simão Rodrigues Pinel, Pedro Rodrigues da Veiga. The community was also reported as being led by Rabbi Jerónimo Freire also known as Jerónimo Rodrigues

Freire and by the Jewish name of Jacob Peregrino or Pelegrino.⁵⁶ According to the Inquisition informers, Peregrino was based in Upper Guinea, as was his son, Manuel Peregrino.

Although Amsterdam's Notarial Contracts confirm the presence of these men in the region, they do challenge the idea that they were based there permanently and that there was a Sephardic community permanently settled there. According to the Notarial records the presence of these men in Senegambia and the Guinea-Bissau region had a temporary character and in most cases related to business interests in the region rather than to direct religious persecution on the part of the Portuguese Inquisition or their ambition of settling permanently in those regions. These men, mainly merchants, appear to have been integrated in wide business networks managed by the Sephardic Jews based in Amsterdam and elsewhere.

Let us examine more closely the cases of Diogo Vaz de Sousa and Estevão Rodrigues Penso, denounced to the Lisbon Inquisition court for practicing Judaism in Senegambia and for leaving Portugal without royal and Inquisitorial permission in the 1610s. In the Notarial Records of Amsterdam they appear as merchants with residence in the city. Both were, on different occasions, hired by Diogo da Silva and Diogo Dias Querido, prominent Sephardic merchants in Amsterdam, to act as their supercargoes in the ships freighted in Amsterdam to travel to the Petite Côte of Senegal and conduct trade there. De Sousa and Penso were allowed to stay six months on the coast after which they were expected to return to Amsterdam, where they had established residence after leaving Portugal due to Inquisitorial persecution.⁵⁷ Da Silva and Querido were also Portuguese Sephardic merchants who had migrated to the Dutch Republic. Together and in partnership with other businessmen they conducted trade in western Africa, Brazil, western Europe, the Baltic and the Mediterranean, and managed extensive financial and commercial networks involving Jewish and non-Jewish partners and agents.⁵⁸

The Amsterdam Notarial records give us a different perspective on the presence of Jacob Peregrino on the Upper Guinea Coast. He had been hired by Diogo Dias Querido to act as his factor in Senegambia. Peregrino had also business connections with Duarte Fernandes, a Jewish merchant in Amsterdam and the New Christian Duarte Dias Henriques, the *contratador* of the commercial monopoly of the Portuguese Crown on the Angolan trade during the period of 1607–1614.⁵⁹ As in the case of the supercargoes mentioned earlier, the Notarial contracts also suggest that Peregrino only stayed on the coast for specific periods of time, often not longer than one or two years. In fact, in a Notarial act drawn up in 1611, Jacob Peregrino declared himself to be a Portuguese merchant of Amsterdam. On that occasion, he was hired by Diogo Dias Querido, and Francisco Lopes Pinto, also residents in Amsterdam, and Eliau Benevista based in Venice, to sail to Guinea (i.e. Upper Guinea, most likely Senegambia) with the ship *De Harpe Davids* under the command of skipper Willem Pauwelsen. The cargo of the ship was valued at 59 hundred pounds and 3 Flemish schillings. Peregrino had clear orders to trade the commodities owned by the three parties and sail to Livorno with the return cargo. The trip took less than one year, since on 19 September 1612, Diogo Dias Querido hired Jacob Peregrino again. This time he was travelling on board the *Jonas*, freighted by Querido in Amsterdam for the value of 7500 *carolus golden*. The ship was to leave Amsterdam loaded with commodities to be exchanged at the ports of Portudal, Rufisque, and Joal. The entire journey was to be done in six months. For any extra days, the skipper Douwe Annes, of Enkhuizen was to pay a fine of 8 *carolus golden* per day. The agreement with the skipper also included passage and free costs

for three to four supercargoes or agents (*commiezen*) of the freighter, including Jacob Peregrino. In this notarial act, Peregrino was again mentioned as a resident of Amsterdam to whom Querido entrusted the exchange goods to be traded in the aforementioned region and requested for the return cargo to be delivered to Livorno.⁶⁰

Similar evidence is provided by the Notarial acts of Amsterdam on the son of Peregrino, Manuel Peregrino. He is mentioned in the sources as a resident of Amsterdam and, like that of his father, his stay in Senegambia had only a temporary character, when he was acting as the commercial agent of Manuel Aires, also a Portuguese Sephardic merchant living in Amsterdam. During his stay Manuel Peregrino got romantically involved with the daughter of the Jalofo King and as a consequence he was dispossessed of all commodities entrusted by Aires and others to be traded in the region.⁶¹ The periods of time assigned in the Notarial records for the stay of these Sephardic traders in the Upper Guinea Coast as supercargoes, agents of factors of other merchants based in Amsterdam and other European port-cities, were identical to those for agents of traders of other religious denominations operating between the Dutch Republic and these regions.⁶²

The evidence from the notarial acts does not disprove that Peregrino might have been the rabbi of a small synagogue of peer Sephardic Jews during their temporary stay in the Upper Guinea coast. But these data check the idea that he was the leader of a permanent Jewish community based in the region. Neither Peregrino nor most of the other men referred to in the Inquisition sources as members of this supposed community were settled on a long-term basis in the Upper Guinea Coast. They were, in fact, residents of Amsterdam, hired to stay on the African coast for business purposes for short periods of time, unlike what was suggested by the informants of the Portuguese Inquisition.

Studies based on these sources argue that by the 1620s the Portuguese Sephardic Jews and their community disappeared from the Petite Cote of Senegal and the nearest regions. According to Avner Perez,⁶³ the disappearance of the settled New Christian community in the Upper Guinea Coast was a consequence of their gradual miscegenation with local Africans and their integration in the local communities of mixed descent – Portuguese and African. This argument may be valid for some of the members of this community, especially those who had established family ties in the region. It is, however, not satisfactory for explaining the vanishing of the entire Upper Guinea Coast Sephardic community, especially if we take into account the evidence from the Amsterdam Notarial Records and the secondary literature on the Dutch, Flemish and Jewish presence in the Atlantic and the establishment of the West Indian Company (hereafter WIC).

The short-term character of the presence of these Portuguese Sephardic merchants in the Upper Guinea Coast might be one of the factors that can help us understand the disappearance of references to the Sephardic communities in the Petite Côte of Senegal and the nearest regions in the Inquisition sources after the 1620s. Another important aspect that can shed light on the vanishing of information on the Sephardic community of the Upper Guinea region are shifts that took place in the commercial and financial activities of the Portuguese Sephardic merchants of Amsterdam, and more broadly the Dutch Republic, following the chartering and establishment of the WIC on 3 June 1621.

By 1623, all private businessmen in the Republic with businesses in the Atlantic, including the Sephardim, had been forced to put an end to their activities. Many protested against this, and some devised strategies to continue operations in these areas.⁶⁴

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That was not the case among the Portuguese Sephardim in Amsterdam. After the 1620s, they no longer appeared directly engaged in the Atlantic trade and the western African trade. In the primary sources they are referred to instead as buyers and holders of WIC shares, usually from the Chamber of Amsterdam. These shares were often bought from Dutch brokers and not directly at the stock exchange. Their closest relation with the Atlantic trade appears to have been kept in part through their connections with the Sephardic Jews and Dutch planters based in the Dutch Caribbean and Dutch Guiana. This shift can help us to understand and explain the disappearance of Portuguese Sephardic merchants from the Upper Guinea Coast since 1624 under the jurisdiction and monopoly of the WIC.

During the same period, and as a consequence of the expansion of the WIC naval power in the Atlantic, the aforementioned areas also fell out of the economic and political sphere of influence of the Portuguese Crown and its representatives in loco. It is therefore not surprising that the informants of the Inquisition in the Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau region no longer had access to the Petite Cote of Senegal, then under the control of the WIC, and no longer felt economically threatened by the activities of the Portuguese Sephardic merchants in these regions.

8. Conclusion

The evidence presented clearly shows that a combination and cross-analysis of the information provided by the Portuguese Inquisition and the Amsterdam Notarial Archives is an efficient way to examine long and short-term Jewish mobility. Studying these source collections can clarify the nature of the Jewish presence in specific regions and find possible explanations for the disappearance of references to Jewish people in certain early modern source materials, as the case of the Sephardic presence in the Upper Guinea Coast that has been here analysed.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes

1. See, for instance, Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within the Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the world maritime empires (1540–1740)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of mercantilism, 1550–1750* (London: Clarendon, 1998), Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Jews and the expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800* (New York: Berghahn, 2001), Y. Kaplan, *An alternative to modernity. The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
2. The Portuguese Inquisition Collection is housed in the National Archive in Lisbon. The source materials produced by this institution cover the period between 1536 and 1821, roughly 350 years. The Collection is comprised of c. 3000 books, 329 folders, 624 boxes, and 79,337 court-cases. These are divided through four main sub-collections: the General Council of the Inquisition (i.e. the higher court of appeals), and the Inquisition District Courts of Lisbon, Coimbra and Évora. Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (hereafter IAN/TT), *Tribunal do Santo Ofício*. For a guide of the Inquisition Archive see: Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias Farinha, *Os Arquivos da Inquisição* (Lisboa: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Serviço de Publicações e Divulgação, 1990). To access the digital collection, see: <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=2299703> (accessed September 5, 2012).
3. Covering both the early modern and modern periods, this collection contains more than 28,000 inventory numbers for the various notaries with activity in the city of Amsterdam

- from the year 1575–1915. A partial inventory of the collections covering only a limited number of decades of the early modern era contains more than 2 million summary cards. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, former Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (hereafter GAA), *Notarialen Archieven* (hereafter NA). For further details, see: <http://stadsarchief.amsterdam.nl/>. 5
4. Masao Kakihara and Carsten Sorensen, "Mobility: An Extended Perspective," in *Proceedings of the 35th Conference on System Sciences*, ed. Ralph H. Sprague; IEEE Computer Society, (Hawaii: IEEE, 2002); J. Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2000). 10
5. Roza Tsagarousianou, "Rethinking the Concept of Diaspora: Mobility, Connectivity and Communication in a Globalised World," *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2004): 52–65; R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997). 15
6. Cecil Roth, *A History of the Marranos* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932); Idem, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954); Idem, *A History of the Jews of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954); Israel S. Révah, *La censure inquisitoriale portugaise au XVIe siècle: étude accompagnée de la reproduction en fac-similé des Index* (Lisboa: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1960); Herman Prins Salomon, "The Portuguese Inquisition and Its Victims in the Light of Recent Polemics," *Journal of the American Portuguese Cultural Society* (Summer-Fall 1970): 19–28, 50–5; Idem, *The Monitorio do Inquisidor Geral of 1536: Background and Sources of Some 'Judaic' customs listed there in* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1982); David Grant Smith, "The mercantile class of Portugal and Brazil in the seventeenth century: a socio-economic study of the merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620–1690" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Austin-Texas, 1976); Michael Studemund-Halévy and Peter Koj, *Die Sefarden in Hamburg: zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: H. Buske Verlag, 1994–1997); Idem, *Sefarad an der Donau: Lengua y literatura de los sefardíes en tierras de los Habsburgo* (Barcelona: Tirocinio, 2013); Natahlia Muchnik, *De paroles et de gestes: constructions marranes en terre d'Inquisition* (Paris: Éditions de l'École de Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2014); David Graizbord, *Souls in dispute: converso identities in Iberia and the Jewish diaspora, 1580–1700* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). 20
7. Daniel M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans. The Portuguese Jews of 17th-century Amsterdam* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilisation 2000); Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe: ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1958); Idem, *Der Brasilienhandel der Hamburger Portugiesen zu Ende des 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Lisboa: [s.n.], 1960); Jorun Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion: Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Idem, *Hamburger Sefarden im atlantischen Zuckerhandel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (unpublished Master Thesis, University of Hamburg, 2003). 25
8. See, among others, Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Bruno Feitler, *Inquisition, juifs et nouveaux-chrétiens au Brésil: Le Nordeste, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2003); Lina Gorenstein Ferreira da Silva, *Heréticos e Impuros: a inquisição e os cristãos-novos no Rio de Janeiro, século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Departamento Geral de Documentação e Informação Cultural, Divisão de Editoração, 1995); José A. Gonçalves de Mello, *Gente de Nação: Cristãos-novos e Judeus em Pernambuco, 1542–1654* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, 1989); Anita Novinsky, *Cristãos novos na Bahia: história* (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972). 30
9. See, among others, Catia Antunes, "Investimento no Atlântico: redes multiculturais de negocio, 1580–1776," in *XV Congreso Internacional de AHILA, 1808–2008: Crisis y problemas en el mundo Atlántico*, ed. Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos (Leiden: AHILA, Depto. de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2010); Daviken Stunicki-Gizbert, "La 'nation' portugaise. Réseaux marchands dans l'espace atlantique à la époque moderne," *Annales HSS* 58, no. 3 (2003): 627–48. 35
10. The denomination given to Jews after the forced conversion order by King Manuel I in 1496. 40

11. These calculations have been based on a data-set built by myself and Cátia Antunes (Leiden University) with information on the entire collection of the Inquisition Court of Lisbon. Catia Antunes and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, "Finding the Way: Lisbon Inquisition Index Database. Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo" (2010).
12. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: a Historical Revision* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition. A Global History, 1478–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Idem, *História das Inquisições de Portugal, Espanha e Itália* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1994); Idem, *L'Inquisition à l'époque moderne: Espagne, Italie, Portugal, XVe-XIXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1995); Idem, *Les Inquisitions Modernes* (PhD-Thesis, European University Institute, 1992); G. Greco, *La Chiesa in Italia nell'Età Moderna* (Rome-Bari: Quadrante Laterza, 1999); J. Tedeschi, *The Persecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton, NY: The Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1991). Using a similar line of research and analysis several monographs on the activities of specific Inquisition Courts and their activities in the areas of jurisdiction have also shed some light on the persecution of Jews and New Christians, but without having however add much to our understanding of Jewish migration and geographic mobility. The writings of Coelho, Mea and Pereira on the Portuguese Inquisition District Courts in the cities of Évora, Porto, Coimbra and Lisbon are also good examples of this type of approach. António Borges Coelho, *Inquisição de Évora. Dos Primórdios a 1668* (Lisboa: Caminho, 1987), 2 vols.; Elvira C.A. Mea, "A Inquisição do Porto," in *Actas do Colóquio O Porto na Época Moderna* (Porto: INIC/CHUP, 1979), 215–27; Idem, *A Inquisição de Coimbra no século XVI. A Instituição, os Homens e a Sociedade* (PhD-Thesis, Universidade do Porto, 1989); Isaias da Rosa Pereira, *A Inquisição em Portugal. Séculos XVI-XVII-Período Filipino* (Lisboa: Vega, 1992).
13. J.A. Gonsalves de Mello, *Um Tribunal da Inquisição em Olinda, Pernambuco* (Coimbra: Imprensa de Coimbra, Lda., 1991); Luiz Mott, *A Inquisição em Sergipe* (Aracajú, Sergipe: Fundação Estadual de Cultura, 1989); Idem., *A Inquisição no Maranhão* (São Luís, Maranhão, Brazil: EDUFMA, 1995); Fernanda Olival, "A Inquisição e a Madeira: A visita de 1618," in *Actas do I Colóquio Internacional de História da Madeira 1986* (Funchal: Secretaria Regional do Turismo e Cultura, 1990), 764–815; Paulo D. Braga, *A Inquisição nos Açores* (unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996); José da Silva Horta, "A Inquisição em Angola e Congo: O Inquérito de 1596–98 e o Papel Mediador das Justiças Locais," in *Arqueologia do Estado. Ias Jornadas sobre Formas de Organização e Exercício dos Poderes na Europa do Sul, Séculos XIII-XVIII* (Lisboa: História & Crítica, 1988), I, 387–415. Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: Origens (1539–1560)* (Lisboa: Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais – Torre do Tombo, 1995); Maria de Jesus dos M. Lopes, *A Inquisição de Goa na 1ª metade de setecentos: uma visita pelo seu interior* (unpublished PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1993); Idem, "A Inquisição de Goa na segunda metade do século XVIII. Contributo para a sua História," *Stydia* 48 (1989): 237–62; Anita Novisnky, *O Santo ofício da inquisição no maranhão: a inquirição de 1731* (Brasil: UEMA, 2006). Neusa Fernandes, *A inquisição em Minas Gerais no século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora da Universidade do Rio de Janeiro, 2004); Ronaldo Vainfas, *Trópicos dos Pecados. Moral, Sexualidade e Inquisição no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1989).
14. Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Idem, *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (London: Macmillan, 2007); José da Silva Horta and Peter Mark, "Two Portuguese Jewish Communities in Early Seventeenth-Century Senegal," *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 231–56; Idem, *The Forgotten Diasporas: Jewish Communities in West Africa and the Making of the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Daviken Stunicki-Gizbert, *A Nation upon the Ocean Sea: Portugal's Atlantic Diaspora and the crisis of the Spanish Empire, 1492–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
15. The best known example of contemporary misconceptions about Jewish religion was the evident confusion between the Torah and the biblical episode of the Golden Calf in the Old Testament, mentioned in multiple denunciations against New Christians. In fact, the word 'Torah' resembles, from a semantic and phonetic point of view, the Portuguese expression for a female bull – *toura*. This similarity led the Portuguese Old Christians to relate the

- word Torah with the Biblical episode of the cult to the Golden Calf. See Elias Lipiner, *Santa Inquisição: terror e linguagem* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Documentário, 1977), 138–9. For detailed information about such denunciations against the New Christians who settled in Cape Verde see the following primary sources: IAN/TT, *Inquisição de Lisbon* (hereafter *Inq. Lxa.*), court-cases 13107, 7312, 6580; *Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício* (hereafter, book 314, folios 10–3v. 5
16. See, for instance: Daniel M. Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-century Amsterdam* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilisation, 2000); O. Vlessing, “The Portuguese Jewish Merchant Community in Seventeenth-century Amsterdam,” in *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times: Merchants and Industrialists within the Orbit of the Dutch Staple market*, ed. C. Lesger and L. Noordegraaf (Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995), 223–43; Daniel Swetschinski and L. Schönduve, *De familie Lopes Suasso: Financiers van Willem III* [The Lopes Suasso Family, Bankers to Willem III] (Zwolle: Waanders, 1988); Daniel M. Swetschinski, “Kinship and Commerce: The Foundation of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth-century Holland,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15, no. 1 (1981): 52–74; Idem, *The Portuguese Merchants of Seventeenth-century Amsterdam: A social profile* (unpublished PhD thesis, Brandeis University, 1980). 10
 17. Jessica Vance Roitman, *The Same but Different? Inter-cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595–1640* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Christopher Ebert, *Between Empires: Brazilian Sugar in the Early Atlantic Economy, 1550–1630* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Cátia Antunes, *Globalisation in the Early Modern Period: the Economic Relationship between Amsterdam and Lisbon, 1640–1705* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2004); Oscar Gelderbloem, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578–160)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000). 15
 18. Maria José P.F. Tavares, *Judaísmo e Inquisição: Estudos* (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1987), 15–66, 175–88. 20
 19. *Ordenações Afonsinas*, 3 vols. (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984). *Ordenações Manuelinas*, 5 vols. (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984). 25
 20. *Ordenações Manuelinas* book V, title LXXXII, 244–6; *Ordenações Filipinas* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985), book V, title CXI, 1260–1; J.A. de Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica de Subsídios ainda os mais raros para a Historia e Estudo Critico da Legislação Portuguesa: mandada publicar pela Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisbon; e ordenada por (...), Correspondente do Numero da mesma Academia. Desde 1143 Até 1603* (Lisboa: Officina da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1790), I, 148–9, 164, 316, 345–6, 355, 401; J.L. de Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora A.M. Teixeira (Filhos), 1975), 58–61, 64–5, 86–7, 108–9, 120–1. 30
 21. *Padrões de juro* were bonds of the Public Debt of the Portuguese Crown. See Figueiredo, *Synopsis Chronologica*, II, 169–70, 178, 194, 235, 239, 285–7; Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos Novos*, 120–1, 158–9, 164–5, 186–8, 192. 35
 22. L.A.R. da Silva, ed., *Corpo Diplomático Portuguez contendo os Actos e Relações Políticas de Portugal com as diversas Potências do Mundo desde o século XVI até aos nossos dias* (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1868), III, 302–7; A.F. de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* (Lisboa/Porto: Portucalense Editora, 1967–71), II, 402–3. 40
 23. Francisco Bethencourt, “Inquisição e controle social,” *História & Crítica* 14 (1987): 5–18 (5–7, 10). 45
 24. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, *Cadernos do Promotor*, various books; *Livros de Denúncias*, various-books; several court-cases. For further details, see: <http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=2299703>: (accessed September 5, 2012); *Conselho Geral Santo Ofício*, book 442; *Corpo Cronológico*, I-75–85; *Miscelâneas Manuscritas da Graça*, box 1; *Chancelaria da Ordem Cristo*, books 12, 26; Arquivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), *Secretarias Provinciales (Portugal)*, book 1516; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereafter AHU), codice 284, folios 261–1v; *Guiné*, box. 1, doc. 74; box 2, doc. 8. 50
 25. On the establishment of the Portuguese in Guinea see, for instance, J. Boulègue, *Les Lusos-Africains de Sénégal, XVIe – XIXe siècles* (Lisboa: Ministério da Educação; Paris: Université de Paris I, 1989); W. Brito, “Cacheu, ponto de partida para a instalação da administração colonial na Guiné,” in *Mansas, Escravos, Grumetes e Gentio: Cacheu na encruzilhada de civilizações*, ed. Carlos Lopes (Bissau, Guinea-Bissau: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa, 1993), 249–61; G.E. Brooks, “Historical Perspectives on the Guinea-Bissau Region, 55

- fifteenth to nineteenth centuries," in *ibidem*, 25–54; A. Carreira, *Os Portugueses nos Rios de Guiné (1500–1900)* (Lisboa: Tejo, 1984); Maria Luísa Esteves, *Gonçalo de Gambôa de Aiala Capitão-mor de Cacheu e o comércio negreiro espanhol: 1640/1650: Cacheu cidade antiga* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga, 1988).
26. *Regimento do Santo Ofício da Inquisição [...]*, 1613, tit. I, chap. II & III; *Regimento do Santo Ofício da Inquisição [...]*, 1640, book I, tit. I, chap. II, V–VIII, LIII; tit. X, chap. I; tit. XI, chap. I; *Regimento do Santo Ofício da Inquisição [...]*, 1774, book I, tit. I, chap. II–V; tit. VIII, chap. I.
27. IAN/TT, *Habilitações do Santo Ofício*, and *Novas Habilitações do Santo Ofício*, several bundles.
28. Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, "A Inquisição na Guiné, nas ilhas de Cabo Verde e São Tomé e Príncipe," *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* 3, no. 5–6 (2004): 157–73; Idem, *A Inquisição em Cabo Verde, Guiné e S. Tomé e Príncipe (1536 a 1821): contributo para o estudo da política do Santo Ofício nos territórios africanos*, 2 vols. (unpublished MA-T thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002).
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39. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, book 52, folios 169–170, 173–173v. 10
40. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, book 707, folios 290, 290v; court-cases 13107, 3199, 7312, 6580.
41. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, court-case 233–233A. 15
42. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, court-case 6613.
43. Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*, chaps. 4, 5.
44. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, books 59, 205, 210.
45. Mark and Horta, *Forgotten Diasporas*, chaps. 1–3.
46. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, book 205, folios 573–573v. 20
47. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, book 205, folio 576.
48. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, books 205, 214, 217, 220, 227; court-case 11298.
49. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, books 204, 207, 210, 223, 775; court-case 980.
50. Cristina Maria Seuanes Serafim, *As ilhas do golfo da Guiné no século XVII* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História de Além-Mar da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2000), 132, 142, 146, 160, 289–90. 25
51. Judge with jurisdiction on any causes concerning orphans.
52. Judge with jurisdiction on inheritance cases of settlers who have died or disappeared.
53. Serafim, *As ilhas do golfo da Guiné*, 132, 150, 153, 156, 296.
54. Mark and Horta, *The Forgotten Diasporas*, chaps. 1–3. 30
55. IAN/TT, *Inq. Lxa.*, books 59, 205 and 210.
56. *Ibid.*
57. GAA, *NA* 62/218v: 19 January 1611; *NA* 116/228–228v: 1 October 1609; *NA* 1089/18–19: 7 May 1649; *NA* 628/41: 30 July 1620.
58. For more details on the networks and agents of some of these merchants, see Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa*, chap. 7. 35
59. GAA, *NA* 624/155v: 3 November 1617; *NA* 611A/421: 20 June 1618; *NA* 34/115–116: 8 December 1601.
60. GAA, *NA* 645/887: 22 January 1620; *NA* 12/182–183: 19 September 1612.
61. GAA, *NA* 645/599: 7 November 1619; *NA* 645/omslag 7/595: 7 November 1619. 40
62. F. Ribeiro da Silva, "Dutch Vessels in African Waters: Coastal Routes and intra-continental trade (c.1590–1674)," *Tijdschrift voor Zeegeschiedenis* 1 (2010): 19–38.
63. Avner Perez, "Marranes, nouveaux-chrétiens et juifs du Portugal en Guinée et dans les îles du Cap-Vert. Xvème-Xxème siècles," in *I colóquio Internacional O Património Judaico Português. Lisboa. 9 a 11 de Janeiro de 1996*, ed. Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos (Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Estudos Judaicos, 1996), 117–32. 45
64. Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa: Empires, Merchants and the Atlantic System, 1580–1674* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), chap. 7.

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