

THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN * BRILL

The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal

*King Manuel I and
the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)*

—
François Soyer



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The Persecution of the Jews and
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King Manuel I and the End of Religious
Tolerance (1496–7)

By

François Soyer



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François Soyer

Lisbon (April, 2007)

NOTES FOR READERS:
NAMES, DATES AND CURRENCY

Nomenclature

The multilingualism of the Medieval Iberian Peninsula poses a dilemma for any modern historian who wishes to adopt a uniform system for the names of individuals and geographical features. In this respect, historians working on Portuguese history face a situation that is no different from the other realms of the Iberian Peninsula.

The names of Portuguese Christians have been rendered in their modern Portuguese forms and have not been anglicised. Thus, for example, I have kept João and Simão and not changed them into their English forms John or Simon. In the case of King Manuel of Portugal, I have preferred to use the modern Portuguese name rather than the alternatives Emmanuel and Manoel that are occasionally found in other works. The names of Castilian Christians have been likewise given in their modern Spanish (Castilian) forms (Isabel, Juan or Fernando) to prevent any confusion between Portuguese and Castilians.

Most Portuguese and Castilian Jews adopted biblical first names and these have been rendered into their modern English equivalents such as Abraham (אַבְרָהָם), Jacob (יַעֲקֹב), Samuel (שְׁמוּאֵל), Moses (מֹשֶׁה), Joseph (יוֹסֵף) and Isaac (יִצְחָק). The only instances when I have chosen to retain the original Portuguese forms of Jewish names are when Jews, and more particularly Jewesses, bore names which, to my knowledge, have no modern English or Hebrew equivalents, such as Cimfa, Oraboia or Velida. Lastly, for the sake of uniformity, the original non-standardised Portuguese transliterations of Arabic names that are found in fourteenth or fifteenth-century documents have not been retained. The names of Muslims have been transliterated into modern Latin characters with the standard symbols used to differentiate between long or short vowels and different letters of the Arabic alphabet. These, for instance, are the most common transliterations:

Arabic	Transliteration	Portuguese variant(s)
<i>Men:</i>		
محمد	Muḥammad	<i>Mafamad</i> or <i>Mofamad</i>
أحمد	Aḥmad	<i>Azmede</i> , <i>Azamede</i> or <i>Admede</i>
علي	‘Alī	<i>Ali</i> , <i>Ale</i> or <i>Alee</i>
إبراهيم	Ibrāḥīm	<i>Brafome</i> or <i>Brafeme</i>
عبد الله	‘Abd Allāh	<i>Adela</i>
قاسم	Qāsim	<i>Caçome</i> or <i>Caceme</i>
سيد	Sa‘īd	<i>Çaide</i>
سليمان	Sulaymān	<i>Çoleima</i>
غالب	Ghālib	<i>Galebo</i> or <i>Galibo</i>
مفرج	Mufarrij	<i>Mofarriche</i>
يوسف	Yūsuf	<i>Jufez</i>
<i>Women:</i>		
عائشة	‘Āisha	<i>Eixa</i> , <i>Eyxe</i> , <i>Aixa</i> or <i>Axa</i>
مريم	Murayma	<i>Moreima</i>
فاطمة	Fātimah	<i>Fatima</i>
زهراء	Zahrā‘	<i>Zara</i>

The names of Jews and Muslims in official Portuguese documents rarely use patronymic forms. Binomial name forms similar to those of Christians, which included both a forename followed by a second component, are prevalent in official documents.¹ The second component, or “surname”, might refer to either to a trade, a geographical origin or may even simply be a nickname (for instance Muḥammad *Ratinho* or “little mouse”). To avoid the overuse of italics I have chosen not to italicise the second name. Lastly, during the period covered by this work, Portuguese and Castilian sources referred to Muslims as *mouros* or *moros* and, throughout this work, I have deliberately chosen to translate this as “Muslims” rather than “Moors”.

Referring to Isabel and Fernando as the rulers of “Spain” creates special problems as the modern Spanish state did not exist in the period

¹ M. F. Lopes de Barros, “The identification of Portuguese Muslims. Problems and methodology”, *Medieval Prosopography*, 23 (2002), 203–228.

covered by this work. The kingdoms of Castile, Navarre and the Crown of Aragon which now form part of Spain were all independent political entities. As such I have attempted to limit my use the designation “Spanish” to refer only to the geographical area that is modern-day Spain or, exceptionally, when I wish to allude to both the realms of Aragon and Castile. The names of towns and rivers have been rendered into their original Portuguese or Spanish form with the exception of Lisbon. When a possible clash occurs, such as with the rivers that run through both kingdoms, I have adopted the modern Portuguese names (for instance *Douro* and *Tejo* instead of *Duero* and *Tajo*).

Finally, the official titles adopted by the Kings of Portugal during the period reflected their claim to sovereignty both in Europe and beyond. Thus the somewhat prolix title of King Manuel I in 1496–7 was “Manuel by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarves on this side of the sea and on the other side in Africa (i.e. Morocco) and Lord of Guinea.”² This plurality of crowns explains why, in official documents, the King often uses the plural to refer to “his kingdoms” and this plural form has been kept in the translations that are quoted in this work although in the text itself I have chosen, so as to avoid unnecessary confusion, to refer to Manuel and his predecessors simply as Kings of Portugal.

Dates

Until August 1422, the calendar used in Kingdom of Portugal was the “Caesarean Era”—also known as the “Spanish Era”—which added an extra 38 years to the Christian calendar. From August 1422, Portugal adopted the Julian calendar already adopted by all the other Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. Unless specifically stated in the text, all the dates in this work are in the Julian Christian calendar. Dates given in the Jewish calendar are always accompanied by their Christian equivalent.

² ‘*Dom Manuell per graça de Deus rey de Purtugall e dos Alguarves daaquem e daalem mar em Afryca senhor de Guynee.*’ A.N.T.T., Gaveta 15, maço 5, doc. 16.

Currency

The currency of Portugal during the period covered by this work was divided into the following units following reforms instituted by King João II in 1485: two gold coins known as the *justo* (pl. *justos*) and the *cruzado* (pl. *cruzados*) and two silver coins known as the *vintém* (pl. *vinténs*) and the *real* (pl. *reais*). The value of these different coins was the following:

1 *justo* = 2 *cruzados*.

1 *cruzado* = 390 *reais*.

1 *vintém* = 20 *reais*.

The currency in Castile during the same period was divided into the gold coins known as the *dobla* (or *excelente*) and the silver *real*. Other gold coins of lesser value in circulation included the *enrique*, *castellano* and *dobla de la banda*. The *maravedí*, a gold coin first minted in the twelfth century, had by this time been reduced to a base metal coin of little value but was widely used as a currency of account. In January 1480, the Ordinances of Toledo fixed the value of the different coins at the following rates:

1 gold *dobla* = 960 *maravedís*.

1 *castellano* = 480 *maravedís*.

1 *dobla de la banda* = 365 *maravedís*.

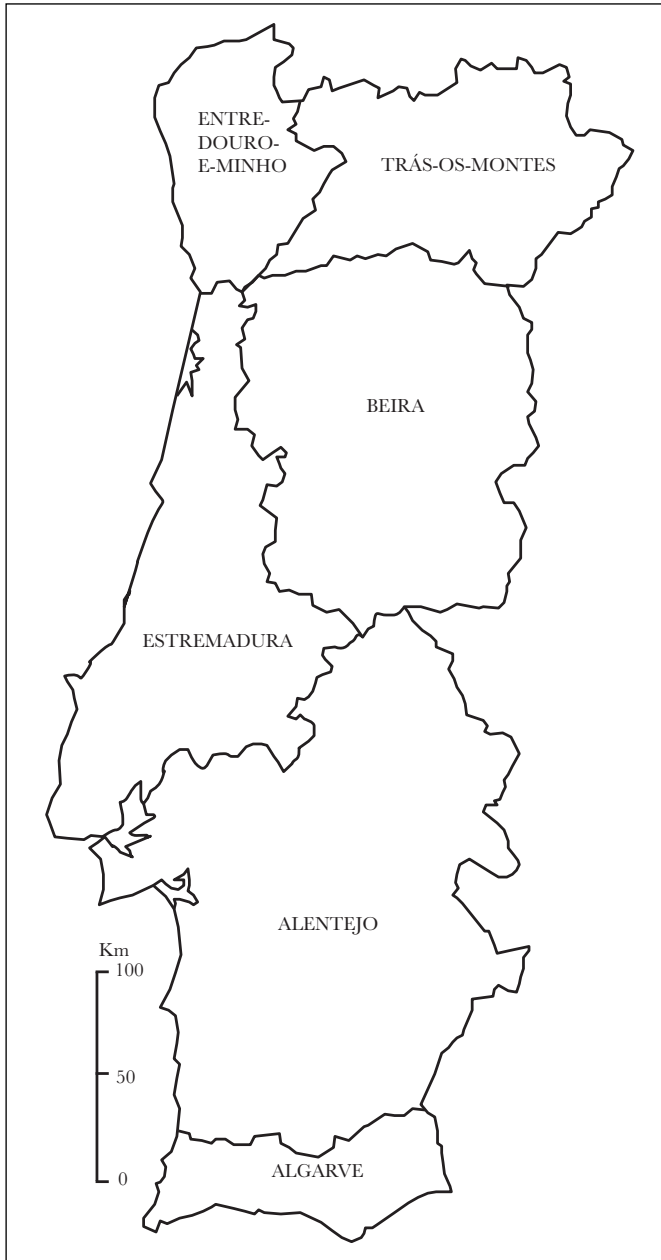
1 *real* = 31 *maravedís*.

1 Portuguese *cruzado* = 375 *maravedís*.

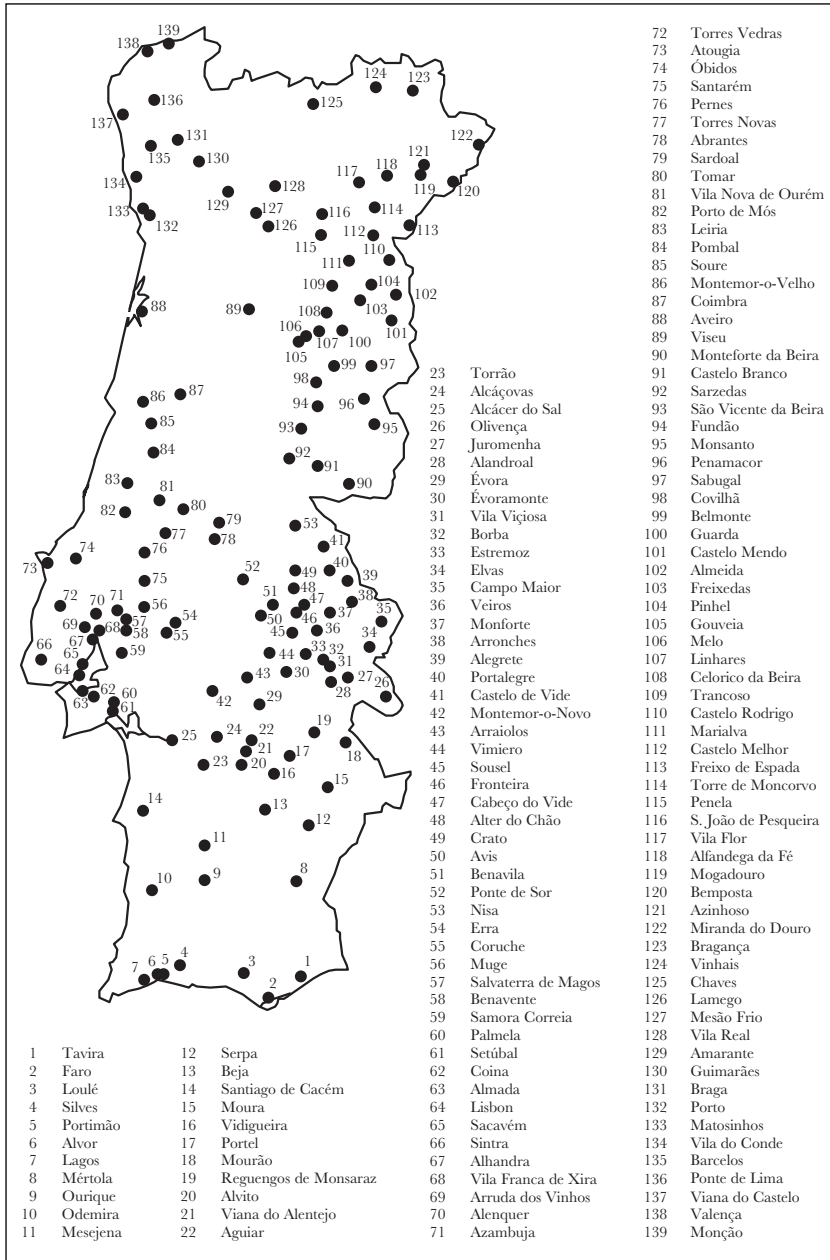
A later ordinance of June 1497 replaced the gold *dobla* by the *ducado* as the main gold coin. The new gold *ducado* was also valued at 375 *maravedís* and the silver *real* at 34 *maravedís*.

ABBREVIATIONS

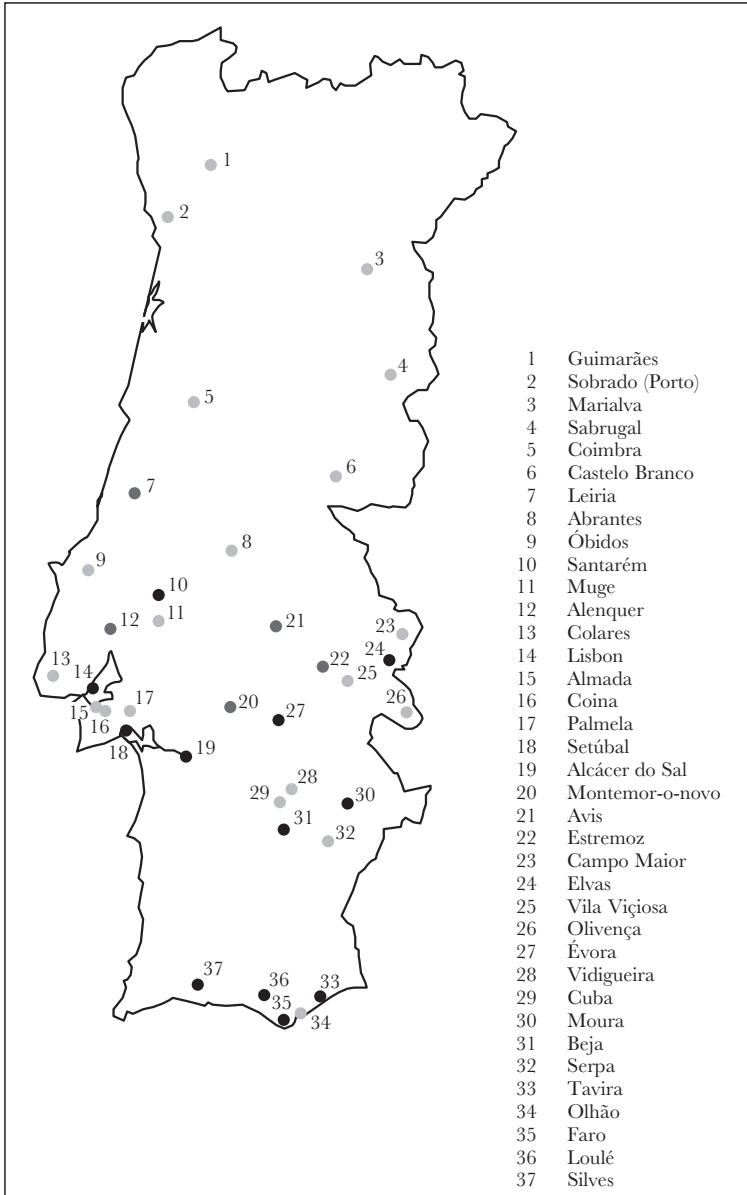
A.D.E.	<i>Arquivo Distrital de Évora</i>
A.H.C.M.L.	<i>Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa</i>
AHP	<i>Arquivo Histórico Português</i>
A.H.M.P.	<i>Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto</i>
A.N.T.T.	<i>Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo</i>
B.A.	<i>Biblioteca da Ajuda</i>
B.A.M.E.	<i>Biblioteca e Arquivo Municipal de Elvas</i>
B.P.E.	<i>Biblioteca Pública de Évora</i>
BRAH	<i>Boletín de la real academia de historia</i>
<i>Ordenações Afonsinas</i>	<i>Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Afonso V</i> , edited by the University of Coimbra, Coimbra, 1792, 5 Vols. Facsimile edition, <i>Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian</i> , Lisbon, 1984.
<i>Ordenações Manuelinas</i>	<i>Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Manuel I</i> , edited by the University of Coimbra, Coimbra, 1797, 5 Vols. Facsimile edition, <i>Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian</i> , Lisbon, 1984.
PMH	<i>Portugaliae Monumenta Historica</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
R.G.S.	<i>Registro General del Sello. Archivo de Simancas</i> . Documents as catalogued in G. Ortiz de Montalbán and M. Asunción Mendoza Lassalle, <i>Archivo de Simancas, Registro General del Sello</i> , 16 Vols., Madrid, 1950–1992.



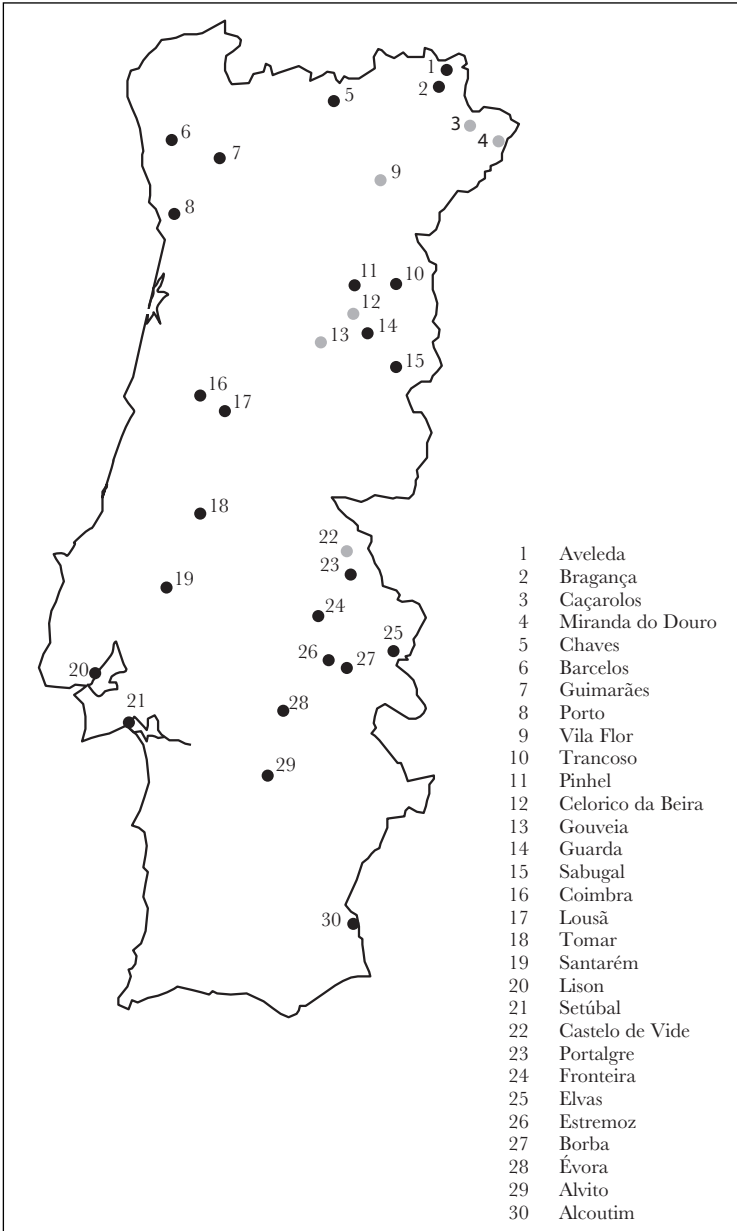
Map 1. Administrative Districts of Medieval/Early Modern Portugal.



Map 2. Jewish Communities in Medieval Portugal (Source: Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares, *Os Judeus em Portugal no Século XV*, Lisbon, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 75).



Map 3. The Muslim Minority in Medieval Portugal. *Black*: Towns with Muslim *comunas* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; *Dark Grey*: Towns with Muslim *comunas* in the fourteenth century only; *Light Grey*: Towns and localities with isolated Muslim inhabitants not organised into *comunas* or incidental documentary references to a Muslim presence.



Map 4. Portugal and the Expulsion of the Jews from Castile (1492). *Black*: Towns and villages in which Castilian Jews settled (1492–1496); *Grey*: Areas of possible resettlement and refugee camps (see Chapter 2).

INTRODUCTION

The past decades have witnessed a surge of academic and popular interest in the religious pluralism that characterised the medieval Christian kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Navarre, which now form the modern kingdom of Spain. This development is probably, to a large extent, due to the increasingly heterogeneous ethnic and religious makeup of modern-day society in Europe and North America which impels historians to search for and examine precedents of cultural interaction in the past. In this respect the medieval Iberian Peninsula presents a fascinating field for such historical investigation. For centuries Jewish and Muslim minorities of various sizes cohabited more or less peacefully alongside a dominant Christian population. Jews and Muslims were permitted to practise their faiths and live in autonomous communities under royal protection provided that they paid discriminatory taxes and did not challenge the dominant faith. This religious pluralism only came to an end in all three kingdoms with the expulsion of the Jews at the close of the fifteenth century and forced conversion of the Muslims at the start of the sixteenth century.

This work endeavours to bring into focus parallel developments that took place in the kingdom of Portugal, the fourth Christian realm of the Iberian Peninsula in the late fifteenth century and the only one to have preserved its political sovereignty outside of the modern Spanish state. Jewish and Muslim minorities also existed in Portugal during this period and they too became victims of the wave of religious intolerance that swept the Iberian Peninsula. In December 1496 King Manuel I of Portugal (1495–1521) issued a public proclamation ordering all the Jewish and Muslim inhabitants of his realm to leave within ten months or face the death penalty and loss of all their property. The following year, in spite of his earlier assurances and promises of transport out of the kingdom, the King decided to prevent the departure of the Jews and forced most of them to convert to Christianity. The Muslims, however, were allowed to leave because of fear of reprisals against Christians in Islamic territory.

The long history of Jews in medieval Western Christendom is punctuated by a string of forcible conversions and expulsions from various regions of Christendom. The fate of Spanish Jewry, expelled by the rulers

of Aragon and Castile in March 1492, is perhaps the best known of all these tragedies. In contrast to this, the forced conversion of the Jewish minority in Portugal has attracted far less academic scrutiny, in spite of the fact that there are now excellent general studies by talented Portuguese historians of the social condition of the Jews, and more recently of the Muslims, in medieval Portugal.¹ To these must also be added a number of localised studies that have attempted to reconstruct the lives and environment of specific Jewish and Muslim communities.²

¹ On the Jews see the comprehensive and pioneering works of M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XIV* (2nd edition, Lisbon, 2000) and *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV* (Lisbon, 1982). More recently, M. F. Lopes de Barros has shed light on the hereto obscure Muslim minority in medieval Portugal both in her pioneering doctoral thesis *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros: A minoria muçulmana no Reino português (sécs. XII–XV)*, Unversidade de Évora, unpublished PhD thesis (Évora, 2004) that is soon to be published as well as in her many published works: “As comunas Muçulmanas em Portugal (Subsídios para seu estudo)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, Porto, 2ª serie, 7 (1990), 85–100; “As mourarias portuguesas no contexto da expansão”, *Cadernos Históricos*, 2 (1991), 33–38; “Os Mudéjares portugueses e a afirmação da identidade nacional: da invisibilidade ao exotismo”, *The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity: First International Conference on Sociolinguistics in Portugal: 25 to 29 March 1996: University of Évora*, 107–110; “A ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana”, *Ordens Militares: guerra, religião, poder e cultura—Actas do III encontro sobre ordens militares* (Lisbon, 1999), 2, 167–173; “Poder e poderes nas comunas muçulmanas”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, 6 (1999), 73–78; “Fontes arquivísticas e arquivos sobre os mudéjares portugueses”, *Fontes da História de al-Andalus e do Gharb* (Lisbon, 2000), 175–189; “A communa muçulmana de Lisboa: paradigma institucional”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, 7 (2001), 243–247; “Génese de uma minoria: o período formativo das comunas muçulmanas em Portugal”, *Islão minoritário na Península Ibérica* (Lisbon, 2002), 29–43; “Body, baths and cloth: Muslim and Christian perceptions in medieval Portugal”, *Portuguese Studies*, 21 (2005), 1–12.

² A. Banha de Andrade, “Os Judeus em Montemor-o-Novo”, *Cadernos de História de Montemor-o-Novo*, 4 (1977), 5–33; P. G. Barbosa, “Alguns grupos marginais nos documentos de Santa Maria de Alcobaça, séculos XII e XIII”, *Documentos, Lugares e Homens. Estudos de História Medieval* (Lisbon, 1991), 105–207; G. Coelho Dias, “O cabido da sé do Porto e a comuna dos judeus. Por uma dobra e um açougue”, *Humanística e Teologia*, 4 (1983), 321–358; M. F. Lopes de Barros, “O discurso da infracção na communa muçulmana de Lisboa”, *Olisipo*, 2ª Serie, n° 5 (Lisbon, 1997), 27–34, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1998) and “A rua de Benfica da Mouraria (actual rua do Benfomoso)”, *Olisipo*, 2ª Serie, n° 8 (Lisbon, 1999), 28–38; S. A. Gomes, “A mouraria de Leiria. Problemas sobre a presença moura no centro do País”, *Estudios Orientais II* (Lisbon, 1991), 155–177; “Os judeus de Leiria medieval como agentes dinamizadores da economia urbana”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 28 (1993), 1–32, “Ser-se Judeu na Coimbra Medieval”, *Minorias étnicas e religiosas em Portugal. História e actualidade. Actas do Curso de Inverno 2002* (Coimbra, 2003), 61–82 and *A comunidade judaica de Coimbra Medieval* (Coimbra, 2003); A. Iria, “O infante D. Henrique e os judeus de Lagos (subsídios para a sua história)”, *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 2ª Série, 23 (1976), 283–313; A. Losa, “Subsídios para o estudo dos judeus de Braga”, *Actas do V volume dos actas do congresso histórico de Guimarães e sua colegiada* (Braga, 1982) 9–38; A. H. de Oliveira Marques, “A persistência do elemento muçulmano na história de Portugal

Nevertheless, despite the considerable advances in research on these two minorities, no work has yet dealt specifically with the persecutions of 1496–7. It is tempting to speculate why these events have drawn only limited academic interest, especially outside of Portugal, and have been largely overshadowed by the Castilian and Aragonese expulsion of 1492. So far as historians of Jewish Sephardic history are concerned, this neglect may be due in a large part to the fact that many have generally equated the Hebrew term *Sefarad* (ספרד) with “Spain” whereas it refers more accurately to the whole of the geographical area south of the Pyrenean mountains that is the Iberian Peninsula. *Sefarad* and thus also includes the medieval kingdom (and modern day republic) of Portugal. Moreover, many prominent historians who have focused on the persecution of Spanish Jewry and worked in Spanish archives have not ventured to cross the border and pursue their investigations in Portuguese archives.

It is all the more startling that modern scholars, particularly those outside Portugal, should have paid such scant attention to the persecutions of 1496–7 since the process by which religious tolerance in Portugal came to an end presents some key differences with the developments in Castile, Aragon and even Navarre (from which the Jews were expelled in 1498).³ Firstly, in Portugal it was the *Jews* who were forced to convert and the *Muslims* who were expelled whereas in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula it was the Jews who were expelled and the Muslims who were forced to convert. Forced conversions of Jews to Christianity carried out with the sanction of the Crown took place in Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula and the Byzantine Empire during the late Antiquity and the early

após a Reconquista. O exemplo da cidade de Lisboa”, *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1988), 96–107; J. Marqués, “O judeu brigantino Baruc Cavaleiro e o cabido de Braga, em 1482”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras (Oporto)*, 2ª Serie, 3 (1986), 91–99 and “As judiarias de Braga e de Guimarães, no século XV”, *Xudeus e conversos na historia* (Orense, 1994), 2, 351–363; H. B. Moreno, “Os judeus na cidade do Porto nos séculos XIV e XV”, *Xudeus e conversos na historia* (Orense, 1994), 2, 337–350; L. F. Oliveira and M. Viana, M., “A mouraria de Lisboa no séc. XV”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, 2 (1993), 191–210; A. Paulo, “La commune juive de Porto au Moyen Âge”, *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies–1973* (Jerusalem, 1975), 61–70; M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, “Judeus e cristãos novos no districto de Portalegre”, *A Cidade. Revista Cultural de Portalegre*, 3 (1989), 37–53.

³ On the expulsion from Navarre see B. R. Gampel, *The last Jews on Iberian soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479–1498* (Berkeley, 1989) and “Ferdinand and Isabella and the decline of Portuguese and Navarrese Jewries”, *Jews and Conversos at the Time of the Expulsion*, ed. Y. T. Assis and Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem, 1999), 65–92.

Middle Ages.⁴ Although forced conversions continued to occur after the seventh century, and particularly from the end of the eleventh century, this was usually in a very different context. Later forced conversions took place during riots and massacres carried out by mobs and clergy without the support of Kings or local lords. In the Iberian Peninsula itself, thousands of conversions took place in Castile and Aragon during the riots and massacres that erupted in the spring and summer of 1391 but these were carried out without royal sanction.⁵ Royal and lordly persecutions of Jews from the late eleventh century onwards took the form of expulsions as was the case in England, France and later in Castile and Aragon.⁶ There are only a few exceptions. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, large numbers of Jews in southern Italy, accused of assisting relapsed converts, were pressured into converting by Dominican Inquisitors but the impetus behind this movement lay with the Inquisitors rather than with King Charles II of Naples.⁷ Nevertheless, as will become clear in the following chapters, the sheer brutality of the forced conversion of the Portuguese Jews and the direct involvement of King Manuel I in its instigation present a startling departure from

⁴ On the forced conversions in Gaul, Visigothic Spain and the Byzantine Empire: S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge Mass., 1937); B. Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental 430–1096* (Paris, 1960), 104–158; M. Rouche, “Les baptêmes forcés de juifs en Gaule Mérovingienne et dans l’empire d’orient”, *De l’antijudaïsme antique à l’antisémitisme contemporain*, ed. V. Nikiprowetzky (Lille, 1979), 105–124; W. Goffart, “The conversions of Avitus of Clermont, and similar passages in Gregory of Tours”, “*To see Ourselves as Others see Us.*” *Christians, Jews, “Others” in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner and E. S. Frerichs (Chico Calif., 1985) 473–497; N. Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain. Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden, 1994), 7–38; R. González-Salineró, *Las conversiones forzadas de los judíos en el reino visigodo* (Rome, 2000).

⁵ Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia, 1966), 2, 95–169; P. Wolff, “The 1391 pogrom in Spain. Social crisis or not?”, *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 4–18.

⁶ There is a vast amount of historical literature on these expulsions. On the expulsions from England and France see R. B. Mundill, *England’s Jewish Solution. Experiment and Expulsion, 1262–1290* (Cambridge, 1998); R. Chazan, *Medieval Jewry in Northern France. A Political and Social History* (London, 1974); G. Dahan, *L’expulsion de juifs de France 1394* (Paris, 2004). On the Spanish expulsion see M. A. Motis Dolader, *La expulsión de los judíos del reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1990), 2 Vols and H. Beinart *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002).

⁷ J. Starr, “The mass conversion of the Jews in southern Italy (1290–1293)”, *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 203–211; D. Abulafia, “Monarchs and minorities in the Christian western Mediterranean around 1300: Lucera and its analogues”, *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1100–1300*, ed. Scott Waugh and Peter Diehl (Cambridge, 1996), 251–260.

the norm. Secondly, whilst a decade separated the persecution of the Jews from that of Muslims in Castile (even longer in the lands of the Crown of Aragon and in Navarre), the persecution in Portugal simultaneously struck both Jews *and* Muslims. At a single stroke King Manuel created the first kingdom of the Iberian Peninsula to boast, officially at least, of an entirely Christian population and to have completely extinguished the coexistence of Christians, Muslims and Jews that had so distinguished the Iberian Peninsula from the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages.

Since the nineteenth century, there has been little change in the way modern historians have viewed the events of 1496–7. According to the master narrative unanimously put forward by scholars both in and outside of Portugal, the decision Manuel took to end his predecessors' policy of religious tolerance was motivated by his desire to rule over the entire Iberian Peninsula by marrying the eldest daughter of Queen Isabel of Castile (1474–1504) and King Fernando of Aragon (1479–1516). Isabel and Fernando stipulated that the Portuguese King must first expel the Jews and Muslims and Manuel meekly acceded to their demand. The historian Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877), universally acclaimed as the father of modern Portuguese historiography, briefly examined the events of 1497 in his seminal study of the origins and establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536. It was clear for Herculano that the Portuguese monarch, paying no heed to the misgivings of many of his councillors, ceded to Spanish demands to expel the Jews and Muslims because of his own selfish desire to further his dynastic pretensions over the Iberian Peninsula:

Princess Isabel was the eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs and the heir to the throne should their only male heir Prince Juan die. By marrying her, the King of Portugal saw the prospect, or at least the possibility, of uniting both the Iberian crowns [i.e. Portugal and Spain] under his rule.⁸

This view was also that accepted by later historians of Portuguese Jewry, such as Rabbi Meyer Kayserling and Joaquim Mendes dos Remedios, as

⁸ A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1975), 1, 114: “A princesa D. Isabel era filha mais velha dos Reis Católicos e sua herdeira presuntiva, no caso de faltar o príncipe D. João, único fiador da sucessão masculina ao trono de Castela. Casando com ela, o rei de Portugal via em perspectiva, ao menos como possível, a reunião das duas coroas da Península numa só cabeça.” On the importance of Herculano see F. Catroga, J. M. Amado Mendes and L. R. Torgal, *História da história em Portugal, sécs. XIX–XX*, (Lisbon, 1998), 1, 45–98.

well as by the authors of more general works such as Heinrich Graetz and José Amador de los Ríos.⁹ A number of recent articles have adopted the traditional historiography and continued to depict King Manuel as a wildly ambitious monarch who recklessly sacrificed his Jewish and Muslim subjects on the altar of his personal ambition.¹⁰ The only notable development has been the strong emphasis Tavares added in her work on what she believed to be the negative social impact on Portuguese society of the arrival of large numbers of Jewish refugees from Castile in 1492. This view is unambiguously asserted in her work:

Regardless of the number of Castilian Jews who settled in Portugal, it is a fact that their arrival in the Kingdom [of Portugal] had a destabilising effect on Portuguese society and particularly on relations between the Christian majority and the indigenous Jewish minority. (...) The expulsion edict [of 1496] is therefore a direct consequence of the destabilisation of Portuguese society, aggravated by other factors of a domestic nature or linked to peninsular politics.¹¹

This study seeks to challenge these widely held views by presenting three distinct premises relating to the breakdown of Christian-Jewish-Muslim relations in Portugal:

⁹ M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867) Translated into Portuguese as *História dos Judeus em Portugal* (São Paulo, 1971); J. Mendes dos Remédios, *Os judeus em Portugal* (Coimbra, 1895), 2 Vols; J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1960); H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von der alterten zeiten bis auf die gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1863–1908), 11 Vols, also available in English with the title *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1967), 6 Vols.

¹⁰ A number of articles dealing with the forced conversion of the Portuguese Jews have failed to provide any new perspective: F. Portugal, “O problema judaico no reinado de D. Manuel”, offprint of *Armas e Troféus*, 3, (1975), 5–23; M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, “A expulsão dos judeus de Portugal: conjuntura peninsular”, *Oceanos*, 29 (1997), 10–20; A. Srouf, “A expulsão que não houve”, *Em Nome da Fé* (São Paulo, 1999), 255–268; B. Gampel, “Ferdinand and Isabella and the decline of Portuguese and Navarrese Jewries”, *Jews and Conversos at the Time of the Expulsion*, ed. Y. T. Assis and Y. Kaplan (Jerusalem, 1999), 65–92; E. Lipiner, “O primeiro batismo compulsório coletivo ocorrido em Portugal”, *Em Nome da Fé* (São Paulo, 1999), 233–241 and J. C. Lavajo, “A expulsão dos judeus Portugueses. Erro ou equívoco?”, *Os judeus sepharditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos* (Lisbon, 2004), 19–49. The same also applies to the discussion of these events by J. Aubin, posthumously published in *Le latin et l’astrolabe. Vol. 3. Études inédites sur le règne de D. Manuel 1495–1521* (Paris, 2006), 31–60.

¹¹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 257: “Independentemente do número de judeus castelhanos que permanecerá no reino, é um facto que a sua vinda se revela como um elemento destabilizador da sociedade portuguesa e sobretudo das relações entre a maioria cristã e a minoria judaica nacional. (...) O édito de expulsão é, pois, uma consequência imediata do desequilíbrio existente na sociedade portuguesa, agravado por outros factores de ordem interna e de política peninsular.”

1. That there is little concrete evidence to suggest that the sudden arrival in Portugal of thousands of Jews expelled from Castile in 1492 was a catalyst that caused a sudden deterioration of the situation of Portuguese Jews and thus created conditions that inevitably led to the disaster of 1497.
2. That even though Manuel was pressured by Isabel and Fernando into issuing the edict ordering the Jews to leave his kingdom, that decision was not the action of a power-hungry king who harboured designs of hegemony over the entire Iberian Peninsula. Rather it was the consequence of King Manuel's calculating and pragmatic diplomacy that aimed at securing a lasting peace with his powerful neighbours in order to allow him to concentrate on other, quite different, objectives.
3. That the expulsion of the Muslim minority from Portugal, though it took place at the same time as the persecution of the Jews, was brought about because of very different considerations on Manuel's part and therefore has to be analysed separately.

These arguments will be developed in the five separate chapters of this work will cover not only the situation of the Jewish and Muslim minorities prior to 1496 but also Manuel's rise to power, his ambitions and his diplomatic relations with Castile.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the history of the Jewish and Muslim minorities in Portugal during the medieval period up to the 1480s and considers various questions relating to their origins, organisation into autonomous communities under royal protection, the special tax system to which they were subjected and their relations with both the dominant Christian population and the Crown.

Chapter 2 closely examines the social impact of the arrival in Portugal firstly of numerous Jewish converts to Christianity (*conversos*) fleeing from the Inquisition tribunals of Castile in the 1480s and then of thousands of Jewish refugees who were expelled from Spain in 1492. Using a range of Portuguese, Spanish and Hebrew sources, many of them unedited, I argue that the consequences of these events for the Kingdom of Portugal have been vastly exaggerated by modern historians. The impact of 1492 in particular was mitigated by the fact that the majority of Castilian Jews only transited via Portugal and were not allowed to settle there by King João II.

Chapter 3 covers the period between 1492 and 1496. This section focuses on political and diplomatic events rather than on the Jewish and

Muslim minorities. It analyses the complex political developments leading up to, and immediately following, the accession of King Manuel I in October 1495. I argue that there are no grounds to support the assertion that Manuel entertained any ambitions to take over the various thrones of Spain as well as that of Portugal. The evidence clearly demonstrates that the new monarch had two very different aims and ambitions in the first years of his reign: his eagerness to finance a voyage of exploration to India and his obsession with the launch of a new crusade against the Muslims in Morocco. To achieve his two aims, Manuel needed to conclude an enduring peace with Spain and this chapter also carefully analyses the negotiations that took place between Spain and Portugal over the marriage of Manuel to a Spanish Princess. It was as a result of these difficult negotiations that the fate of the Jews in Portugal was decided.

Chapter 4 moves from the promulgation of the expulsion edict in December 1496 to the forced conversion of the Jews in 1497. Using a wide variety of evidence derived from narrative and documentary sources (such as the genealogical sections of Inquisition trial records or Hebrew chronicles), it presents a painstaking reconstruction of the different stages of coercion that gradually led to the forced conversion of all Jews. These stages include the confiscation of all Hebrew books, the abduction and conversion of all the Jewish children and the seizure of communal Jewish property.

Finally, chapter 5 brings into focus the forgotten persecution that is the expulsion of the Muslim minority from Portugal. I present the documentary evidence to support the claim that the Muslims were indeed expelled—a fact contested by one historian in the early twentieth century—and that they migrated either to Castile or North Africa. From there I proceed to argue that there is strictly no evidence to claim that Spanish pressure underpinned Manuel's decision. I contend that the most plausible hypothesis is that it was an act of propaganda motivated by Manuel's concern to obtain papal sanction prior to resuming the war against the Muslim rulers of Morocco.

Sources: Narrative and Documentary

Christian Sources

This study will make use of as wide a range of sources as possible. There are only two Christian chronicles that give a detailed, if somewhat brief,

account of the mass conversion of the Jews and the expulsion of the Muslims from Portugal. In addition to this it must be observed that the authors of these two works were both born some years after 1497 and were in fact writing more than seven decades later. These chronicles are the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* of Damião de Góis (1502–c.1574) and *De Rebus Emmanuelis* of Jerónimo Osório, bishop of Silves in the Algarve (1506–1580).¹²

The impact of the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* on the historiography of the reign of King Manuel I in general, and his treatment of the Jews and Muslims in particular, has been enormous. This work, published for the first time in 1566, is one of the most precious narrative sources for the life of that monarch and for the momentous events that took place during his reign. Damião de Góis was an educated scholar, who travelled widely throughout Northern Europe, Russia and Italy and met some of the foremost European thinkers of his time. Góis entered King Manuel's household aged only nine in 1511 and consequently, unlike many biographers, could boast that he had met the subject of his biography. Furthermore, he commanded considerable favour in Portugal prior to his arrest, trial and imprisonment by the Portuguese Inquisition for the crime of heresy.¹³ King João III (1521–1557) appointed Góis to the position of royal archivist in 1548 and ten years later he was commissioned to write an official biographical account of the reign of Manuel I by Cardinal Enrique (1512–1580), son of Manuel I and Grand Inquisitor in Portugal. The office bestowed upon Góis was the same position held by a string of celebrated Portuguese chroniclers amongst whom was Fernão Lopes, the first and greatest Portuguese chronicler of the Middle Ages. This prestigious position allowed him unrestricted access to royal documents during his writing, and it is clear from the *Crónica* that he carried out considerable research in the royal archives. Damião de Góis paid enormous attention to detail in his narrative. The

¹² Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* (Coimbra, 1949); Jerónimo Osório (lat. Hieronymus Osorius), *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis* (Lisbon, 1571). A preliminary version, still in draft form, of a chronicle of the reign of Manuel I that is currently preserved in the national Portuguese archives and has been attributed to G. Correia (c.1492–c.1560) does not mention the persecution of the Jewish and Muslim communities in Portugal. See G. Correia, *Crónicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III (até 1533)*, ed. J. Pereira da Costa (Lisbon, 1992).

¹³ On the life and works of Damião de Góis see E. Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis: The life and thought of a Portuguese humanist, 1502–1574* (The Hague, 1967).

itineraries of King Manuel in Portugal and Spain and the dates of important events are all carefully recorded throughout the chronicle. In a few cases, documents of significance are paraphrased or even reproduced almost word for word. Important clauses of the last will and testament of João II, for instance, are carefully listed by Damião de Góis in his chronicle and it is obvious that in the course of his research he was able to consult a copy of it in the royal archives. It is also quite likely that many of the documents to which Góis, as royal archivist, had access may no longer exist and no longer be available to the modern researcher. One of his sources, however, was certainly an anonymous codex written earlier in the sixteenth century that is now conserved in the *Ajuda* library in Lisbon and which includes a very rough draft of the history of the reign of Manuel.¹⁴

The *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* is written in the style that is characteristic of most humanistic historians and, in accordance with humanistic ideas, Góis generally sought to find rational explanations for events rather than simply interpreting them as the will of God. His work is primarily based on documentation and it is also quite obvious that, in order to acquire information for happenings outside of Portugal, he had read many well-known narratives such as those of João de Barros (1496–1570) and Leo Africanus (c.1492–c.1550).¹⁵ It is even possible that the author of the *Crónica* took the memoirs of the great French courtier, diplomat and historian Philippe de Commines (c.1447–1511)—indubitably one of the first works of humanistic historiography—as his model.¹⁶ As one modern biographer has rightly observed, “Góis’s thorough study of the records, his unbiased reporting, and his undramatised style express the best features of sixteenth century humanist historiography.”¹⁷ This does not mean, however, that his work is without faults.

¹⁴ B.A., *codex* 51-V-69. Alexandre Herculano inconclusively attributed this work to either the historian João de Barros (1496–1570) or Fernão da Pina, who was royal archivist between 1529 and 1548). A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*, 1, 108.

¹⁵ João de Barros, *Da Ásia, Décadas I–IV*, ed. Hernâni Cidade and Manuel Múrias (Lisbon, 1945–1946); Leo Africanus, *De L’Afrique, contenant la description de ce pays*, trad. J. Temporal (Paris, 1830).

¹⁶ Damião de Góis had certainly read Philippe de Commines’s famous *Memoires* and mentions him in the *Crónica* (*Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, chapter 19).

¹⁷ E. Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis: The life and thought of a Portuguese humanist, 1502–1574*, 205.

One of the main aims of Damião de Góis's chronicle was clearly to revive the memory of the "glorious" reign of "the most fortunate" King Manuel and the extraordinary achievements of the Portuguese explorers during the early sixteenth century. In earlier Latin works published during the 1540s and 1550s Damião de Góis had already demonstrated his pride in the achievements of his compatriots in India and hailed their military successes.¹⁸ When the historical context is taken into consideration, it is quite evident that any Portuguese chronicler writing in 1564 might well have looked upon the reign of Manuel I with some nostalgia as a "golden age". Portuguese dreams of a successful crusade and territorial conquest in Morocco, inaugurated with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, had not only ground to a halt but had even suffered major reverses. The Portuguese were forced to evacuate many of their beleaguered coastal strongholds on the Moroccan coast between 1542 and 1550 in the face of Muslim forces united under the new Sa'adiyyūn (سعديون) dynasty, who had established themselves in Marrakech. Moreover, King João III had died in 1557 leaving the throne to his three-year-old grandson Sebastian. For over a decade, Portugal was governed on his behalf first by his Spanish grandmother and then, from 1562, by his great-uncle Cardinal Enrique. The regents and their governments successfully maintained political stability and order in Portugal but failed to provide the strong and energetic political leadership that the realm needed to revive Portuguese fortunes overseas. When the Portuguese garrison in the Moroccan fortress of Mazagão was closely besieged in 1562 the dowager queen and her councillors in Lisbon failed to send a force to lift the siege. It was only the great valour of the commander of Mazagão that prevented the loss of yet another Portuguese stronghold to Muslim forces. Elsewhere the situation of the Portuguese was better but it was clear that the heady days of military exploits during the Manueline era were over. The Portuguese continued to expand their territory in Brazil, but at a very slow pace, hindered by a shortage of manpower. In India and the Far East, Portugal managed to hold on to its possessions, and had even been ceded the Chinese territory of Macau as a factory for its merchants in 1557. Nonetheless, Portuguese expansion in the East from the middle of the sixteenth century was more

¹⁸ See his works *De Bello Cambaico Ultimo Commentarii tres* (Louvain, 1549) and *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio* (Évora, 1554).

commercial in nature than military.¹⁹ Damião de Góis and his Portuguese contemporaries could not ignore the fact that the fortunes of the Portuguese sea-borne empire, after decades of remarkable expansion, had been overtaken by the vast Spanish Empire in the New World. Accordingly, the period was one that witnessed a strong nostalgic current in Portuguese literature of which the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* is part. It is not a coincidence that Luis Vaz de Camões (c.1524–1580) published his epic poem *Os Lusíadas* that glorified the earlier Portuguese voyages of exploration to Africa and India in 1572.

De Rebus Emmanuelis was also written at the behest of Cardinal Enrique and was published in 1571, a mere five years after Góis's work. Its author, whose elegant Latin style earned him the reputation of being a "Portuguese Cicero", was a prominent conservative humanist thinker in sixteenth-century Portugal and he distinguished himself as a political doctrinist, exegete, apologist and militant of the counter-reformation. Yet, despite his manifest intellectual abilities, the value of Osório's Latin biography of Manuel I as a source is undermined by the fact that it shows little originality and extensively used Góis's earlier work as its own source of information. In the preface to his work the Bishop of Silves gratefully acknowledged the debt he owed to "the great work, vigilance and labour" of the royal archivist.²⁰ Most of the details of the events of 1496–7 related in *De Rebus Emmanuelis* are exactly the same as those of the previous work of Damião de Góis. A case in point is the passage in which Osório relates the arguments for and against the expulsion put forward by members of the royal council. A close comparison of this episode in both works reveals that Osório's account of the deliberations preceding the expulsion and the forced conversion of the Jews the following year is clearly little more than a Latin translation of the vernacular account in *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*.²¹ Osório adds many personal comments on the forced conversion and it

¹⁹ J. José Alves Dias, I. M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga and P. D. Braga, "A conjuntura", *Nova história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1998), 5, 731 and 741–5; R. Ricard, "L'évacuation des places portugaises du Maroc sous Jean III", *Études sur l'histoire des portugais au Maroc* (Coimbra, 1955), 357–381.

²⁰ Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis* (Lisbon, 1571), 4: "Vt autem id facilius exequi possem, Damianus Goës praestitit Is enim magno labore, vigila[n]tia, & industria ea ex quam plurimis epistolis & commentarijs eruit, & monumentis suis memoriae comme[n]dauit, qu[ae] ego minime potuissem sine summo perscrutari."

²¹ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 38–39 and Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis*, 18–9.

is in his own reactions to the tragedy of 1496–7 that his work is perhaps most interesting. By choosing to write his narrative in Latin, rather than in vernacular Portuguese, the main intention of Jerónimo Osório was to render the history of Manuel's reign into a language that would be understood by learned men in the rest of Europe rather than his own countrymen. Certainly his history aroused considerable interest in the rest of Europe and a number of editions of *De Rebus Emmanuelis* were published in Cologne, the first one only three years after it first appeared in Portugal.²² It is perhaps ironic that this work became far more famous than Góis's, to whom it owes so much.²³

Spanish narratives have generally been overlooked by those studying the history of Portugal. Although they do not directly mention the events of 1496–7, they nonetheless provide interesting information concerning the movement of Jews from Castile to Portugal in 1492 and offer a valuable Spanish perspective on diplomatic relations between the two realms. The first of these Spanish chronicles is the *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Catholicos* authored by Andrés Bernáldez, the curate of the town of Los Palacios, near Seville, from 1488 until his death in 1513.²⁴ Another Spanish account of the emigration of Castilian Jews to Portugal is to be found in the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, written by Alonso de Santa Cruz (1505–1567) in Seville between 1551 and 1553. Santa Cruz's description of the Spanish expulsion varies only slightly from that of Bernáldez and it is quite evident that he drew much of his information from the work of Bernáldez, just as Osório did from Góis. Finally, it is also crucial to take into account the work of Jerónimo Zurita (1512–1580). Zurita was commissioned by Philip II of Spain (1559–1598) to write an official history of the Aragonese crown. His annals of the Crown of Aragon end abruptly with the fall of Granada in 1492 but include a very interesting Spanish perspective on the accidental death of the Portuguese crown prince Afonso in 1491 and its political consequences.²⁵

²² R. W. Truman, "Jean Matal (Johannes Matalius Metellus), ami fidèle de Jerónimo Osório et de son *De Rebus Emmanuelis* à Cologne", *Humanismo português na época dos descobrimentos. Congresso internacional. Coimbra 9 a 12 de outubro de 1991. Actas* (Coimbra, 1993), 333–342.

²³ The French philosopher Montaigne even went so far as to praise Osório as "*Le meilleur historien de nos siècles*." M. de Montaigne, *Essais* (Paris, 1924), 1, 53.

²⁴ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Catholicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1962).

²⁵ Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. A. Canellas López, 9 Vols. (Zaragoza, 1967).

Fortunately, some time after completing the annals, Zurita also wrote a biographical account of the life of King Fernando of Aragon, the *Historia del rey don Hernando el Católico*, that serves as a continuation of the annals. This later history gives a fascinating Spanish point of view regarding the tense and tangled diplomatic relations between Portugal and Spain from 1492 to 1497.²⁶ To these Spanish narratives it is also important to add a surprising German source: the detailed travel diary of Hieronymus Münzer, a German from Nüremberg who travelled through Spain and Portugal in 1494–1495. This journal provides very interesting, albeit somewhat summary, information concerning the situation of the Jewish community of Lisbon in the years immediately preceding the edict of King Manuel as well as surprising information about the state of affairs in Portugal and at the Court during the last years of João II's reign.²⁷

Jewish Sources

No Muslim account has yet been discovered that might provide a Muslim perspective on the expulsion of the Portuguese Muslims but this is, fortunately, not the case with the Jews. The sixteenth century witnessed the elaboration of an extensive Jewish historical literature produced by Jewish exiles from the Iberian Peninsula and their descendants that refers to both the expulsion of the Jews from Castile in 1492 and the dramatic events that took place in Portugal in 1497. These Jewish sources are the “Book of Genealogy” (ספר יוחסיו) of Abraham Zacuto (c.1450–c.1510); the “Book of Tradition” (ספר הקבלה) of Abraham ben Solomon de Torrutiel (1482–?); the “Valley of Tears” (עמק הבכא) of Joseph Ha-Cohen (1496–c.1577); the *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel* of Samuel Usque (c.1497–c.1567), the “Sceptre of Judah” (שבט יהודה) of Solomon Ibn Verga (dates of birth and death unknown), the “Chain of Tradition” (שולשלת הקבלה) of Gedalya Ibn Yahya (1526–1587) and, finally, the “Chronicle of the lesser Elijah” (סדר אליהו זוטא) of Elijah

²⁶ Jerónimo Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia* (Zaragoza, 1610). For a short biography of Zurita see A. Canellas, “El historiador Jerónimo Zurita”, *Jerónimo Zurita: su epoca y su escuela: congreso nacional, Zaragoza, 16–21 de mayo de 1983* (Zaragoza, 1986), 7–22.

²⁷ Jerónimo Münzer, “Itinerarium Hispanicum”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 1–179. For a Spanish translation see “Viaje por España y Portugal en los años 1494 y 1495”, trad. J. Puyol, *BRAH*, 84 (1924), 32–119 and 197–279.

Capsali (c.1490–1549).²⁸ These Jewish narratives are characterised by a strong messianic element and emphasised the role of divine intervention. Whether or not these chronicles can be considered to be “historical” in a modern sense is a moot point but their historical importance to modern historians is an incontrovertible fact.²⁹

One of the most remarkable aspects of these sources is that their authors were almost without exception victims of the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions or the descendants of Iberian exiles. Rabbi Abraham Zacuto was a native of Salamanca who fled from Castile to Portugal in 1492. In Portugal his knowledge of astronomy earned him an honoured position at the Royal court, and a translation of his influential astronomical chart entitled *Almanach Perpetuum* was printed in the town of Leiria the same year that Manuel decided to expel the Jews and Muslims from his realm. Abraham ben Solomon de Torrutiel was compelled to flee from Castile to Fez in Morocco with his family in 1492 whilst still a young child. A similar fate befell Joseph Ha-Cohen, whose family had fled from Navarre to Italy via Avignon and Gedalya Ibn Yahya, whose family moved from Portugal to Italy in the late 1490s. Others were able to leave Portugal in the early 1500s after spending part of their lives as nominal converts to Christianity. Solomon Ibn Verga, who had also fled

²⁸ A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin ha-Shalem*, ed. Z. Filipowski (Jerusalem, 1963); Abraham ben Solomon Torrutiel, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. and tr. Y. Moreno Koch in *Dos crónicas hispanohebreas del siglo XV*, *Biblioteca nueva Sefarad*, 19 (1992); Joseph ha-Cohen, *El Valle del Llanto ('Emeq ha-Bakha)*, ed. P. León Tello (Barcelona, 1989) is a Spanish translation, *'Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. and tr. H. S. May (The Hague, 1971) is an English translation, *'Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. K. Almladh (Uppsala, 1981) is a Hebrew edition; S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, exists in two different facsimile editions of the edition printed at Ferrara in 1553: ed. J. Mendes dos Remédios (Coimbra, 1906) and ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins (Lisbon, 1989), 2 Vols.; Solomon Ibn Verga, *Sefer Shebet Yehudah*, ed. and tr. M. José Cano (Barcelona, 1991); E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu (Jerusalem, 1975). Those parts of Capsali's work that are relevant to this study are now also available in a French translation entitled *Chronique de l'expulsion*, by S. Sultan-Bohbot, (Paris, 1994), 73–6.

²⁹ On the debate surrounding the value of these works as historical evidence and the idea that there was a “Golden Age” of Jewish historiography connected with the expulsions from Spain and Portugal: Y. H. Yerushalmi, “Clio and the Jews: reflections on Jewish historiography in the sixteenth century”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research Jubilee Volume*, 46–47 (1978–1979), 607–638 and R. Bonfil, “How Golden was the Age of the Renaissance in Jewish historiography?”, *History and Theory*, 27 (1988), 78–102. For discussions on the works of Ibn Verga and Usque see A. A. Neuman, “The *Shebet Yehuda* and sixteenth-century historiography” and “Samuel Usque, marrano historian of the sixteenth century”, both published in *Landmarks and Goals: Historical Studies and Addresses* (Philadelphia, 1953), 82–132.

from Spain to Portugal in 1492, was forcibly converted to Christianity in 1497 and finally managed to leave the Iberian Peninsula, most probably in 1507. Ibn Verga made his way to the Ottoman Empire and settled in the town of Adrianople (Edirne in modern Turkey) which boasted a sizeable community of Jewish refugees fleeing persecution in the sixteenth century. His son Joseph (died circa 1559) eventually published his remarkable work, with additional notes, in 1550. Similarly, Samuel Usque was born in Portugal to Jewish parents of Castilian origin and lived there as a convert until escaping to Italy and reverting to Judaism. In 1553 he published his work in the Italian town of Ferrara. The only one of these Jewish writers who had no known family connection with the Iberian Peninsula was Rabbi Elijah Capsali. Indeed, as the rabbi of the Jewish community of Candia, Elijah Capsali was writing on the distant island of Crete, at that time a Venetian possession. Nevertheless, Elijah Capsali claims to have met and spoken to many of the exiles who had been present in Portugal at the time of the forced conversion.³⁰

The information that can be gathered from Jewish chronicles is supplemented by autobiographical notices in exegetical works and some shorter historical texts. Rabbi Abraham Saba (the dates of his birth and death are unknown) has inserted a fascinating account of his personal experiences as an exile—first from Castile and then as a victim of the cruel events that overtook all the Jews in Portugal five years later—in the introductions and colophons of his exegetical commentaries on the books of Esther and Ruth entitled “A cluster of camphire.”³¹ It is also possible to include in this category the later work of Imanuel Aboab (c.1555–1628), entitled *Nomologia o Discursos Legales*, which was posthumously published in Amsterdam. Aboab was the grandson of a Castilian rabbi who, according to Abraham Zacuto, died in Porto a year after arriving in Portugal from Castile. Aboab’s work contains a brief description of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and their mass conversion in Portugal. This description relied a great deal upon the previous works of Samuel Usque and Jerónimo Osório as its main sources of information but nonetheless also contains some original material.³²

³⁰ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, (Jerusalem, 1975), 1, 11.

³¹ A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995) and D. Manor, “Abraham Saba: his life and works,” *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, 2 (1982–3), 208–231.

³² Imanuel Aboab, *Nomologia o Discursos Legales* (Amsterdam, 1629); M. Orfali, “La expulsión de Castilla y de Portugal en la historiografía de Imanuel Aboab,” *Movimientos*

Two other short historical passages included in manuscripts held in the library of the Jewish Seminary of America were translated and edited by Alexander Marx in 1908. The first of these, which was probably written by an Italian Jew in southern Italy (possibly Naples?) around 1495, gives an interesting account of the expulsion of the Jews from Castile and Aragon. The second text, written by a certain Isaac Ibn Faradj, is a short description of the persecutions in Spain and Portugal which follows a philosophical commentary and extracts from the mystical *Book of Zohar*. Ibn Faradj wrote a moving first-hand account of the persecution of the Portuguese Jews in 1497.³³ More recently, Isaiah Tishby has brought to light interesting information on the expulsions from Spain and Portugal contained in fragments of a messianic-mystical text found in the hoard of documents retrieved from the Cairo Genizah. Its author remains anonymous but from the content of these fascinating fragments it is clear that he was both an eyewitness and victim of the persecution and wrote the texts in 1501 from his new home in Egypt.³⁴

Documentary Sources

The available documentary sources for the events of 1496–7 are exclusively Christian and consist predominantly of documents conserved in Portuguese and Spanish archives. Of particular importance is the national Portuguese archive, the *Torre do Tombo*. This archive contains a number of collections of particular interest to this study. The registers of the royal chancery (*livros das chancelarias*) contain a variety of different documents including grants of various privileges by the monarch (*cartas de isenção*), royal pardons (*cartas de perdão*) and even the chapters of the parliamentary assemblies (*cortes*) that were held at different times throughout Portugal during the fourteenth and fifteenth

migratorios y expulsiones en la diáspora occidental. Terceros encuentros judaicos de Tudela. 14–17 de Julio de 1998 (Pamplona, 2000), 109–130.

³³ A. Marx, “The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts”, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, (New York, 1944), 77–106; Marx’s work was originally published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, old series, 20 (1908), 240–271.

³⁴ I. Tishby, “Genizah fragments of a messianic-mystical text on the expulsion from Spain and Portugal” [in Hebrew], *Zion*, 48 (1983), 55–102, 347–385 and 49 (1984), 20–60. Also in his book *Messianism in the time of the Expulsion from Spain and Portugal* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1985). A brief discussion in English of this important document by the same author can be found in “Acute apocalyptic messianism”, *Essential Papers on Messianic Movements and Personalities in Jewish History*, ed. M. Saperstein (New York, 1992), 259–286.

centuries. Furthermore, this archive also comprises all of the documentation produced by the different tribunals of the Portuguese Inquisition (1536–1820), including the dossiers of trials (*processos*) which are regularly cited in chapters two and four of this work.³⁵

Aside from the documents produced by royal chanceries and the Inquisition, the shelves and cabinets of the *Torre do Tombo* also hold documents originating from the archives of religious foundations which are of great interest, particularly those from the monasteries of Alcobça, Chelas, São Vicente da Fora and Santos-o-Novo. Other collections of documents in the *Torre do Tombo* include the *Leitura Nova*, the *Núcleo Antigo* and the *Gavetas*. The *Leitura Nova*, regionally or thematically organised copies of selected documents, was created by the order of King Manuel I with the intention of facilitating access to frequently used chancery materials and only completed during the reign of his successor in 1552. The *Núcleo Antigo* incorporates remnants of the documentation originally kept in the cupboards (*armários*) of the royal archives (*Arquivo da Casa da Coroa*) and contains various law codes of the period including the royal edicts (*ordenações*) of Afonso V and Manuel I. The *Gavetas* (“drawers”) contain short single documents that generally tend to be more formal in character such as diplomatic treaties. Beyond the *Torre do Tombo*, a number of documents cited in this work are preserved in different smaller archives and libraries in the towns of Évora, Elvas and Porto.³⁶

A considerable number of documents from the Portuguese Royal Archives were lost during the various upheavals that have shaken Portugal’s history since the end of the fifteenth century. The earthquake that

³⁵ For some brief information relating to resources in the *Torre do Tombo* that are useful to the study of the Jewish minority in medieval Portugal see E. Lipiner, “Os arquivos nacionais da Torre do Tombo em Lisboa e historiografia judaica”, *Em Nome da Fé* (São Paulo, 1999) 26–32 and also, by the same author, appendix II of *Two Portuguese exiles in Castile: Dom David Negro and Dom Isaac Abravanel* (Jerusalem, 1997), 141–7. On the Muslims see the concise but insightful article by M. F. Lopes de Barros, “Fontes arquivísticas e arquivos sobre os mudéjares portugueses”, *Fontes da História de al-Andalus e do Gharb* (Lisbon, 2000), 175–189. On the archives of the Inquisition see C. Amiel, “The archives of the Portuguese Inquisition: a brief survey”, *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe. Studies on Sources and Methods*, ed. G. Henningsen and J. T. Tedeschi (Dekalb, 1986), 79–99 and M. do Carmo Jasmins Dias Farinha, *Os arquivos da Inquisição* (Lisbon, 1990).

³⁶ On the organisation of the various collections of documents preserved in the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* see P. A. Azevedo and A. Baião, *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo. Sua história, corpos que o compõem e organização* (Lisbon, 1989).

levelled large parts of Lisbon in 1755 also devastated the castle of São Jorge and the building containing the royal archives was entirely demolished. In the wake of the earthquake the royal archives, or rather the documents recovered from under the ruins of the castle, were deposited in a temporary building for safekeeping until, at length, they were moved to the Benedictine monastery of São Bento in 1757. The extent of the losses is impossible to calculate but they were obviously considerable. In certain cases entire registers are now missing leaving important gaps in our knowledge and these cannot just be blamed on the disaster of 1755. By way of illustration it is known that in 1526 there were 48 extant registers for the reign of João I but that three years later the keeper of the royal archives could find only four registers and these are the ones still extant today. The registers of King Pedro and his son Fernando also suffered considerable losses in the same period. In relation to the present study, it is particularly unfortunate that the registers of royal documents corresponding to the years 1485, 1493, 1494 and 1495 of the reign of João II have disappeared without trace. The last three years were of course those that witnessed the arrival of the Jews expelled from Spain and their loss is therefore a huge blow for any study of the impact of this event on Portugal. In addition to this, substantial losses are also to be deplored amongst the registers of the royal chancery that date from the reign of Manuel I, only two thirds of which are still extant.³⁷ Even the surviving documents of the *Livros das Chancelarias* have not, in some cases, escaped damaged and some of their folios are so damaged as to be very difficult to read or even illegible.³⁸

Numerous documents referring to diplomatic relations between Portugal and Castile in the 1480s and 1490s, such as letters exchanged by the rulers and diplomats of both realms, are conserved in Spanish archives, especially the *Archivo General de Simancas* located near Valladolid in Castile. Fortunately, most of the documents relevant to relations between the Catholic Monarchs and the Portuguese crown were edited and published by A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández in *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos* (1963).³⁹ These Spanish documents are particularly interesting as the

³⁷ F. Portugal, "A Chancelaria de D. Manuel", offprint of *Ethnos*, 6 (1969), 3–12.

³⁸ P. A. de Azevedo and A. Baião, *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo. Sua história, corpos que o compõem e organização* (Lisbon, 1989), 32–33.

³⁹ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos* (Valladolid, 1963).

complex diplomatic relationship between Portugal and Castile-Aragon forms an important part of the political context in which the expulsion edict of 1496 was issued by Manuel. Moreover, documents preserved in Spanish archives also provide valuable information relating to the effects on Portugal of the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Spain. The records of Spanish Inquisitorial tribunals and the royal archives of Castile in Simancas, for instance, provide fascinating evidence of Jewish emigration to Portugal and, just as interestingly, of the return of converted Jews to Castile from 1492 onwards.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Some of these documents have been edited by L. Suárez Fernández in *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos* (Valladolid, 1964).

CHAPTER ONE

THE JEWISH AND MUSLIM MINORITIES IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL

The kingdom of Portugal emerged in the twelfth century from the complex political struggles that unfolded following the death of King Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065/72–1109). In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the *Territorium Portucalense* was only a county of the Christian kingdom of León-Castile, centred on the town of Porto and circumscribed by the Minho and Douro rivers. To its north was Galicia and to its south the county of Coimbra. Alfonso VI of León-Castile granted the counties of Portugal and Coimbra to his illegitimate daughter Teresa and her French husband Henry of Burgundy in 1095–7. The rulers of Portugal and Coimbra took advantage of the turbulent minority of Alfonso VII (1109–1157) to achieve a *de facto* political independence. Teresa's son Afonso I (1139–1185) deposed his overbearing mother in 1128 and assumed total control of the lands granted to his parents. Afonso began to style himself *Portugalensium Rex* in 1139 and his title received papal recognition in 1179.¹

Afonso I and his successors not only preserved their political independence from Castile-León but also gradually expanded the new realm at the expense of the Muslim south. By the middle of the twelfth century, the conquests of Lisbon and Santarém in 1147 had firmly established the southern borders of the new realm on the banks of the Tejo River, and Afonso I even started to extend his dominion south of the river. In spite of strong Muslim counter-offensives in the 1190s that wiped out most Portuguese gains south of the Tejo, the Portuguese held on to these two towns. In the thirteenth century his successors, with the help of the military Orders, took advantage of the political divisions amongst the Muslims and gradually extended their dominions southwards between

¹ On the origins of the kingdom of Portugal see J. Mattoso, *Identificação de um país. Ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal 1096–1325*, 2 Vols. (Lisbon, 1988), as well as M. H. da Cruz Coelho and A. L. da Carvalho Homem (eds.), *Nova história de Portugal. Vol. 3: Portugal em definição de fronteiras do condado Portucalense à crise do século XIV* (Lisbon, 1995).

1217 and 1249. Afonso III (1246–1279) completed this successful military advance with the conquest of Faro in 1249 and the treaty of Alcañices in September 1297 officially settled the border between Portugal and Castile-León.² Portugal's territorial expansion in the Iberian Peninsula thus came to an end nearly two and a half centuries earlier than that of the neighbouring realm of Castile but its impact on Portuguese society was just as long-lasting. It certainly did not create a uniformly Christian population in Portugal. Just as in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula the result was in fact quite the reverse. In the wake of the Portuguese conquest numerous communities of Jews (*judeus*) and free Muslims (*mouros forros*) came under Christian rule.

Early History

Muslims

The process of Muslim settlement in Portugal remains a major unknown in Portuguese history. Following the destruction of the post-Roman Visigothic kingdom by the invading Arab and Berber armies in 711, the cities of Faro, Lisbon, Beja, Santarém and Coimbra swiftly fell to the armies of the Arab general 'Abd al-'Azīz between 714 and 716. Muslim and Christian sources both record that the local Visigothic rulers negotiated peaceful submission treaties with 'Abd al-'Azīz. Arab clans settled in different parts of this region but it seems reasonable to assume that, as elsewhere in the Peninsula, indigenous converts to Islam, the *muwalladūn* (مولدون), probably constituted the primary component of the Muslim population during the following centuries. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Qasī, a mystic who rose to become independent ruler of Silves for a brief period in the middle of the twelfth century, was himself the descendant of indigenous converts to Islam.³

The region north of the Mondego River formed part of an Islamic march facing the regions that remained under Christian rule in the

² For an analysis of the "frontier society" that existed on the Christian/Muslim border in Portugal during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see the doctoral thesis of H. Fernandes, *Entre mouros e cristãos. A sociedade fronteira no sudoeste peninsular interior (séculos XII-XIII)*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, 2000.

³ C. Picard, *Le Portugal musulman VIII^e-XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2000), 21–8.

north. Following the revolt of the Berbers in the 750s and the rise of the Christian kingdom of the Asturias (later to become that of León-Castile) the Muslims were forced to retreat southwards. Porto was definitively under Christian control by 864. The important town of Coimbra itself changed hands several times in the ninth century and for over eighty years, between 904 and 987 was under Christian rule.⁴ Muslim settlement in these northern regions was probably sparse, though it is unlikely to have been an uninhabited wasteland as has long been asserted by modern historians.⁵ Throughout the territories of the “West of al-Andalus” (غرب الأندلس, *Gharb al-Andalus* whence originates the designation “Algarve”), there remained a sizeable Christian population until the twelfth century. These “Mozarab” Christians spoke Arabic and often used Arabic names. According to one Christian source the population of Lisbon in 1109 was “half Christian and half pagan”, and another reveals that it still had a Mozarab bishop in 1147.⁶

The Muslim populations and garrisons of towns conquered by Christian armies during the eleventh century were either killed, enslaved or withdrew southwards. When the Christians captured the towns of Seia, Lamego and Viseu in 1057 and 1058, their Muslim inhabitants were enslaved or put to the sword. The Muslim population of Coimbra, besieged for six months by the King of León in 1064, negotiated a conditional surrender that allowed it to evacuate the town and withdraw to Muslim territories further southwards.⁷ Latin charters in the eleventh

⁴ Christian armies stormed Coimbra in 878, 889 and 904. Coimbra was under Christian rule from 904 until 987, when the forces of the Caliph of Córdoba, ‘Abd al-Rahmān III, regained control of the town. C. Picard, *Le Portugal musulman VIII^e-XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2000), 109.

⁵ The notion that the Duero valley became an uninhabited wasteland, or no-man’s-land, between the Christian north and *al-Andalus* has been the subject of considerable controversy. See C. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires, 1966), 245 and S. de Moxó, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España medieval* (Madrid, 1979), 27–33.

⁶ According to an Icelandic chronicle, when the crusader King Sigurd and his Norwegian followers attacked Lisbon whilst on their way to Jerusalem in 1109 they found that the town “was half heathen and half Christian.” Morkinskinna, *The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030–1157)*, 316–7; *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 114–5 and 176–7. On the Mozarab Christian population in Portugal see S. A. Gomes, “Grupos étnico-religiosos e estrangeiros”, M. H. da Cruz Coelho and A. L. da Carvalho Homem (eds.), *Nova história de Portugal. Vol. 3: Portugal em definição de fronteiras do condado Portugalense à crise do século XIV* (Lisbon, 1995), 340–7.

⁷ “Historia Silense”, *The World of El Cid*, chapters 85–6 and 89–90.

and early twelfth century occasionally refer to men with Arabic names but it is impossible to determine whether these individuals were Muslims or Mozarab Christians. Thus the religious identity of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sulaymān, Sulaymān *Alcarived* and ‘Umar *Alkarrac*—all of whom are recorded as inhabitants of Coimbra in 1098, 1126 and 1162 respectively—is far from certain. No mention of Muslims (*mouros*) other than those who were clearly slaves has yet been found in archives.⁸

The first possible mention of free Muslims living under Christian rule in Portugal seems to date from 1095 when Alfonso VI of León-Castile granted a charter (*foral*) to the Christian settlers of Santarém. This town had not been besieged or stormed but ceded to Alfonso VI by the Muslim ruler of Badajoz in 1093. Whether the local Muslim population evacuated the town or chose to remain there with the Christian garrison and settlers is not known. A curious clause in the charter does not explicitly refer to the existence of free Muslims but accords protection to Muslims who were obviously not slaves.⁹ If free Muslims did live under Christian rule in Santarém, then this situation came to an abrupt end when a Muslim army recovered the town in 1111.¹⁰

The first unambiguous evidence of large Muslim populations living under Christian rule in Portugal dates from the second half of the twelfth century and the major Christian advance that resulted in the capture in 1147 of Lisbon and other towns along the Tagus River. In 1170, Afonso I granted a special charter to the Muslim communities of Lisbon, Alcácer, Palmela and Almada. This *foral dos mouros*, confirmed by Afonso II (1211–1223) in 1217, is the first document to officially recognise the existence of free Muslims living in Portugal.¹¹ Little else is known of the Muslim community of Lisbon during the twelfth century. The English chronicler Roger of Hoveden mentions that English

⁸ S. A. Gomes, “Grupos étnico-religiosos e estrangeiros: Muçulmanos”, *Nova história de Portugal*, 3, 321.

⁹ “*Maurum si quis occiderit vel mortem illius celaverit per certa exquiritione meliorum civitatis mittant illum homicida in potestate regis ut faciat de eum secundum suam voluntatem. (...) Etiam et adhuc supponimus ut si alicui dixerit occidisse maurum et ille se testaverit quia non sum factor huius criminis alius vero dixerit quia tu fecisti et inter omnes exquirere non poterint veritatem et defendere se voluerit per unas armas secundum hoc iudicium et si factor fuerit mittant illum in potestate regis sicut jam dictum est superius.*” *PMH, Leges I*, 349–350.

¹⁰ A. H. de Oliveira Marques has suggested the earlier date of 1103 for the conquest of Santarém by the Almoravids. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, “O poder e o espaço”, *Nova história de Portugal*, 3, 16, n. 11.

¹¹ *PMH, Leges I*, 396–7.

crusaders stopping in Lisbon on their way to the Holy Land in 1190 attacked “the pagans and Jews, servants of the King, who dwelt in the city.”¹² A few years later, in May 1198, a letter sent by Pope Innocent III to the prior and canons of the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra indicated that the latter employed Muslim officials.¹³ The conquest of the Algarve in the first half of the thirteenth-century brought the Kings of Portugal further territories and Muslim subjects. Afonso III and his son Dinis (1279–1325) granted specific charters to the Muslim communities of Silves, Loulé, Tavira and Faro in 1269, Évora in 1273 and Moura in 1296. These charters were almost identical versions of the one granted by Afonso I a century earlier.¹⁴

Only scarce information exists about the actual conditions under which many towns or rural areas and their Muslim inhabitants came under Portuguese rule. The rare chronicles that describe the Portuguese conquests record the violent storming of cities and describe the repopulating by Christian settlers of ruined cities and deserted lands. The violence of the Portuguese “reconquest”, however, should not be overstated. Deliberate acts of violence and massacres appear to have been exceptional occurrences rather than the norm. The presence of northern European crusaders, imbued with the crusading spirit, can certainly explain the violence displayed at Lisbon (1147) and Silves (1189).¹⁵ At Lisbon Afonso I was actually negotiating the peaceful surrender of the town with its representatives when the crusaders, distrusting Portuguese intentions and eager for booty, stormed into the town and sacked it.¹⁶ So far as is known, Portuguese forces were responsible for “only” two massacres: Santarém in 1147 and Aljazar in 1248.¹⁷ The fact that the anonymous author of the fourteenth-century *Crónica dos cinco reis de Portugal* thought it at all significant to mention

¹² “Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden”, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores* (Cambridge, 1870), Vols. 52–53, 148–9.

¹³ “... in aliis officiales vestros constituitis sarracenos...” A. de Jesus Costa and M. A. F. Marques, *Bulário Português. Inocêncio III* (Coimbra, 1989), 18, doc. 16.

¹⁴ *PMH, Leges* I, 396–7, 715–6 and 729–730. A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, bk. 1, fol. 97v^o (Silves, Tavira, Loulé and Faro); *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, bk. 1, fol. 124 (Évora), *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 2, fol. 124 (Moura).

¹⁵ On the participation of Germans in these crusades and the evidence of a number of German chronicles see B. Meyer, “El papel de los cruzados alemanos en la reconquista de la Península Ibérica en los siglos XII y XIII”, *En la España Medieval*, 23 (2000), 41–66.

¹⁶ *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 165–179.

¹⁷ “De Expugnatione Scallabis”, *PMH Scriptores* I, 94–95.

the slaughter of the mostly unarmed Muslim inhabitants of Aljazur by the knights of Santiago simply emphasises that such atrocities were not routine occurrences.¹⁸

The Portuguese conquest of the *Gharb al-Andalus* was not a war of extermination. Certainly the language used by Portuguese chroniclers to refer to struggle indicates that it was perceived by contemporaries to be political rather than religious in nature.¹⁹ The conquerors were in effect acutely aware of the difficulties of bringing Christian settlers into the conquered territories and that they needed Muslim manpower to keep their conquests. Some Muslim areas came under Christian rule without much resistance. According to the English author of the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, an eyewitness at the siege of Lisbon, the inhabitants of Sintra in 1147 “surrendered the stronghold of their castle and gave themselves up to the King.”²⁰ During the conquest of the Alentejo and Algarve it is equally apparent that numerous Muslim strongholds were surrendered into Christian hands with apparently little or no opposition. An anonymous fourteenth-century Muslim chronicler in Morocco even denounced the surrender into Christian hands of many strongholds by Ibn Maḥfūz, the last ruler of Niebla.²¹ One hypothesis recently put forward, albeit resting upon extremely meagre evidence, is of a large-scale conversion to Christianity by the conquered Muslim population in Portugal between circa 1270 and 1320.²²

¹⁸ *Crónica de cinco reis de Portugal*, ed. A. M. Basto (Porto, 1945), chapter 12, 217–9.

¹⁹ S. Boissellier, “Réflexions sur l’idéologie portugaise de la Reconquête XII^e–XIII^e siècles”, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez*, 31 (Madrid, 1994), 134–165 and “Une tolérance chrétienne dans l’historiographie portugaise de la Reconquête (XII^e–XIII siècles)?”, *Colloque international de Nantes (mai 1998). Quatrième centenaire de l’édit de Nantes* (Rennes, 1998), 371–383.

²⁰ “*Suctrienses, data munitione sui castris, regi se dederunt.*” *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 178–9.

²¹ J. D.G. Domingues, “Aben Mafom e a conquista do Algarve pelos portugueses na ‘adh-dhakhira as-sanyya’”, offprint of *Brotéria*, 1955, 12–3:

و فيها أعطى ابن محفوظ الروم مدينة طبرية و العلى و شلب و اجز و الخزانة و مرسوشة و بطرنا
و... و الهرة.

²² See the works of S. Boissellier, “Conquête chrétienne et acculturation dans le Sud du Portugal aux XII^e–XIV^e siècles”, *Religion et identité. Actes du colloque d’Aix-en-Provence, octobre 1996*, ed. G. Audisio, Aix-en-Provence, 1998, 227–239. *Naissance d’une identité portugaise. La vie rurale entre Tage et Guadiana de l’Islam à la Reconquête X^e–XIV^e siècles* (Lisbon, 1999), 99–104 and “Les Mudéjares dans le sud portugais: l’étranger, l’intégration et le quotidien XIII^e–XIV^e siècles (une approche globale de l’altérité vécue)”, *L’étranger au moyen âge*, 179–190.

Jews

The beginnings of Jewish settlement in the Iberian Peninsula are shrouded by later legends. From the eleventh century onwards Jewish authors traced the origins of Sephardic Jewry back to the destruction of the Second Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans in AD 70 and sometimes even to the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century BC. Following their victories, these conquerors are supposed to have deported thousands of Jews to Spain. The historicity of these claims is obviously impossible to verify. Like all foundation myths these accounts served the dual purpose of providing Iberian Jews with a founding legend that established their ties to the common history of all Jews whilst at the same time distinguishing them from their co-religionists outside of the Iberian Peninsula.²³

Beyond the legends and folklore, the only certainty is that the Jewish presence in Iberia predated both the Islamic conquest and the creation of Portugal by many centuries. The most likely hypothesis is that Jewish settlement in the Iberian Peninsula took place in the first or second centuries AD, when members of the Jewish Diaspora spread over the Roman Empire. As early as the start of the fourth century, in AD 303 or 306, the Church council of Elvira promulgated anti-Jewish legislation.²⁴ The earliest archaeological evidence corroborating the existence of Jews living in the Iberian Peninsula is an inscription dating from the third century AD discovered in Toledo. On the other hand, archaeological evidence for Jewish settlement in the area that later became the medieval realm of Portugal only dates to the post-Roman Visigothic kingdom. A funerary stele with Hebrew inscriptions unearthed at Espiche near Lagos in the Algarve has been dated to the sixth or seventh centuries AD. More recently, a Latin lapidary inscription bearing a representation of a seven arched candelabrum, or *menōrah*, and dated AD 480 was recovered at Mértola in the Alentejo.²⁵

Between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, there is no information concerning the Jewish population living along the Atlantic coast of the Iberian Peninsula. It can only be conjectured that any Jews in that area remained *in situ* following the swift Islamic conquest of 711–715

²³ Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 1, 15–7.

²⁴ E. A. Thomson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), 52–3.

²⁵ F. Díaz Esteban, “Lápidas judías en Portugal”, *Estudios Orientais II*, 207–215.

and, like other Jewish communities throughout the Peninsula, doubtless accommodated themselves with the new rulers. Under Muslim rule the Jews of the area that later became Portugal would have joined the local Christian population as *dhimmīs* (ذمّی): protected “peoples of the book” who benefited from official toleration in return for a special poll tax: the *jizya* (جزية). The first documentary evidence of Jews settled in the area is an incidental reference to Jewish inhabitants in Coimbra in 950, during the period when that town was under Christian rule.²⁶ The *foral* of Santarém in 1095 included a law punishing the murder of Jews.²⁷ Charters amply attest to the presence of Jews in Coimbra during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁸ Whether these Jews came with the Christian conquerors or were part of the local population in the conquered towns remains an open question.

Communal Organisation: Judiarias, Mourarias And Comunas

Vernacular Portuguese documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries clearly distinguishing between two concepts: the *comuna dos judeus* or *comuna dos mouros* and the *judiaria* or *mouraria*. Although *comuna* and *judiaria/mouraria* are often confused these terms in fact conveyed two very different meanings.

Judiarias and Mourarias

Royal and non-royal documents employed the terms *judiaria* and *mouraria* to designate geographical areas in towns—streets, suburbs and quarters—where Jewish or Muslim inhabitants resided. Originally, these terms were probably employed to describe areas where members of one community quite naturally tended to cluster. In the fourteenth century, however, the *judiarias* and *mourarias* became segregated areas where Jews and Muslims were legally forced to reside. Pedro I (1357–1367) decreed in 1361 that wherever the population of either minority was

²⁶ C. Sánchez Albornoz, “Los judíos en los reinos de Asturias y León (732–1037)”, *Viejos e nuevos estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas* (Madrid 1980), 3, 1623, n. 19.

²⁷ *PMH, Leges I*, 349.

²⁸ M. A. Rodrigues, “A presença de Judeus no território português nos séculos XI–XII à luz do *Livro Preto* da Sé de Coimbra”, *Em Nome da Fé* (São Paulo, 1999), 157–171.

higher than ten individuals these should henceforth only reside in their respective *judiarias* or *mourarias*. Members of both minorities were ordered to stay in their quarters after church bells sounded the call for vespers at nightfall and not to venture outside on pain of a heavy fine and a public flogging for repeat offenders.²⁹ To further reinforce their physical separation from the Christian inhabitants, walls and gates were erected around these quarters. Larger *judiarias* and *mourarias* naturally enjoyed more communal amenities. The Jewish and Muslim communities of Lisbon had their own butchers, hospitals, schools, bathhouses and in some cases even brothels and prisons. A separate communal cemetery was usually located some way from the *judiaria* or *mouraria*.

Lisbon and Porto both had multiple *judiarias* though these were neither all contemporary nor equal in size. In Lisbon these Jewish quarters were the *judiaria Grande*, the *judiaria Nova* and the *judiaria da Alfama*. The first, as its names implies, was the largest and oldest. The *judiaria Nova* and *judiaria da Alfama* both came into existence during the fourteenth century. A fourth *judiaria*, with the name of *Pedreira*, is poorly documented and appears to have ceased to exist at the start of the fourteenth century during the reign of Dinis. In Porto the Jewish population was gathered in the *judiaria do Olival*, the *judiaria velha* and, outside the town walls, the *judiarias* of Monchique and Gaia. Other towns had more than one *judiaria*: Coimbra had three and Guarda and Lamego two each but most Portuguese towns appear to have had a single *judiaria*. In contrast to this, no Portuguese town appears to have had more than a single Muslim quarter. Lisbon, for instance, only had a single *mouraria*, situated on the northwestern slope of the castle of São Jorge. Its location outside the town walls occasionally led to it being identified in documents as “the suburb of the Muslims” or *arrabalde dos mouros* (see plate 1).³⁰ A Polish traveller visiting Lisbon in 1484 was somewhat astonished to find that “the town (...) has many pagans (i.e. Muslims)

²⁹ A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de Pedro I* (Lisbon, 1986), 52; *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, titles 76 and 80 (Jews) and title 104, (Muslims).

³⁰ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 43–105 and M. Garcez Ventura, “Contributo para uma leitura social do espaço na Lisboa quatrocentista: o debate sobre a localização das judiarias”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 36 (2002–3), fasc. 1, 229–240; On the *mouraria* of Lisbon see L. F. Oliveira and M. Viana, “A mouraria de Lisboa no séc. XV”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, 2 (1993), 191–210 as well as M. F. Lopes de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1998) and “A rua de Benfica da Mouraria (actual rua do Benfor moso)”, *Olisipo*, 2ª Serie, 8 (1999), 28–38. This area of modern Lisbon still bears the name of *Mouraria*.

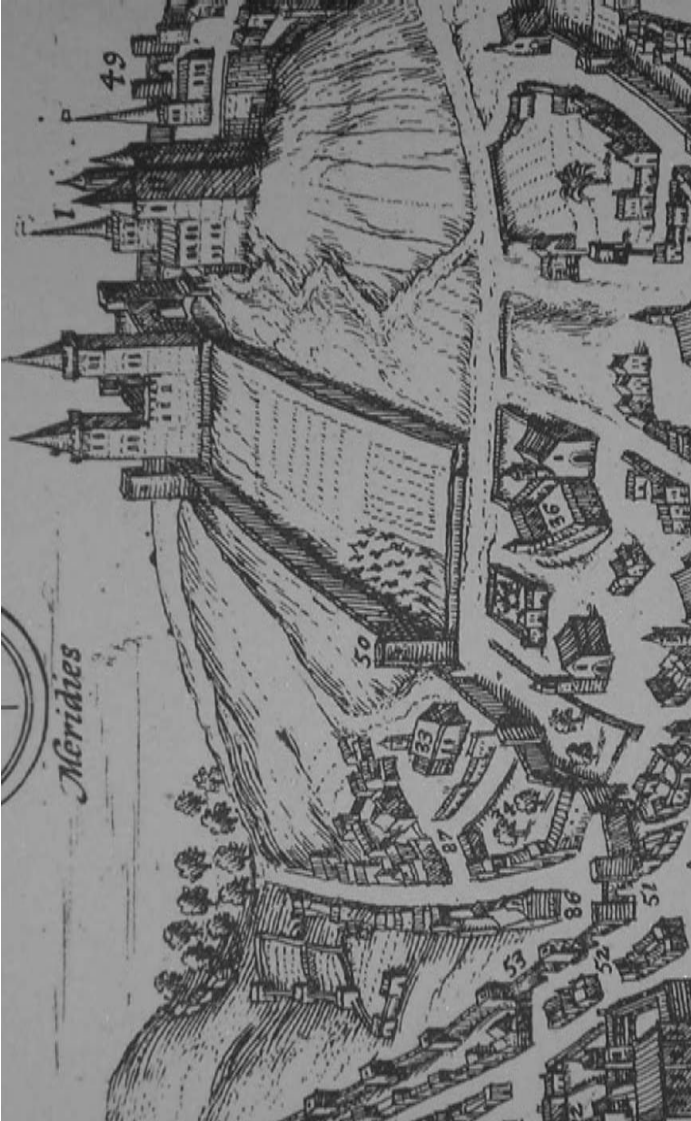


Plate 1. The *Mouraria* of Lisbon.

To the left of this section of a late sixteenth-century map of Lisbon, the old Muslim quarter, still located beyond the town walls and on the slopes of the Castle of São Jorge, can be clearly distinguished (area around number 87). Also visible are the gate “popularly known as that of the *mouraria*” (number 51) and the Jesuit monastery of São Antão (founded in 1542), which was built on the site of the former Great mosque (number 33). (*Urbium praeicipuarum mundi theatrum quintum. Georgium Braunio Agrippinate. AD 1539*)

living in its suburbs and they even occupy a [separate] part of it (...) a suburb in which until now they have resided and built their houses without anyone troubling them.”³¹

Comunas dos judeus

The *comunas* were not physical entities but officially recognised administrative and jurisdictional corporations assembling Jews or Muslims living in a certain town and area. Elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula the Arabic term *aljama* was commonly used to describe these legally constituted corporations but in Portugal the Latin term *comuna* was adopted in official documents.³² The administrative and judicial organisation of the Jewish and Muslim *comunas* was largely modelled upon that of the system of the Christian town council (*concelho*) which formed the basis of medieval Portugal’s administrative organisation. A *comuna* could include a number of *judiarias*. Thus the Jews of Lisbon only formed a single *comuna* even though there were three separate *judiarias* in the town. Smaller Jewish or Muslim settlements fell under the jurisdiction of the authorities of the *comunas* of larger groups. The Jewish authorities of Leiria, for instance, enjoyed jurisdictional authority over the Jewish inhabitants of smaller nearby towns.³³

At a local level, the head of every Jewish *comuna* in Portugal and its highest judicial officer was the lower rabbi (*rabi-menor*). Every *comuna* had a single lower rabbi in charge of its administration except Lisbon, which had two, probably due to the size of its Jewish population. These rabbis were empowered to act as communal magistrates, judging in the first instance all civil suits and crimes between Jews or between Christians and Jews when the latter were the defendants. The lower rabbi could punish law-breakers with fines, imprisonment, corporal punishment, exile from the *comuna* and even excommunication. In some larger *comunas* the lower rabbi might be assisted by an investigator (*inquisitor dos feitos*) and a deputy (*alcaide pequeno*). Sometimes the lower rabbi

³¹ J. García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal desde los tiempos mas Remotos hasta Fines del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1952), 315; P. Drummond Braga, “Um polaco em Portugal nos finais do século XV: Nicolaus Von Popplau”, *Biblios*, 68 (1992), 405–419.

³² D. Romano, “Aljama frente a juderia, call y sus sinonimos”, *Sefarad*, 39 (1979), 347–354.

³³ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 43–105.

even called upon royal officials to help them arrest delinquent Jews. In addition to this, in his capacity as *juiz dos órfãos*, the lower rabbi was also responsible for the appointment of tutors and guardians for the orphaned children of his community.³⁴

Apart from the lower rabbi, every *comuna* was also governed by a council (*camâra de vereação*) that met in the main synagogue and was composed of varying numbers of councillors and attorneys (*vereadores e procuradores*) as well as “good men” (*homens bons*). Under Pedro I, each *comuna* was to have, in theory at least, three *vereadores* and two *procuradores* except Lisbon, which had twelve and later eight.³⁵ The lower rabbi and councillors were elected annually and took up their functions on the Jewish New Year. Only in Lisbon were they elected for a longer term of three years. In all cases, however, their election was to be ratified by the Crown and thus the King reserved the potential right to veto any appointments. This process was apparently often subject to irregularities. Documents in the royal chancery demonstrate that some lower rabbis were appointed directly by the Crown.³⁶

The communal council and its officers, like the Christian municipal council (*concelho*), were responsible for the maintenance of the communal buildings of the *comuna* such as the synagogue and the management of its revenue. Each *comuna* was entitled to make its own laws and ordinances. No communal statutes similar to those established by Jewish communities in other parts of the Peninsula have survived from Portugal and the available documentary sources reveal very little information concerning membership of the council.³⁷ According to the ordinances of Afonso V (1438–1481), which aimed at imposing uniform practice, the names of eligible Jews were to be inscribed on small pellets (*pelouros*) from which would be drawn the communal officers including the lower rabbi.³⁸ This system of election appears to have been identical to that practised in the Christian town councils of Portugal to elect the

³⁴ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, titles 81 and 92.

³⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, bk. 1, fols. 72 and 80v.

³⁶ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 120.

³⁷ See F. Fernández y González, “Ordenamiento de las aljamas hebreas, año 1432”, *BRAH* 7–8 (1885–1886), 145–189, 275–306 (vol. 7) and 10–27 (vol. 8). For a more recent edition and translation see Y. Moreno Koch, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae. Vol. 5: Las Taqqanot de Valladolid de 1432. Un estatuto comunal renovador* (Salamanca, 1987).

³⁸ “... e as Comunas façam, e tirem of Officiaes per pelouros, segundo he contheudo na nossa Ordenaçom; e os que sairem por Arrabys, venham ao Arraby Moor com a enliçom, e confirme-a em cada huã anno...” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 23.

municipal officials. Little evidence exists to cast light upon the manner in which eligible candidates were selected and in large Jewish *comunas* the lowly artisans clashed with the wealthy merchants over control of communal administration. A survey of the communal officials of Lisbon and Évora reveals that a clique of wealthy families dominated the government of these *comunas*.³⁹

A number of lesser officials were appointed to carry out governmental tasks. Each *comuna* had a treasurer (*tesoureiro*), a clerk (*escrivão*) who maintained the official records of the *comuna* and one or more public notaries (*tabeliães*) who were licensed by the Crown to draw up legal documents. Although Jews usually held these positions, the law stated that Christians could hold these posts as well. The number of public notaries varied in accordance with size of the community. In the final decades of the fifteenth century their number in Lisbon was six, Santarém and Évora both had three each and Porto had two. Other *comunas* probably employed a single notary. Each notary paid a fee to the Crown in return for his office and had to provide guarantors who would stand surety on his behalf.⁴⁰ Finally, a special official, the *almotacé*, was occasionally placed in charge of supervising the communal market. Other officials of the Jewish *comunas* included auditors (*contador dos feitos e custas* and *procurador do número*).⁴¹

At the summit of the administrative organisation of the *comunas dos judeus*, and of Jewish society in Portugal, stood the chief rabbi (*Rabi-mor*) a figure similar to the *Rab Mayor de la Corte* in Castile.⁴² From the reign of Afonso I, the *Rabi-mor* was the clear and uncontested leader of the Jewish communities in medieval Portugal. The chief rabbi was not elected by the Jews but appointed by the Crown and was usually a Jewish courtier who enjoyed the favour of the King.⁴³ He was responsible to the King for the proper administration of the Jewish communities throughout his realms and, in return, also represented the interests of

³⁹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 130–2.

⁴⁰ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 123; *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 34.

⁴¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 5, fol. 1v; bk. 20, fol. 68v; bk. 27, fol. 42 and *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 6, fol. 138v.

⁴² M. C., Álvarez, "El cargo de Rab Mayor de la Corte según un documento de Juan II fechado en 1450", *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001), 157–198. Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2, 259–270.

⁴³ On these "court Jews" see R. Faingold, "Los judíos en las cortes reales de Portuguesas", *Sefarad*, 55 (1995), 77–104.

Portuguese Jewry at the royal court by acting as its interlocutor with the King. Prior to the late fourteenth century, little is known of the precise duties and jurisdiction of the *Rabi-mor*. Only with the survival of the charter granted by King Fernando (1367–1383) to the chief rabbi Yehuda b. Menir in 1373, and of later documents from the reign of João I (1384–1433), does a detailed picture emerge of the significant duties and powers of that office.⁴⁴ The charter issued by Fernando decreed that the chief rabbi was to conduct visitations of the Jewish *comunas* in Portugal and correct any injustices done to the *comunas* and to hear any grievances of the population against their communal officials and “those powerful Jews” who would not obey communal officers. The jurisdiction of the chief rabbi was extended over all civil and criminal cases between Jews and appeals against the judgments of lower rabbis. The chief rabbi was also to confirm the annual election of the lower rabbis in the King’s name and could summon representatives from each community to discuss the assessment of royal taxes amongst the different *comunas* of the realm according to their population and wealth. Later Fernando augmented the already considerable power of the chief rabbi by granting him the right to use a royal seal and imprison delinquent Jews just like any Christian magistrates and bailiffs.⁴⁵

In 1412, João I reformed the office of *Rabi-mor* in response to complaints from the Jews of Lisbon and other *comunas* against certain unspecified abuses of the chief rabbi Yehuda Cohen.⁴⁶ These reforms restored some powers to the lower rabbis and Jewish communities. The chief rabbi was no longer to imprison and constrain offending individuals or interfere in the finances of *comunas*. They also aimed at curbing abuses and corruption since other prohibitions included the granting of tax exemptions or issuing of decrees (*alvaraaes*). Notwithstanding these curtailments, the chief rabbi retained his significant position within his community. The chief rabbi would continue to hear cases in the second instance and Christian judges or provincial magistrates were strictly

⁴⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, bk. 1, fol. 132.

⁴⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, bk. 3, fols. 6v.

⁴⁶ This ordinance is dated 1402 [Era 1440] but this must be a scribal error as it clearly refers to Judas Cohen, who was only appointed chief rabbi of Portugal by João I in 1405 (A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João I*, bk. 3, fols. 47v–48v). The more likely date of 1412 (Era 1450) is found in a different manuscript of the *Ordenações Afonsinas* in the *Torre do Tombo*. See *Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Afonso V* (facsimile edition, Lisbon, 1984), 1, 14 and 2, 491, footnote “b”.

prohibited from hearing such cases.⁴⁷ To bolster this ordinance, Jews were expressly prohibited from seeking legal redress in Christian courts under threat of a heavy fine.⁴⁸ Although João I forbade the chief rabbi from appointing lower rabbis, and ordered that any such appointments be revoked, the latter continued to confirm their election and audit the budget of *comunas*.⁴⁹ Lastly the chief rabbi kept the use of a seal with the royal arms but this would have the legend “Seal of the chief rabbi of Portugal.”⁵⁰

To assist him in the fulfilment of his duties, the chief rabbi had his own chancery and a special seal. His staff consisted of a chancellor (*chancellor*), a clerk (*escrivão*) and a bailiff (*porteiro*). The chancellor kept the official seal of the chief rabbi that would seal all the missives, writs and replevins written up by the clerk and signed by the chief rabbi. The chancellor and the clerk were to be men “of good reputation” and the clerk “should know how to write well. He should be ready to swear that he will hold secret all that he hears and that he will use his position properly.”⁵¹ The bailiff of the chief rabbi was charged with executing his writs and processes and carrying out distraints, seizures of property and arrests. In the event that a *comuna* refused to pay the tax burden allocated to them by the chief rabbi; the bailiff was also to seize the property of communal officials.⁵² These three officials were to be chosen by the

⁴⁷ “...mandamos a todolos nossos Juizes, e Corregedores das Comarcas, e Desembargadores, e Sobre Juizes, e Ouvidores, que nom conheçam de nenhuũ feito Cível, nem Crime, que seja antre Judeo e Judeo de qualquer estado, e condiçom que seja...” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 3.

⁴⁸ “E outro sy mandamos, e defendemos a todolos Judeos dos nossos Regnos, que nom querelem, nem denunciem, nem demãdem huũs aos outros perante nenhuã Justiça das suso ditas, salvo perante o dito Arraby Moor, ou perante seus Ouvidores ou perante os Arrabys das Terras, sob pena de nos pagarem mil dobras d’ouro.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 4.

⁴⁹ “O Arraby Moor nom poerá, ne fará nemhuũ Arraby em nenhuũ Lugar; e se ora som postos, sejam logo revogados...” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 23.

⁵⁰ “O Arraby Moor trazerá huũ nosso seello feito das nossas armas, assy como o som os outros nossos seellos das Correiçãoes, e as leteras delle digam: Seello do Arraby Moor de Purtugal.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 5.

⁵¹ “E assy traga o Arraby Moor comsigo huũ Escripvam jurado Chrisptaaõ, ou Judeo, que saiba bem leer, e escrepver, e seja de boa fama, e tal que bem e diretamente use do dito Officio; e este escrepva todolos desembargos, e feitos, e livramentos, e Escripturas, que o Arraby Moor, ou ho Ouvidor, que com elle andar, desembargarem, e mandarem fazer.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 24.

⁵² “Mandamos, que o Arraby Moor tenha Porteiro jurado, que faça as penhoras e execuções pelas Sentenças e livramentos, que elle, ou seu Ouvidor der: outro sy que elle polos direitos, e rendas, que a seu Officio pertencem, possa mandar penhoras nos beês dos Officiaes das Comunas...” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 33.

chief rabbi and could be either Jews or Christians. As the chief rabbi was not necessarily a man learned in Jewish law, the King also ordered that his staff should always include “a Jewish scholar of good renown and standing” whose knowledge of the Talmud would help the chief rabbi to resolve complex judicial cases beyond his own competence.⁵³ Moreover, since many chief rabbis also combined this position with those of royal physician and/or chief treasurer of the Crown their ability to carry out visitations was severely hindered. To remedy this problem, and facilitate the access to justice of all Portuguese Jews, a number of special Jewish magistrates (*ouvidores*) were to be appointed to act as his delegates in seven judicial districts (*comarcas*). Under João I the seats of these districts were established at Porto, Torre de Moncorvo, Viseu, Covilhã, Évora, Santarém and Faro. The powers and duties of the *ouvidores* were exactly the same as those of the chief rabbi and each had a chancery, seal, chancellor, clerk and bailiff.⁵⁴ Whenever the chief rabbi visited any district he took over the duties of the local *ouvidor* until he departed once more.

In June 1463, Afonso V abolished the office of chief rabbi at the behest of the Count of Guimarães for reasons that are not altogether clear. In the act of abolition the monarch declares that the office was abolished “in view of avoiding the great discordance, work and outlay brought about by these offices.”⁵⁵ The most plausible explanation, as posited by Tavares, is that Afonso took such a measure to halt factional strife over control of the chief rabbinate among the leading Jewish families of Portugal and their powerful patrons in the Portuguese nobility. After that date, and until 1496, the powers formerly vested in the chief rabbinate were divided up amongst a number of different officials including Christian ones. The powers of the chief rabbinate were divided up between a new royal magistrate at the court (*corregedor da corte*) for the Jews and an auditor (*contador*) of all the Jewish *comunas*. In practice

⁵³ “O Arraby Moor trazéra sempre comsigo per honde andar huũ Ouvidor, que seja Judeu, Leterado, e de boa fama, e condiçom, que ouça os feitos, que a elle pertencerẽ, e que elle per sy desembargar nom poder.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 7.

⁵⁴ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, Item 24. The ordinance defined the seven *comarcas* as the regions of Entre Douro e Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Beira north of the Serra de Estrela, Beira south of the serra de Estrela, Alentejo, Estremadura and the Algarve.

⁵⁵ “...pollo sentirmos asy por bem e seseguo delles e vistas as grandes discordias, trabalhos despesas que pellos dictos ofiçios lhe podem seguir...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 9, fol. 115v.

both Afonso V and his son João II granted both these positions to Jewish favourites and these men became *de facto* chief rabbis of Portugal in all but title. Master Abraham, physician of Afonso V, was both *corregedor* and *contador* until his death in 1471.⁵⁶ His successor, Master Abas, briefly held the same function between 1471 or 1472 and subsequently João II (1481–1495) appointed his tailor, Abraham Abet, to the office of *contador* with the authority to audit the finances of the Jewish communities and organise the assessment of the royal taxes on Jews.⁵⁷ Under João II the Christian provincial magistrates (*corregedores da comarca*) were tasked with supervising and endorsing the tributes levied by communal officials from their *comunas*.⁵⁸

Comunas dos mouros

The organisation of the Muslim *comunas* was broadly similar to that of the Jews but not without a few significant distinctions. In the extant documentation the chief official of Muslim communities in Portugal was invariably identified as the *alcaide*, a title derived from the Arabic for judge (*al-qādī* القاضي). Like the Jewish *rabi-menor*, each *alcaide* was responsible for the judicial and financial administration of the *comuna* under his control. The Latin *foral* granted by Afonso I to the Muslim communities of Lisbon in 1170 promised them that no Christian or Jew would hold power over them to their detriment and guaranteed their right to elect their own “judge” (*iudicet*).⁵⁹ The *alcaide* exercised first-instance jurisdiction over all cases, civil and criminal, between the Muslims, or between Muslims and Christians when the former were the defendants, and judged these according to “the rights and the Law of the Muslims” (*direito e ley dos mouros*).⁶⁰ This judicial role implied that the *alcaide* was expected to be a learned man with the necessary

⁵⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 141.

⁵⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 7, fol. 3v and bk. 1, fol. 62v.

⁵⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 21, fols. 160v–161.

⁵⁹ “*Et ut nullus meus christianus neque iudeus super uos habeat nocendi potestatem sed ille quem uos de gente et fide uestra super uos pro alcaide elegeritis ipsemet iudicet uos.*” PMH, *Leges I*, 396–7.

⁶⁰ “*E quanto he aa jurdiçom, que per ella he dada aos Alquaides dos Mouros, nom embargante que soamente salle em certos lugares, mandamos que aja lugar geeralmente em todolos Commuuns dos Mouros forros dos nossos Regnos, e Senhorio nos feitos, que antre sy huũs com outros ouverem, assy civis, como crimes; porque somos enformados, que assy lhes foi outorgados pelos Reyx, que ante nós foram...*” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 99, item 4.

knowledge to resolve disputes within the community according to the precepts of Islamic law. When, in 1362, the Muslim *comuna* of Évora sent a deputation to Pedro I to entreat him to remove their current *alcaide* from office, one of their complaints was that their *alcaide* could “neither read nor write and did not even know their Law.” This situation was unacceptable to them as “their Law [i.e. faith] forbids them to have as *alcaide* anyone except those knowledgeable [in their Law].”⁶¹ Auxiliary officials of the *alcaide*—in fourteenth Lisbon at least—included a prison warden and a bailiff.⁶²

The *foral* of 1170 and its derivatives did not declare for how long an *alcaide* should remain in office and neither did it specify whether the election of *alcaide* was to be confirmed by the Crown. Only in the vernacular *foral* granted to the Muslims of Moura (1296) was the election of the *alcaide* categorically described as being conditional upon royal ratification.⁶³ In practice, despite the assurances in the *foral*, the process by which the *alcaide* was chosen during the fifteenth century alternated between election by the *comuna* and arbitrary appointment by the Crown.⁶⁴ The terms of office of the Lisboetan *alcaldes* also varied greatly between one and six years. In Évora, the system of election certainly did not work smoothly. When, as already mentioned above, the Muslim *comuna* of Évora asked Pedro I to remove their current *alcaide* they also petitioned the monarch to decree that their *alcaide* should not occupy the office “for life or for extended periods of time.” They asked that the elected *alcaide* hold office for a fixed term of only one year and that the King, or whomever he wished, should confirm his election.⁶⁵ Almost a century later, in 1455, the Crown was again forced to intervene when

⁶¹ “E porque outrossy este que ora he seu *alcaide* nom sabe leer nem scpreuer nem sabe nehuũ seu *djreito* per que os aia de correger o que lhe he defeso per sua ley que nom seia seu *alcaide* se nom aquel que for sabedor...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, bk. 1, fols. 79v–80. *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*. Ed Gabriel Pereira, 59, doc. 43. *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, ed. Marques, A. H. de Oliveira, 344–5, doc. 763.

⁶² A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, bk. 1, fol. 141v.

⁶³ “...e aquele que eles elegerem devo-lhe a outorgar.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 2, fol. 124.

⁶⁴ In 1476 a Muslim named Ferfão (Faraj?), for example, was made *alcaide* of the Muslims of Santarém by Afonso V in return for military services rendered in Castile with “horses and weapons.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 6, fol. 1v (30/01/1476).

⁶⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, bk. 1., fol. 79v–80. *Documentos Históricos da Cidade de Évora*, ed. Gabriel Pereira, 59, doc. 43. *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, ed. Marques, A. H. de Oliveira, 344–5, doc. 763.

representatives of the Évoran Muslims asked Afonso V to appoint 'Ali Caeiro since they were "lawless and at the point of perdition for lack of an *alcaide*."⁶⁶

In at least one remarkable instance, Portuguese Muslims completely lost their right to elect their own communal leader. These, however, were not Muslims under royal jurisdiction but those subject to the Military Order of Avis. In 1331 the Muslims of Avis brought a suit at the royal court of appeal against their lord Gil Peres, the Master of Avis, over the issue of their right to choose their own *alcaide*. Represented by their elected *alcaide* Muḥammad Francelho, the Muslims claimed that they had always enjoyed the right to elect their own *alcaide* according to their *foral*, which was derived from that of Lisbon. The Master of Avis categorically refuted these claims by asserting that "ever since the land had been populated the *alcaldes* were designated by the Masters [of Avis] and that he and his predecessors always designated to be *alcaide* whoever they wished."⁶⁷ In the end the proceeding came to an abrupt end when the Muslim deputation in Lisbon received word from the community in Avis to halt their lawsuit and the Crown had no other choice but to recognise the right of the Master of Avis.⁶⁸

Other communal officers in the Muslim *comunas* were very similar to those of the Jewish communities. Like its Jewish equivalent, each Muslim *comuna* had a council, a clerk and public notary. The holders of the last two offices could be Muslims or Christians. Clerks were elected but the notaries bought licenses from the Crown and were supposed to pay a yearly fee for the privilege. In 1414 the Crown attorney Bartolomeu Domingues prosecuted Yūsuf, public notary of the Muslims of Lisbon, for failing to pay the annual fifty pounds he owed for his position, which he had held for fourteen years. Yūsuf contested that the position of public notary of the Muslim *comuna* of Lisbon had originally been exempted from such a payment. The final verdict exempted Yūsuf from having to pay this sum retroactively but decreed that "from this day onwards he should pay the annuity for the office he holds like all the other notaries

⁶⁶ "...som desregidos e em ponto de se perder por nom terem alcaide." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 15, fol. 104.

⁶⁷ "...senpre da pobrança da terra foram fechos os alcaldes pelos Meestres E que el e os seus antecessores sempre asij husarom de fazerem qual alcajde eles por bem teuessem?" A.N.T.T., *São Bento de Avis*, doc. 804.

⁶⁸ M. F. L. de Barros, "A ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana", *Ordens Militares: guerra, religião, poder e cultura* (Lisbon, 1999), 2, 167–173.

of this town.”⁶⁹ To protect its interests, the Crown appointed a special judge to oversee the assessment of taxes and settle any disputes arising thereof.⁷⁰

The most striking difference in the organisation of Jewish and Muslim communities was probably the conspicuous absence of a Muslim official equivalent to the Jewish chief rabbi. There is no evidence that the rulers of Portugal ever created an office equivalent to that of the *alcalde mayor de las aljamas de los moros* in the realm of Castile or the *qāḍī* general in Aragon.⁷¹ The most important office held by a Muslim at the medieval Portuguese court was that of chief groom (*estrabeiro-mor*) to the King. A certain Master ‘Alī was the chief groom of Afonso IV (1325–1357), who sent him as ambassador to the Marinid ruler of Morocco in 1337–8.⁷² Under the same monarch, a royal physician named Master ‘Alī (perhaps the same man?), acting on behalf of “all the Muslims of the realm”, sought guarantees from the Crown that it would respect their right to settle their suits according to their laws. Nonetheless, this appears to have been an informal arrangement between the apparently influential ‘Alī and his co-religionists.⁷³ Only in the reign of Afonso V was there an attempt to create an official responsible for all Muslims in Portugal. Indeed in 1451 Sa’id Caciz of Lisbon was designated representative (*requeredor sobliçitador procurador jerall*) of all the Muslim communities in the realm. This office does not appear to have become an institution and there is no further reference to it in the registers of the royal chancery.⁷⁴ A major consequence of the absence of a chief *alcaide* was that appeals against the judgements made by the *alcaide* of the *comunas* were to be made to the Christian *corregedores das comarcas* rather than a Muslim magistrate.

⁶⁹ “... pagasse daqui em deante a penssom do dicto tabaliado que tinha assy como pagavam todollos outros tabeliães da dicta cidade.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João I*, bk. 5, fol. 96v.

⁷⁰ *PMH, Leges*, I, 100.

⁷¹ J. Torres Fontes, “El alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros en Castilla”, *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 32 (1962), 131–182; A. E. Arsuaga, “De cadí a alcalde mayor. La élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo XV”, *Al-Qanṭara* 24 (2003), 139–168 (Part 1; fasc. 1) and 273–290 (Part 2; fasc. 2); J. P. Molénat, “L’élite mudéjare de Tolède aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Alfaqúis, Alcaldes et Alcaldes Mayores de Moros”, *Liber Largitorius: études d’histoire médiévale offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves* (Geneva, 2003), 563–577.

⁷² The Castilian *Crónica de Afonso XI* relates that during the Luso-Castilian war of 1336–9 Afonso IV of Portugal sent Master ‘Alī as his ambassador to the Marinid ruler of Morocco in 1337 to attempt to secure his support against Castile. *Gran Crónica de Afonso XI*, ed. Diego Catalán (Madrid, 1975), 2, 191.

⁷³ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 101.

⁷⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 11, fol. 6v.

Demography And Geographical Distribution

The geographical distribution of the Muslim and Jewish *comunas* in Portugal was markedly different. By the fifteenth century Jewish communities were spread out all over the realm from the border with Galicia in the north to the towns of the Algarve in the south. Jewish communities were established in virtually every municipality in Portugal. Their size varied greatly and in most towns the Jewish population was probably numbered in the tens and hundreds rather than thousands. The Jewish population of Estremoz in 1462 constituted just 25 “households” compared to 800 Christian ones whilst a census of the male population of the Beira region carried out in 1496 records a total of 2334 men, including 108 Jews, residing in the town of Covilhã.⁷⁵ Only in the most important economic centres of the Kingdom must the Jewish population have reached or exceeded one thousand. No figures exist for the communities of Lisbon and Porto but these must have been the largest and numbered a few thousand individuals. In 1496 the Jews of Santarém numbered 400 “households.”⁷⁶

The Muslim *comunas*, unlike the Jewish ones, were practically all situated in the southern half of the realm. Those were precisely the territories that had remained under Muslim rule for the longest period of time. Fourteenth-century documents attest to the existence of Muslim *comunas*, or at least organised Muslim communities, in Lisbon, Leiria, Alenquer, Santarém, Avis, Elvas, Estremoz, Setúbal, Alcácer do Sal, Évora, Moura, Beja, Silves, Loulé, Tavira and Faro. In the fifteenth century the *comunas* in Alenquer, Avis and Estremoz cease to appear in documentary evidence. Whether these *comunas* actually ceased to exist or simply failed to appear in surviving official records remains a mystery.⁷⁷

Important questions surround the Muslim presence in Leiria and Coimbra. A document of 1303 refers to a *mouraria* with a mosque in Leiria and to an individual named Ibrāhīm “*Alcayde*.” The Muslim community of Leiria was thus apparently numerous enough to have possessed a designated place of worship and an *alcaide*. Nevertheless there

⁷⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 9, fol. 29v (Estremoz). For Covilhã see J. José Alves Dias, “A Beira interior em 1496: sociedade, administração e demografia”, *Arquipélago. Revista da Universidade dos Açores. Série Ciências Humanas*, 4 (1982), 160.

⁷⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 14, fol. 35v.

⁷⁷ M. F. L. de Barros, “As comunas Muçulmanas em Portugal (Subsídios para seu estudo)”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, Porto, 2ª Serie, 7 (1990), 85–100.

is no evidence that it ever formed a legally constituted *comuna*.⁷⁸ Likewise, the important town of Coimbra apparently had a *mouraria*, at least in the thirteenth century, but its Muslim population was never organised into a *comuna*. A document in 1433 testifies to the presence of free Muslims living in Coimbra and paying an annual poll tax of 20 *soldos*.⁷⁹ Further questions also surround the possible presence of Muslims in the border towns of Sabugal and Serpa. Leonese and Castilian fiscal records indicate the existence of organised taxpaying Muslim communities in these towns in 1284–5 and 1290. After Castile ceded these territories to Portugal in 1297, there is no more information regarding the existence of Muslim communities in either of these towns.⁸⁰

A few Muslim communities are known to have existed in other parts of the realm but there is no information in the surviving documentation concerning their organisation or numerical importance. Evidence of a Muslim community in the small towns of Colares and Sintra can be found in documents.⁸¹ In the middle of the fourteenth century Muslims did inhabit the southern fishing port of Olhão in the Algarve and were sufficiently organised to have an *alcaide* but nothing else is known of them.⁸² Other documents have also yielded incidental references to Muslim inhabitants residing in Cuba, Coima, Montemor-o-novo, Campo Maior, Vila Viçosa, Vidigueira, Olivença, Óbidos, Muge and Castelo Branco and Abrantes.⁸³ If any Muslim populations lived in the north of

⁷⁸ S. A. Gomes, “A mouraria de Leiria. Problemas sobre a presença moura no centro do País,” *Estudios Orientais II*, 155–177.

⁷⁹ See S. A. Gomes, “Grupos étnico-religiosos e estrangeiros: Muçulmanos,” *Nova história de Portugal*, 3, 318–323; A.N.T.T., *Núcleo Antigo, Livro dos Direitos d’El Rei da Cidade de Coimbra*, doc. 287, fol. 60v.

⁸⁰ F. J. Hernández, *Las rentas del rey: sociedad y fisco en el reino castellano del siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1993), 1, 318–321 and CXL.

⁸¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 1, fol. 35.

⁸² A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, bk. 4, fol. 26v.

⁸³ M. F. L. de Barros, “As comunas Muçulmanas em Portugal (Subsidios para seu estudo),” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 98 and *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 22 and 122–9. The existence of a *rua da mouraria* has even been brought to light in the small Alentejan locality of Cuba by E. S. Borges, *O concelho de Cuba. Subsídios para o seu inventário artístico* (Cuba, 1990), 21; A.N.T.T., *Ordem de Santiago. Convento de Palmela, maço 1*, doc. 21 (the sole reference to Muslims in Coima); A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 26, fol. 126 (Montemor-o-novo); bk 10, fol. 101 (Campo Maior) and bk. 29, fol. 48 (Olivença); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 10, fol. 38 v (Vila Viçosa) and bk. 8, fols. 32–32v (Vidigueira). For Muge see *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I (1357–1367)*, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 395, doc. 865. For the slender evidence of a *mouraria* in Óbidos prior to 1280 see S. A. Gomes, “Grupos étnico-religiosos e estrangeiros: Muçulmanos,” *Nova história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1995), 3, 330. For evidence of a possible Muslim population in Abrantes see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 12, fol. 19v, bk. 16, fols. 138v–139v and bk. 25, fols. 83v–84.

Portugal they were never numerically important enough to form their own *comunas*. Extensive archival research by Losa and Durand has revealed that Muslims in the north of Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were mostly isolated individuals or small groups and usually emancipated slaves. These isolated individuals, especially slaves and freedmen, were deprived of any religious leadership and eventually converted and were probably assimilated into Christian society fairly rapidly.⁸⁴ There were only a few free Muslims who settled in the north. A certain Sa'īd and his wife were recorded as living in Guimarães in July 1292, and another individual, named Duran "mouro", was apparently residing in Sobrado (near Porto) in 1330.⁸⁵ In 1415 King João I granted a ruined building in Marialva "that used to be a mosque" to his Constable but this building might well have been the ruin of an ancient pre-conquest mosque whose memory had survived up to that late date.⁸⁶ There is absolutely no evidence that any Muslim *comunas*, or even *mourarias*, ever existed in the northern centres of Porto, Braga, Lamego, Guimarães, Viseu, Guarda and Covilhã in either the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. One of the constitutions of the Synod of Braga, convened in 1477, explicitly stated that there were no free Muslims in the archdiocese of Braga.⁸⁷

The absence of any precise demographic data precludes any determination of the number of Jews and Muslims living in medieval Portugal. Circumstantial evidence suggests that, in the fifteenth century at least, Jews outnumbered Muslims in Portugal. A comparison of the poll-tax collected from both minorities in 1482–3 reveals that the sums paid by Jews always largely exceeded those paid by Muslims. Only in the border town of Elvas did the amount of the poll-tax paid by the Muslim

⁸⁴ A. Losa, "Os 'mouros' de entre Douro e Minho no século XIII", *Bracara Augusta*, 16–17 (1964), 224–238; R. Durand, *Les campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1982), 483–500. Also of interest is P. G. Barbosa, "Alguns grupos marginais nos documentos de Santa Maria de Alcobça, séculos XII e XIII", *Documentos, Lugares e Homens*. (Lisbon, 1991), 126–131. In neighbouring Galicia, an eleventh-century list of Muslim slaves owned by the Cistercian monastery of Sobrado provides evidence that most converted to Christianity within one or two generations. See J. Gautier-Dalché, "Les 'Sarrasins' du monastère de Sobrado", *Minorités et marginaux en Espagne et dans le midi de la France* (Paris, 1986), 71–94.

⁸⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 2, fol. 37v and *Chancelarias de D. Afonso IV*, ed. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 1, 211, doc. 196.

⁸⁶ "... de huīs pardieiros nossos que nos auemos apar da nossa villa de mariaalua que foy mesquita dos mouros." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João I*, bk. 3, fol. 149.

⁸⁷ "E posto que nesta constituïçom nom fazemos mençom dos mouros, porque somos enformado que os nom há nesta terra." *Synodicon Hispanum*, ed. A. García y García (Madrid, 1982), 2, 130.

community surpass that of the Jewish community.⁸⁸ The most recent estimate by Tavares, based on the *sisão* poll-tax collected from the Jews in 1496, has estimated the total number of Jews residing in Portugal at a maximum of 30,000 souls. If the total population of Portugal was circa one million this would represent approximately three percent of the total population.⁸⁹

Anecdotal evidence does point toward a demographic decline in the Muslim population in Portugal during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The important number of royal documents that refer, either directly or indirectly, to the illegal emigration of Muslims from most of the towns in southern Portugal including Lisbon, Elvas, Moura, Évora, Tavira, and Beja to neighbouring Castile, the emirate of Granada or even North Africa offers clear evidence as to the significance of this outward migration. Whatever property the emigrants left behind was automatically confiscated by the Crown and subsequently either granted or leased to Christians.⁹⁰ Even more eloquent is the apparent shortage of potential mates within many Portuguese Muslim communities that pushed them to seek to integrate freed slaves. Indeed, between 1463 and 1487, the Muslim *comunas* of Loulé, Tavira, Santarém, Lisbon, Moura, Elvas and Beja all successfully petitioned the Crown to grant them the right to purchase Muslim slaves of both sexes in order to redeem them and marry them. They stated that they did not dare to do so because of the royal ordinances restricting manumission and the Crown granted their petition.⁹¹

⁸⁸ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 183–5.

⁸⁹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 74.

⁹⁰ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 3, fol. 52v (27/08/1306); *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, bk. 1, fol. 132 (18/08/1373); bk. 3, fols. 31 (25/08/1382), 64v (28/03/1383) and 88v (11/08/1383); *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 1, fol. 100v (22/03/1462); bk. 3, fol. 75v (18/12/1451); bk. 4, fol. 28 (04/04/1452); bk. 5, fols. 1–1v (16/01/1445), 74 (09/01/1446) and 82 (10/03/1446); bk. 8, fol. 178 (02/11/1464); bk. 9, fols. 33v (01/03/1463), 161v (30/10/1463); bk. 10, fol. 109 (17/09/1454); bk. 11, fol. 83v (07/07/1451); bk. 12, fol. 24 (13/02/1452); bk. 15, fol. 152 (18/07/1454); bk. 25, fol. 10 (03/08/1444); bk. 28, fol. 1v (28/02/1468) and 90 (22/10/1468); bk. 29, fol. 76 (13/06/1472); bk. 32, fol. 67 (15/02/1480); bk. 34, fol. 49 (20/04/1450); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 19, fols. 17 (18/04/1486), 135–135v (12/03/1487) and 159 (03/04/1487).

⁹¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 9, fols. 105v–106 (Loulé 1463); bk. 9, fol. 109 v (Tavira 1466); bk. 38, fol. 60 (Santarém 1466); bk. 21, fol. 73v (Lisbon 1471); bk. 33, fol. 160 (Moura 1474); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 21, fol. 125 (Elvas 1472); bk. 20, fol. 30v (Beja 1487).

The integration of emancipated slaves into the communities of free Muslims appears both to have played a major role in sustaining the demographic balance of these communities and to have started in the thirteenth century. As early as 1280, it is possible to find a reference to a free Muslim, named Sa'īd “*que foy de Pedro rodriguez*”, who worked as a carpenter in Évora.⁹² One of the conditions commonly included in the manumission licences granted by the Crowns specified that the emancipated slave was to continue to reside in Portugal. When, for instance, João II emancipated one of his slaves named Feyate—perhaps a clumsy transliteration of Fayyād or Fayd Allah?—Azulejo in 1481 he declared that Feyate was to be “free and emancipated as much as all the other free Muslims” of the kingdom but was not to leave Portugal without a royal licence.⁹³ The same language reappeared in 1487, when the monarch sent a letter to the councillors of Tavira, authorising them to enter into manumission contracts with their Muslim slaves with the proviso that the freed slaves were to continue living in his kingdom “in the same manner as all the other free Muslims of the Muslim quarters.”⁹⁴

The only towns for which we have some indications of the size of the Muslim population are the southern centres of Faro and Silves in the Algarve. One of the petitions put to the monarch by the commons at a parliament held at Lisbon in 1442 describes the number of Muslim inhabitants (*moradores*) of Faro as being “around 60 or 70 Muslims”, presumably only referring to adult males.⁹⁵ In the case of Silves, the information originates from the surviving *Livro do Almoarifado de Silves*, a very detailed list of properties and their owners in the town that was compiled by the Crown's tax collector at some unknown date in the fifteenth century. This book recorded the names of at least 54 male and female Muslims—as well as 23 Jews—who owned property on which taxes were due. Of course it must be noted that only propertied

⁹² P. A. de Azevedo (ed.), *O Livro dos bens de D. João de Portel* (Lisbon, 2003), 97–8, doc. 153. For examples of the similar integration of freed Muslim slaves into the Castilian mudéjar community of Toledo between 1100 and 1300 see F. J. F. Soyer, “Muslim freedmen in León, Castile and Portugal (1100–1300)”, *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 18 (2006), 129–143.

⁹³ “...forro e exsento tam Inteyramente como o sam os outros mouros forros...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 2, fol. 7.

⁹⁴ “...na maneyra dos outros mouros forros das mourarias e dellas se nom partam sem nossa liçemça.” A.N.T.T., *Livro 2 de Odiana*, fol. 254v.

⁹⁵ “Outrossy Senhor em esta ujlla ha seseenta ataa setenta moradores mouros...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 2, fol. 5.

Muslims appeared in this book and therefore it listed only a part of the total Muslim population.⁹⁶

Inversely, the evidence points to a clear demographic expansion of the Jewish population in Portugal during this period. In the thirteenth century a few Jews can be detected among the settlers of Portuguese origin who emigrated to the newly conquered Castilian territories of Andalucía but these appear to have been isolated cases.⁹⁷ By the fourteen and fifteenth centuries the *judiarias* increased in size, new *comunas* appeared in royal records and it is possible to discern a steady movement of Jews from Castile into Portugal in search of economic opportunities or fleeing violence.⁹⁸

Taxes, Tributes And Services

Royal taxes

In return for royal protection and recognition, the Jewish and Muslim communities in Portugal shouldered a heavy burden of taxes (both direct and indirect), tributes and services. All Portuguese Jews and Muslims were directly subordinate to the Crown and, in a literal sense, their persons and all that they possessed were part of the royal patrimony, as was the case of the Jews and Muslims in Aragon, Castile and Navarre. The English chronicler Roger of Hoveden described Jews and Muslims of Lisbon in 1190 as “servants of the King” and a royal decree promulgated in 1210 referred to them in Latin as “my Muslims and Jews” (... *mauri aut judei mei*...). This practice was later continued in vernacular Portuguese documents and in the fourteenth and fifteenth century it is possible to find the Jews and Muslims referred to as belonging to the Crown and treasury (*camara*). In one such fifteenth-century document, the Muslims of Évora are described as “belonging to Us and

⁹⁶ *Livro do Almoxtarifado de Silves (Século XV)*, ed. M. J. da Silva Leal et al., Silves, 1984.

⁹⁷ A Jew called “Juçef of Lisbon” was a resident of Seville in 1253 and another Jew named “Zag of Faro” resided in Jerez de la Frontera in 1264. H. David, “Os portugueses nos livros de ‘Repartimiento’ da Andaluzia (século XIII)”, *Actas das I jornadas de história medieval do Algarve e Andaluzia* (Loulé, 1987), 271–296.

⁹⁸ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, “Judeus e conversos castelhanos em Portugal”, *Anales de la universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 6 (1987), 341–368.

to Our treasury, both in terms of their persons and goods.” As David Abulafia has pointed out, the Jewish and Muslim minorities of the Iberian Peninsula enjoyed a state of relative freedom whilst existing in a condition of “cameral servitude”.⁹⁹

The only surviving legislative documents relating to royal taxation of Portuguese Jews date from the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1340 Afonso IV and the representatives of the *comunas* agreed that the *serviço* should be assessed *per capita* so that it should be equally divided and ordered his Jewish subjects to establish inventories of their real estate and moveable property, even “the books they read.”¹⁰⁰ Another law enacted by the same monarch in 1352 gave a precise definition of the *serviço*. Every married or widowed Jew, from the age of fourteen upwards, was required to pay a capitation tax of twenty *soldos* and every Jewess half that amount. Children below the age of seven would not be taxed but boys between the ages of seven and fourteen would contribute five *soldos* and girls between the ages of seven and twelve half that. In addition to this poll tax, Jews were also to pay a range of excise taxes on their chattels and real estate, the sale and purchase of merchandise (oil, gold, silver, copper, iron), foodstuffs (wheat, wine, meat, fish) and animals used for agricultural work.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ R. de Azevedo, P. Avelino de Jesus da Costa and M. Rodrigues Pereira, *Documentos de D. Sancho I* (Coimbra, 1979), 1, 302–3, doc. 196; J. Martins da Silva Marques, *Descobrimientos portugueses. Documentos para sua história* (Lisbon, 1944), 1, 595–6, doc. 3; *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 88, item 5; A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 2, fol. 120 (“*meus mouros forros*”) and *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 16, fl. 10 v (“... *sam nossos E da nossa camara asy os corpos como os aueres...*”). On the particular status of medieval Jews in the Iberian Peninsula and outside it see D. Abulafia, “The servitude of Jews and Muslims in the medieval Mediterranean: origins and diffusion”, *Mélanges de Lécole française de Rome. Moyen Âge*, 112 (2000), 687–714 (especially 709). For the origins of “Jewish servitude” see D. Abulafia, “*Nam iudei servi regis sunt, et semper fisco regio deputati*”: The Jews in the Municipal Fuero of Teruel (1176–7)”, *Jews, Muslims and Christians in and around the Crown of Aragon.*, ed. H. J. Hames (Leiden, 2004), 97–123.

¹⁰⁰ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso IV*, bk. 4, fols. 50–51v.

¹⁰¹ “*Primeiramente todo Judeo desque for em hidade de quatorze annos em diante, e for casado, ou viuvo, pague vinte soldos em cada hũ anno. E a Judia, que for casada, ou viuva, pague dez soldos. E o Judeo, ou Judia nom paguem nehũa cousa ataa que sejam em hidade de sete annos; e des a dita hidade de sete annos em diante a Judia pague dous doblos e meio ataa que seja em hidade de doze annos: e o Judio pague cinco soldos, ata que seja em hidade de quatorze annos.*” An unmarried girl older than twelve living with her parents owed seven *soldos* and a half but ten *soldos* if she lived by herself. A Jew older than fourteen in the employ of another owed fifteen *soldos*. *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 74, Item 2.

The taxes paid annually by the Portuguese Jews to the royal fisc in the fifteenth century, the *direitos reais*, consisted of a number of different impositions described as the *serviço real*, *serviço novo*, *sisão*, *cabeças* and *genesim*. The documentation is unfortunately too meagre to provide a clear picture of the precise nature or development of many of these impositions. In certain cases scribes even used the same term to refer to different taxes. The *genesim*, for instance, appears to have been occasionally used as a synonym for the *serviço novo* but sometimes also to indicate quite a different tax. The *serviço novo* was a new tax instituted by João I. This levy, assessed among the Jewish *comunas*, was originally set at 300,000 pounds and, under the designation *serviço das 300,000 libras*, continued to be levied at adjusted rates throughout the fifteenth century. The sale and purchase tax came to be referred to as the *sisão* or *sisa judenga*.¹⁰²

The royal taxation of Muslim communities is fortunately far better documented. The Latin *foral* that Afonso I granted to the Muslims of Lisbon, Alcácer, Palmela and Almada in 1170, and which was subsequently extended to other Muslim communities, carefully detailed the fiscal obligations of the subject Muslim population to the Crown:

1. An annual capitation tax of one *maravedí* (“...unoquoque anno singulos morabitanos ex singulis capitibus uestris”).
2. The *alfitra* (not defined).
3. The *azoque* (not defined).
4. A tithe on all the produce of their labour (“*totam decimam de universo labore uestro*”).
5. The *foral* further specified that they should work in the Crown’s vineyards and sell the figs and olive oil grown on Crown lands at the same prices as the Christians of the town except for one third of the production which was to be reserved for the King (“*Et omnes uineas meas preparatis et uendatis meos ficus et meum oleum quomodo unederint habitores uille tercia parte de mei minus*”).¹⁰³

Another document, discovered in the *Inquirições* of Afonso III but more likely to date from the reign of João I, provides another detailed list, or “declaration”, of the taxes levied by the Crown from its Muslim subjects.

¹⁰² On the annual royal taxes paid by Jews in the fifteenth-century see M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 159–167.

¹⁰³ *PMH, Leges et Consuetudinis*, 1, 396.

This “declaration” provides further details on the taxes already mentioned in the *foral* of 1170 and other impositions that were not originally listed:

1. Twenty *soldos* to be paid annually on the first of January by every free Muslim male old enough to earn a living.
2. Six *dinheiros* to be paid annually on the first of January by all Muslim men and women from their birth “and which is called *alfitra*.”
3. The *azaqui* tax, was to be assessed as follows:
 - A fortieth (*quarentena*) of all assets, except rented property, to be paid annually on the first of May.
 - A tithe (*dizima*) on the sale and purchase of real estate.
 - A tithe on certain foodstuffs and wares.
 - A fortieth on cows, sheep, lambs, goats, oxen and camels.
 - A tithe on foals, mules “and all other beasts.”
4. Twenty-five *soldos* on all married Muslims of Lisbon and twenty by all single men older than fifteen in order to be dispensed from cultivating royal vineyards and the sale of figs belonging to the Crown. In other parts of the realm the sum was to be set “according to the agreements” passed between the Crown and the local *comunas*.
5. A tithe, called *trabalho*, was imposed upon salaried wage-earners in Lisbon especially tailors, but not on those who worked with their own capital and were already subject to the *quarentena* of all assets on the first of May. In certain areas this tax was replaced by a cash tribute.¹⁰⁴

Some of these taxes certainly reflected a certain degree of continuity with the previous Islamic fiscal regime. Two of these taxes, the *azoque* and the *alfitra* clearly dated from the pre-conquest Islamic taxation. The *azoque*, from the Arabic *al-zakāt* (الزكاة), was obviously the obligatory alms payments prescribed in the ninth *sūrah* of the Koran.¹⁰⁵ The *alfitra* poll-tax, a transliteration of the Arabic *al-fitr*, was in all probability originally an alms tax paid on the festival of *‘id al-fitr* (عيد الفطر) following

¹⁰⁴ PMH, *Leges et Consuetudinis*, 2, 98–100.

¹⁰⁵ *The Koran*, tr. N. J. Dawood (London, 2000), 195. On this tax in pre- and post-conquest Granada see I. S. León-Borja, “El derecho del ‘*azaque*’ y Granada”, *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997), 393–405.

the fast of Ramadān. The levy of ten percent on all their agricultural produce might also originally be Islamic as it resembles a similar tithe, the *ushr* (عشر), collected in *al-Andalus*. Furthermore, the obligatory capitation tax of one *maravedí* was possibly modelled upon the *jizya*, the tax that was imposed upon non-Muslims in Islamic territories to symbolise their inferior status. The *foral* of 1170 and the later “declaration” attempted to present a uniform picture of the tax burden imposed on Muslims. In practice there appears to have been some local variations. The Muslims of Évora, by way of illustration, protested to João I against the fact that they were being taxed the *quarentena* levy on moveable property according to the *foral* of Lisbon and their representatives asserted that “within living memory they have never paid such a tax.”¹⁰⁶

In addition to the regular taxes, Jews and Muslims were subject to occasional extraordinary taxes like all other Portuguese subjects. These extraordinary taxes were known as *serviços*, *pedidos*, *empréstimos* and *peitas*. These were levied by the crown to defray extraordinary expenses such as the marriages of members of the royal family or war expenses. The *serviços* were subsidies voted by representatives of the towns in parliamentary assemblies and the *pedidos* were distributed among the *comunas*. The *empréstimos* were forced loans extracted usually from wealthy individuals or *comunas* with the promise of a future repayment. An additional type of apparently extraordinary levies imposed only upon Jews were the *peitas*. These included an occasional tax designated as the *peita d’el rei*, and even a special contribution to support the blacksmiths in the Portuguese stronghold of Ceuta in Morocco known as the *peita ferreira*.¹⁰⁷

The labour services owed to the Crown varied greatly from one community to another. The Jews of Lisbon, for instance, had to provide one anchor and hawser for the royal galley and contribute towards the upkeep of the lions in the royal menagerie.¹⁰⁸ Until the reign of João II, those of Évora had to build a palisade for the festival of Corpus Christi. Muslim communities also owed specific services apart from those outlined in the *forais dos mouros*. Amongst the obligations of the Muslims

¹⁰⁶ “... des tanto tempo que a memoria dos homens nom he em contrario (...) e que em esta posse estavam sem avendo elles o forall dos outros mouros de Lixboa nem tinha com elles de fazer.” A.N.T.T., *Livro 2 de Reis*, fol. 189v.

¹⁰⁷ M. J. P. Ferro. Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 168–186.

¹⁰⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 1, fols. 141–142v; *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 12, fol. 15v and *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fol. 30; F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida judaica”, *AHP*, 2, (1904), 178–9.

of Colares and Sintra during the reign of Dinis was maintenance of the royal palace at Olival, the castle at Sintra and other royal properties.¹⁰⁹ Incumbent upon all Muslims and Jews was the duty to provide accommodation (*apostentadoria*) to the itinerant royal court, noblemen and royal officials when they visited their town.

The assessment of the fiscal burden was the cause of internal tensions and internecine disputes in both communities. Individuals with rivals on the council might find themselves particularly heavily burdened. When João II exacted an *empréstimo* of 50,000 *reais* from the Jews of Leiria in 1490, a Leirian Jew named David ben Mentos claimed that because “certain Jews of the said town wished him evil” he was being made to pay “as much as, and even more than, the richest men who live in the town.”¹¹⁰ The tax exemptions granted by the Crown to individual Jews or Muslim were particularly resented. The perception that these exemptions unjustly burdened the poor and favoured the rich and powerful led to frequent appeals to the Crown for redress. In 1450 the Muslim *comuna* of Lisbon begged Afonso V to cease granting tax exemptions to individual Muslims. The Muslim representatives asserted that “amongst them there are many Muslims who are privileged (...) and who do not pay royal taxes and services or even communal ones” and they claimed that as a result of the unequal tax assessment many Muslims, who were unable to bear the fiscal burden, were deserting the *mouraria* and moving elsewhere.¹¹¹ Similarly, between 1450 and 1459, the Jews of Lisbon, Évora and a number of other Jewish *comunas* obtained promises from Afonso V that the Crown would no longer grant tax exceptions to individual Jews. The monarch also authorised “the officials and good men [of the community]” to punish “by means of imprisonment, excommunication and other penalties” any Jews who sought to evade taxation by acquiring exemptions from the Crown.¹¹² In spite of these promises

¹⁰⁹ “*Uidelicet reuoluere adubare et rreficere mea palacia de oliua et casas de Almedinis uetulis de meo castello de Sintra et adubare eyrados de Turribus et facere quedam qua usque [...] mihi et meis antecessoribus dicti mauris fecerunt.*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 1, fol. 35.

¹¹⁰ “...e que por alguem dos judeus da decta Villa lhe querer mall e lhe com hodeo lhe lançaram ora neste emprestado que ora lançamos a comuna da decta villa de cynquenta mjll rreais que nos emprestasem a Vemdo em Veja de seu boom Viuer lhe deytaram em ho decto emprestado que pagase tanto e mais que ho mais rrico que em a decta vjlla avia...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 16, fol. 39v.

¹¹¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 11, fol. 64v.

¹¹² “...oficiaees E homeens boons della possam poer de ferros e escumnhôees e penas E fazer todallas hordenações que entenderem que sejam factas per hordem de sua ley

Afonso V and João II continued to grant tax exemptions to individual Muslims and Jews.¹¹³

From the fourteenth century, the Crown frequently granted the taxes rendered by Muslims and Jews to individuals just like any other benefices. In comparative terms, the income into royal coffers from Jews far outstripped that of the Muslim minority. As a result of the expulsion, Manuel had to compensate those men and women who lost considerable revenues. In 1496, these grants amounted to circa 5,076,246 *reais* of the taxes paid by Jews and 443,951 *reais* paid by Muslims. The beneficiaries included Manuel's sister D. Leonor, the *infanta* D. Beatriz, the Order of Santiago and many lesser individuals.¹¹⁴

Non-royal Taxation

Jews and Muslims also owed taxes and services to authorities other than the Crown. Christian municipalities and Muslims and Jewish *comunas* also raised their own taxes on top of royal ones though less is known about these taxes than the royal ones. The municipal taxes included *talhas*, *peitas*, *fontas*, *pedidos*, and *empréstimos*. Jews and Muslims were also subject to the *Portagem*, a tax on goods brought into a town for sale by non-citizens, since neither minority could enjoy the special status of citizens (*vizinhos*).¹¹⁵

The question of whether or not Jews and Muslims were subject to the ecclesiastical tithe generated considerable resistance from both minorities and drew an ambiguous response from the Crown. The situation was complicated by the fact that lands had changed hands between Christian and Muslim owners several times since the conquest. The Church continued to claim the tithe from lands previously owned by Christians

que per outra qualquer quijssa per aue nehüu Judeu se nom escuse daqui em diante nem gaanhe carte men privilegio per que nom pague em as coussas sobrdictas." (privilege given to Leiria); A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 34, fol. 21 (Lisboa); bk. 34, fol. 15 (Évora); bk. 3, fols. 58–58v (Leiria); bk. 10, fol. 117v (Lagos); bk. 10, fol. 134 (Alcácer do Sal); bk. 16, fol. 156 (Moura); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 120 (Setúbal).

¹¹³ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 2, 779–807. M. F. Lopes de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 75–6.

¹¹⁴ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 167 and 2, tables 7 and 7a; M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 169 (table 1).

¹¹⁵ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 68 (Jews) and 108 (Muslims); H. B. Moreno, "A sentença do Rei D. João I, contra os judeus de 1412", *LVCERNA. Centro de Estudos Humanísticos. Homenagem a D. Domingos de Pinho Brandão* (Porto, 1984), 411–415.

and met resistance from Muslim landowners. In letters that Pope Clement IV and his successor Gregory X wrote to Afonso III, during the second half of the thirteenth century, they complained that, amongst other things, the Portuguese monarch was exempting the Jews from having to pay the tithe. Possibly as a result of these complaints, Afonso's son Dinis issued two writs requiring the Jews to pay the church tithe.¹¹⁶ In the late fourteenth century, the undated "declarations" exempted all Muslims from the Church tithe on the basis that they were "infidels who do not receive the sacraments of the Church." In 1391, at the request of the Muslims of Elvas, João I expressly forbade the collection of the ecclesiastical tithe from their lands.¹¹⁷ A final resolution to this dispute only came during the reign of Duarte (1433–1438) when, as a result of a dispute between the Prior of San Clemente and the Muslims of Loulé, the King decreed that Muslims did have to pay the tithe on property previously owned by Christians at any time since the conquest. Duarte's legislation did not apply to Jews. Documents from the royal chancery reveal instances of Jews paying the tithe in the fifteenth century but it is not known whether this was a general obligation.¹¹⁸

Muslims, unlike Jews, could also be the subjects of seigniorial lords. The military Orders of Avis and Santiago, which played such an important part in the conquests of the early thirteenth century, appear to have counted numerous Muslim vassals living on their vast estates in the Alentejo and Algarve in the fourteenth century. An agreement reached between Afonso III and the Master of the Order of Santiago in 1272, and reconfirmed by Dinis in 1298, stipulated that the Crown recognised that "the free Muslims living on the lands of the Order (...) are *his* [the Master of Santiago's] and within *his* jurisdiction" and that they were exempt from royal taxation. Muslims from royal lands could not settle on the Order's lands. On the other hand, the Crown engaged itself not to entice Muslims away from the Order of Santiago's lands. A further condition of the agreement was that the Order could only settle on its lands Muslims from Castile and León. The importation of Muslims from "beyond the

¹¹⁶ J. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier. The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca, 2006), 50–1. The author also discusses the situation elsewhere in the Peninsula in pages 45–51.

¹¹⁷ B.A.M.E., *Pergaminhos*, n° 9; F. B. Correia, *Elvas na Idade Média*, unpublished M.A. dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, (Lisbon, 1999), 2, 575.

¹¹⁸ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 111; M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 193.

sea” (*além-mar*, i.e. North Africa) by the Order was strictly prohibited. As we have seen above, the Order of Avis also enjoyed lordship over the Muslim community of that town in 1331 although this state of affairs did not continue for much longer as by 1366 it was the King who confirmed its privileges and customs. Unfortunately, these Muslim subjects of the military orders have left near to no traces in surviving documentary evidence and consequently we know nothing about the taxes and services they owed their lords. Certainly it seems that by the fifteenth century all Muslims in Portugal were exclusively subjects of the Crown.¹¹⁹ The only mention of Muslims residing in lands of the Order of Santiago is a vague reference made in 1478 to Muslim (and Jewish) inhabitants in the small village of Coina (south of Lisbon), whose fiscal status is not made clear. After 1496 the Order of Santiago was compensated for the loss of the yearly revenues from the *mouraria* of Setúbal that had been granted to it by the Crown but apparently did not enjoy lordship over any Muslims.¹²⁰

Military Service

There is only meagre evidence concerning the military obligations of Jews and Muslims. The first explicit reference to military service by Jews dates from 1366. That year the Jews of Lisbon and Santarém, “who on my behalf were ordered to have horses and weapons at the ready”, protested to the Crown that the Christian authorities were compelling Jews to serve “on the borders of the realm and guard prisoners, monies and places which they were never accustomed to go” and that, to top it all, those Jews were ill-treated by the Christians accompanying them. In response Pedro I ordered the municipal judges not to force Jews to serve

¹¹⁹ A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 5, maço 3*, doc. 2; “...os mouros foros que moram na terra da ordjm (...) son seus E da ssa iurisdçom...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, bk. 3, fol. 73–73v (The italics in the quote are mine); A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I*, 505, doc. 1075. M. F. Lopes de Barros, “A ordem de Avis e a minoria muçulmana”, *Ordens Militares: guerra, religião, poder e cultura* (Lisbon, 1999), 2, 167–173 (Barros also discusses the earlier agreements between the Crown and the Order of Santiago).

¹²⁰ A.N.T.T., *Ordem de Santiago. Convento de Palmela, maço 1*, doc. 21 (Muslims and Jews in Coina were instructed either to remain indoors or to kneel before the host when it was taken to the bed of an ailing Christian in the village so that he might partake of communion); F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida mourisca”, *AHP*, 5 (1907), 258–9, doc. 12.

on the borders, mistreat them or permit them to be mistreated. Nevertheless, the monarch did not exempt them from military service. The same year identical privileges were also granted to the Jews of Setúbal, Beja, Coimbra and Santiago de Cacém. The privilege granted to the Jews of Setúbal specified that they were only obliged to guard the King's tents and his treasury.¹²¹ Aside from this incident the sources are almost completely silent about the military role of Jewish communities. Only one further complaint about military service was made in 1370, this time by the Jews of Tavira, who protested that the municipal authorities were forcing them to perform guard duty.¹²²

The situation in the fifteenth century is complicated by the contradictory information that is found in the available documentation. When João I decided to block the access of Jews to the status of municipal citizens in 1412, a leading element of the justification put forward by the Crown's official Bartolomeu Domingues was that they did not serve in the army in time of war.¹²³ Despite this claim, it can be inferred that the Jews continued to be liable for military service to the Crown since a law of 1422 exempted Jewish converts to Christianity from having to appear for muster.¹²⁴ The registers of the royal chancery record only a few of cases of Jews who did serve in Portuguese armies in Morocco and Castile:

- Master José, goldsmith of Prince Henry, participated with his own horse, weapons and two infantrymen at the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 and the unsuccessful attempt to capture Tangier in 1437.¹²⁵
- Master Abraham, royal physician, was killed fighting alongside Afonso V during the assault upon Arzila in 1471. With him at Arzila was another Jew, Moses Cohen.¹²⁶

¹²¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, bk. 1, fols. 121–121v (Santarém and Lisbon); bk. 1, fol. 121v (Setúbal); bk. 1, fol. 125v (Beja); bk. 1, fol. 129 (Coimbra); bk. 1, fol. 129v (Santiago de Cacém).

¹²² A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 149v (Confirmation of an earlier privilege granted by Fernando). A. Iria, *Documentos Portugueses Vol. 2: O Algarve e os Descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1956), 1, 307–8.

¹²³ "...nenhũus judeus da nossa terra nom deujam dauer priujllegios de estaaos nem seerem auudos por vizinhos porque nom serujam em guerra..." H. B. Moreno, "A sentença do Rei D. João I, contra os judeus de 1412", *LVCERNA. Centro de Estudos Humanísticos. Homenagem a D. Domingos de Pinho Brandão* (Porto, 1984), 414.

¹²⁴ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 83, Items 1–2.

¹²⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 20, fols. 139v–140.

¹²⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 29, fol. 221v; bk. 33, fol. 134.

- Abraham Abret, tailor of João II, fought at the capture of Tangier and Arzila and at the battle of Toro in Castile (1476).¹²⁷

It seems likely that these men, members of the Jewish elite in Portugal, were acting on their own account and fighting in the retinues of their Christian patrons rather than because of any specific military obligations to the Crown. Furthermore, royal pardons reveal that Jewish (and Muslim) criminals were sentenced to periods of exile in Portuguese Moroccan strongholds, presumably to participate in their defence.¹²⁸

As regards the Muslims, the situation is somewhat clearer. In other Iberian realms the use of Muslim subjects as soldiers on behalf of their Christian rulers, usually against Christian enemies, is well evidenced.¹²⁹ In Portugal, however, none of the charters granted to Muslim communities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries list military service as a duty owed to the Crown. In spite of this, the Muslim minority was definitely subject to military service during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first reference to military service by Muslims occurs in the same context as that of the Jews. In 1366 the Muslim *comunas* of Lisbon, Santarém and Alenquer complained to the Crown that the municipal authorities were forcing them to serve with the armies on the borders and perform other services to which they were not accustomed.¹³⁰ Like the Jews, they complained to King Pedro I that “in the time of my father [Afonso IV], myself and of the other kings who reigned before me they have never served in the host; either on the borders [of the realm] or in any other places. And they have always been exempt from these services.” The three *comunas*, however, all claimed that their only obligation was

¹²⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 1, fol. 62v.

¹²⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 11, fol. 117 (fought at the battle of Alfarobeira); bk. 22, fols. 121v–122 (served in Arzila); bk. 35, fol. 79v (three years of exile in Ceuta); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 9, fol. 37 (one year of exile in Arzila).

¹²⁹ For Muslim military service in the Crown of Aragon see R. I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, 1975), 138–148. In Castile the thirteenth-century *Crónica de la poblacion de Avila* mentions that the Muslims of the town contributed 70 horsemen and 500 infantry to a municipal force in 1255 and in 1305 Fernando IV exempted the Muslims of Murcia from having to perform military service. In 1241 the bishops of Cuenca and Sigüenza were attacked by Muslim archers in the service of knights of Santiago. See F. Soyer, *The Social Status of Muslims in the Realms of León, Castile and Portugal (1100–1300)*, unpublished MPhil dissertation, University of Cambridge, (Cambridge, 2003), 73.

¹³⁰ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, bk 1, fols. 121 (Santarém) and 121v (Lisbon and Alenquer).

to guard the royal tents and treasury. Convinced by the arguments of his Muslim subjects, the King ordered the authorities of those towns to stop harassing them.¹³¹ According to these privileges, the military duties of Muslims from these three communities were thus limited to accompanying the King on his campaigns and guarding the baggage train.

The privileges of 1366 are enlightening but it is not known whether these extended to all Muslim communities in Portugal. Evidence certainly exists that Muslims did perform military service into the fifteenth century. A group of Muslims involved in a dispute with the Cistercian monastery of Alcobaça, over the non-fulfilment of the terms of a lease in 1403, claimed in their defence that they had been constrained to serve the King and guard his tents both in and out of Portugal.¹³² Furthermore, a number of royal privileges granted to individual Muslims state that the beneficiary either was, or was not, exempted from having “to serve with weapons and horses.” One Muslim of Beja received privileges in 1482 in exchange for his readiness to serve with a musket (*espingarda*).¹³³ Paradoxically, although Muslims were called to fight in Portuguese armies

¹³¹ “*Sabede que o comun dos mouros forros dessa cidade me enujarom dizer que (...) elles no tempo del rrey meu padre e em no meu e no tempo dos outros reis que ante mjm foram nunca foram em hoste por fronteyros nem a outros lugares E foram sempre desas cousas escusados saluo se guardauam e armauam as mjmhas tendas e tesouros e dormiam a rredor deles...*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, bk 1, fol. 121v; *Chancelaria de D. Pedro I*, ed. Marques, A. H. de Oliveira, 524, doc. 1109.

¹³² A.N.T.T., *Mosteiro de Alcobaça, maço* 64, doc. 19.

¹³³ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 33, fols. 22v (28/01/1473) and 156 (12/05/1472); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 5, fols. 70–70v (20/05/1492) and bk. 12, fols. 136–136v (10/07/1482). Exemptions from military service were also granted to *alcaldes*, religious dignitaries (*capelãos dos mouros*) and those aged over 70: *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 4, fol. 29v (17/06/1452); bk. 5, fol. 16v (26/03/1446); bk. 10, fol. 133v (19/01/1455); bk. 13, fols. 130v (02/06/1456), 136 (18/03/1456) and 179v (15/03/1456); bk. 14, fols. 66v (28/02/1466), 79 (07/03/1466) and 95 (22/02/1466); bk. 15, fols. 20v (25/03/1455), 46 (08/04/1455), 64 (?/1455) and 70v (27/04/1455); bk. 16, fols. 8 (10/01/1471) and 32v (16/02/1471); bk. 18, fol. 11 (13/07/1439); bk. 21, fols. 72 (27/03/1471); bk. 22, fol. 101v (18/10/1471); bk. 24, fols. 32 (20/04/1444) and 48 (22/03/1444); bk. 25, fols. 8 (12/01/1445) and 27 (02/07/1445); bk. 26, fol. 181v (22/11/1475); bk. 27, fols. 44v–45 (31/08/1442) and 63 (31/08/1442); bk. 31, fols. 73v (01/10/1469) and 125v (24/11/1467); bk. 33, fol. 201v (11/09/1473); bk. 34, fol. 129v (10/07/1450) and 207 (07/02/1450); bk. 35, fols. 8v (10/03/1466), 10 (02/04/1466) and 90v (20/10/1451); bk. 36, fol. 35 (20/02/1459); bk. 38, fols. 60 (18/06/1466) and 68v (12/09/1471). A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 3, fol. 41 (04/09/1482); bk. 5, fol. 23v (29/01/1492); bk. 21, fol. 143v (10/01/1487); bk. 24, fol. 4v (26/04/1489). In 1482, Qāsim Mundam of Beja received privileges from the Crown “...por quanto he nosso espingardeiro E ha destar prestes pera nos serujr com ssua espingarda quando quer que o mandarmos...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 3, fol. 41 (04/09/1482).

in Castile “with weapons and horses”, in Portugal itself these same Muslims (and Jews) were not allowed to carry weapons in public from 1442 onwards unless they had received special licences to do so from the Crown. It should be noted, however, that this law did not prohibit members of either group from *owning* weapons and keeping them in their houses until they were called up to perform military service.¹³⁴

The Muslims of Elvas, directly on the border with Castile, also fought alongside the municipal forces during the war that pitted Portugal against its larger neighbour between 1383 and 1411. At the parliament of 1441, the town council urged the Crown to remit them from the *portagem* tax in consideration of their “great service” during the war:

Furthermore, Sire, Your Majesty should know of the great service that the Muslims of this *comuna* have rendered during the past wars; keeping watch in its defence and waging war against Castile together with the other inhabitants of this town. Many of them have been killed and captured or have been forced to eat bagasse and linseed bread during the defence of this town.¹³⁵

The request was repeated in similar terms in 1455:

You [the councillors of Elvas] claim that in olden times, because the Muslims of the town served us with horses, weapons, lances, arrows and pack animals in times of war, the virtuous Kings our predecessors ordered that they should not be subject to the *portagem* tax...¹³⁶

¹³⁴ On the 1442 law see “Fragmentos de legislação escritos no livro chamado antigo das posses da Casa da Supplicação”, *Collecção de livros inéditos de historia Portugueza*, 3 (1793), 561, doc. 16. For examples of permits to ride horses and carry weapons (for self-defence) see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 1, fols. 1v (13/03/1462) and 25 (28/05/1462); bk. 29, fols. 214v (16/11/1472) and 239 (01/12/1472); bk. 32, fol. 158v (30/05/1480); bk. 36, fols. 28 (07/02/1459) and 122 (09/06/1459); bk. 37, fol. 83v (28/02/1466). H. B. Moreno, *Os Mudejares no Portugal Medieval* (Porto, 1994), 29–32, docs. 4 and 5.

¹³⁵ “*Outrossy, Senhor, vossa mercee pode bem saber o muyto e muy stremado serviço que os mouros da comuna desta teuem fecto nas guerras pasadas a esta villa, por defensom della vellando e rroldando e indo fazer guerra a Castella em companhia dos moradores desta villa, sendo delles mortos e presos e comendo muyto pam de bagaço e de linhaça por defensom desta villa.*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 2, fol. 7; *Leitura Nova, Odiana*, bk. 6, fol. 140; P. de Azevedo, *Capitulos do Concelho de Elvas apresentados em Côrtes* (Elvas, 1914), 21.

¹³⁶ “*Item. Dizees que antigamente, pellos mouros dessa villa nos tempos das guerras servirem com cavallos e armas e com lanças e dardos e beestas, os vertuosos Rex nossos antecessores mandarom de nom pagarem portajem...*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 15, fols. 80v–81; A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Odiana*, bk. 3, fol. 171.

Later in the fifteenth century the Elvan Muslims sought further exemptions. In 1469 the Crown granted the Muslims of Elvas the privilege of not having to appear for muster or being conscripted for a period of three years.¹³⁷ This privilege was subsequently renewed in 1473 and 1475.¹³⁸ Even the Muslims of Lisbon, notwithstanding their claims in 1366, thought it necessary to secure royal exemptions from appearing for muster for the periods of 1459–1464, 1473–1476 and for an unspecified period of time after 1481.¹³⁹

Majority And Minorities In Portugal: Conflict And Coexistence

The Portuguese legislation of the later Middle Ages enshrined the particular status of Jews and Muslims as protected but inferior subjects of the Crown. Laws strictly prohibited the murder or injury of either Jews or Muslims, the desecration of their sepulchres and any attempt to prevent them from observing their religious festivals. In addition to this, both minorities were protected from malicious prosecution by the legal requirement that accusations against them should be supported by the testimony of witnesses from their own community and judged according to their law.¹⁴⁰ Jews could not be summoned to appear before a court of law on “Saturdays and their Easter [i.e. Passover].”¹⁴¹ The later medieval period, nevertheless, also witnessed the introduction in Portugal of laws ordering Jews and Muslims to live in separate quarters of towns and seeking to restrict as far as possible the social interaction of Jews or Muslims with Christians. Such segregationist legislation had been adopted by the Church at the Fourth Lateran Council, held in 1215, but only appeared for the first time in Portugal during the fourteenth century.

¹³⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 31, fol. 129 (10/11/1469).

¹³⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 33, fol. 51v (16/02/1473) and bk. 30, fol. 175v (06/03/1475).

¹³⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 8, fol. 174; bk. 33, fol. 6v (17/01/1473) and bk. 26, fol. 28 (08/02/1481).

¹⁴⁰ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 88.

¹⁴¹ “... mandamos, e defendemos aas nossas Justiças, que nom costranguam os Judeos que aos Sabados, e aas Pascoas suas respondam perante elles, nem dem reverias nem Sentenças contra elles, e posto que as dem, que nom valham, nem se faça per ellas eixecuçom.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 90.

The establishment of *mourarias* and *judiarias*, as segregated quarters reserved for Muslims and Jews, was first instituted in 1361, following complaints made by the urban representatives in a parliament assembled at Elvas.¹⁴² Five years later, Pedro I promulgated a new law that intended to place further limitations on social interaction between non-Christians and Christians, especially Christian women. Claiming to be acting upon the information of “good men who are worthy of trust” (*homens boons dignos de creer*), King Pedro decreed that Muslims or Jews were not to leave their respective quarters after the church bells had sounded the call for vespers. The punishment of those Jews or Muslims who entertained sexual relations with Christians “through the will, deceitfulness and artifice of the Devil” (*per aazo e engano e arceirice do diaboo*) was to be death. In addition to imposing the death penalty, the law of 1366 also sought to regulate any possible contact between Christian females and non-Christian males with remarkable detail. Christian women were not to enter the Jewish or Muslim quarters unless they were accompanied by Christian men: one man if the woman was unmarried but two men if she was a married woman. Even more strikingly, the law actually described in detail two distinct itineraries circumventing the *mouraria* of Lisbon that Christian women were ordered to take on pain of death.¹⁴³

It is noteworthy that the impulse for these laws did not originate with the Crown itself but rather with the representatives of the Christian urban elite gathered in parliaments. In 1395, João I reiterated the interdiction on Jews dwelling outside *judiarias* at the behest of the municipal authorities of Lisbon and, in 1400, ordered that *judiarias* should be enlarged when necessary so that Jews would have absolutely no justifications to live outside them.¹⁴⁴ Another law of João I, though of uncertain date, prohibited Jews from drinking in Christian taverns in those towns where the *judiarias* already had their own taverns.¹⁴⁵ Stung by

¹⁴² A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de Pedro I*, 52.

¹⁴³ A.N.T.T., *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I*, bk. 1, fols. 124–124v; A. H. de Oliveira Marques, (ed.), *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I*, 535–6, doc. 1131; M. F. Lopes de Barros, “Body, baths and cloth: Muslim and Christian perceptions in medieval Portugal”, *Portuguese Studies*, 21 (2005), 8. For a very helpful map of the itineraries that Christian women were ordered to take around the *mouraria* see map 1 in L. F. Oliveira and M. Viana, “A mouraria de Lisboa no séc. XV”, *Arqueologia Medieval*, 2 (1993), 193.

¹⁴⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João I*, bk. 1, fol. 78; *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 80.

¹⁴⁵ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 91. This law was extended to the Muslims as well: “*Ha d’aver de todo Judeu, ou Mouro, que beber na taverna de Christaaõs, vinte cinco libras da moeda antiga.*” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. I, title 62, item 17.

the severity of the restrictions imposed by the laws of King Pedro, the Portuguese Jews attempted to have them relaxed in 1412. In response to their petition, João I ordered that the punishment of any Jew older than fifteen who was discovered outside the *judiaria* after the call for vespers was to be a fine of 5,000 *reais* for a first offence, 10,000 *reais* for a second offence and a public flogging for third-time offenders. The harshness of the penalties imposed by João I was partly mitigated by the fact that the new law did take into consideration a number of situations in which Jews found outside the *judiarias* after the permitted hour were to be exempt from the prescribed punishments. These exemptions included any Jews coming from outside the town to the *judiaria*, any Jews who arrived belatedly and found that gates of the *judiaria* were already shut, any Jewish doctors and surgeons on medical visits who were accompanied by Christian attendants and, finally, any Jewish tax collectors accompanied by Christians.¹⁴⁶ The great anxiety surrounding the possibility of illicit sexual relations between Christian women and Jewish men found its most explicit expression in a draconian law promulgated by King Duarte at an unknown date in the 1430s:

Our intention has always been, and continues to be, by the Grace of God to control and limit the dealings between Christians and Jews, for the greater service of God and the benefit of Our kingdoms. We therefore establish as law and decree that Jews must not enter the houses of any [Christian] woman belonging to a religious order, or a widow, or a virgin, or even a married woman when her husband is absent. If [Jews] have any business with them, they should speak [to them] in the street or at the door of [the Christian women's] houses.¹⁴⁷

This law did, however, allow for exceptions to be made in the cases of those Jews whose business could not be conducted in the street, such as physicians, surgeons, tailors, stonemasons and carpenters. Jewish merchants, however, could only exhibit their goods to Christian women in the presence of one or more Christian men. First and second-time offenders were to be fined 50,000 *reais* but would be publicly flogged on their third offence.

¹⁴⁶ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 80.

¹⁴⁷ “Porque nossa teençom sempre foi, e he com a graça de Deos tolher, e arredar a conversaçom d’antre os Chrisptaõs, e os Judeos, quanto bem podermos por serviço de Deos, e prol dos nossos Regnos, estabelecemos por Ley, e mandamos, que Judeos nom entrem em casa de nenhuã mulher d’Oordem, ou viuva, ou virgem, que per sy em suas casas vivam, nem em casa da mulher casada, nom seendo hi seu marido; e se alguãs cousas com ellas ouverem de fazer, e arrecadar, que lhes fallem na rua, ou aa porta de suas casas honde ellas vivem, ou moram...” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 67.

The laws of Pedro, João I and Duarte were later confirmed by Afonso V who also added in his *ordenações afonsinas* that Jews and Muslim who were discovered to have concealed their identity “with the intention of sinning with Christian women” would be enslaved.¹⁴⁸ The continued implementation of the legislation promulgated in 1366 during the fifteenth century is confirmed by the existence of at least two charters recording the fact that Christian women living in Évora applied for, and were granted, the permission to enter Jewish and Muslim quarters without a male escort in order to sell their goods there. In the first case, dating from July 1464, a widow named Inés Eanes received the authorisation not on her own behalf but in order to send one or two young women into the *judiaria* or *mouraria* of Évora. In this case no indication is given relating to the motives that led Inés Eanes to seek such a licence or clarifying the identity of the two women. In the second case, dating from December 1469, another widow, this time named Inés Afonso, received the right to enter the Jewish and Muslim quarters without the required male escort in order to sell olive oil with the proviso that she enter by herself and without any other Christian woman. The Crown indicated that Inés Afonso had received the licence “since We have been informed that she is so old and with such a good [reputation] as to deserve that We should grant her this licence.”¹⁴⁹

The extent to which these segregationist laws were actually enforced is certainly a problematic issue. Legislation against the practice of usury by Jews and Muslims or prohibiting the appointment of Jews as royal officials, for instance, was clearly never actually enforced and was even contradicted by other laws regulating the practice of usury by Jews. It is certainly the case that despite official disapproval, and attempts to prevent them, some Christians did live in the supposedly segregated areas just as some Jews and Muslims resided outside them during both the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.¹⁵⁰ A recurrent complaint of town representatives assembled in parliaments was that Jews and Muslims were living outside their designated quarters.¹⁵¹ By the middle of

¹⁴⁸ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. V, titles 25 and 26.

¹⁴⁹ “...por quanto nos hauemos emformaçom que he em tall hydade e tam boa que merece lhe darmos a dicta liçença.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 8, fol. 88v and bk. 31, fol. 128.

¹⁵⁰ Maria José Pimenta Ferro, *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XIV*, 77–9.

¹⁵¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João I*, bk. 1, fol. 78; A.H.C.M.L. *Livro dos Pregos*, fol. 161, doc. 248.

the fifteenth century, however, the attitude of the Crown and the Christian authorities had apparently hardened but this does not mean that exceptions did not continue to exist. In 1475, for instance, the Crown granted a Muslim inhabitant of Setúbal and his wife the permission to live amongst Christians “in spite of Our ordinance and the pronouncements [against this] that were made in parliament”, citing as justification for this exception “certain just reasons that move us to take this decision.”¹⁵² It is also possible to find cases of Christians renting shops located within the Lisboetan *mouraria*, though they probably returned to their own homes at the end of the working day.¹⁵³ So far as the walls surrounding the *judiarias* and *mourarias* are concerned, they were real enough and there are no grounds to doubt their existence. In 1455 the town council of Leiria, wishing to facilitate the access of a Jewish physician to his Christian patients, obtained permission from the Crown to open up a door of his house that had once opened onto the outside of the *judiaria* but had been walled up in accordance with the law.¹⁵⁴ Münzer remarked in his description of Lisbon that in 1494 all three *judiarias* of the Portuguese capital were “locked up every evening.”¹⁵⁵

The physical separation imposed by the establishment of the *judiarias* and *mourarias* was supplemented by the use of distinctive symbols that all Jews and Muslim were ordered to wear on their clothing as badges of identification. It seems that Jews throughout Portugal were first forced to carry such symbols on their garments in the early fourteenth century, when Afonso IV apparently decreed that they must wear a yellow symbol on their hats.¹⁵⁶ Under his successors, the symbol became red in colour and was to be worn on the chest instead. The dispensations conferred by the Crown to individual Jews provoked a storm of resentment. The municipal representatives gathered for parliaments in 1371 and 1385 submitted petitions demanding an end to such privileges and

¹⁵² “Nos praz por algüuas justas razooes que nos a ello moueram (...) damos licença e lugar a guerrez mouro negro forro e sua molher morador em a villa de setuual que elle posa viuer na christandade sem embargo da nossa ordenaçam e defesa em capitulo de cortes fecta em contrairo.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 30, fol. 89.

¹⁵³ M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 141–3.

¹⁵⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 15, fol. 62v.

¹⁵⁵ “Judei autem habent tria loca propria sub castro in radice montis, que omni sero clauduntur.” H. Münzer, “*Itinerarium Hispanicum*”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 82.

¹⁵⁶ J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Etnografía portuguesa*, 4, 88.

that *all Jews without exception* should be made to wear the symbols.¹⁵⁷ In February 1391, the urban representatives complained that most Jews did not wear the symbols allotted to them, or even concealed them, and compelled João I to reaffirm the law. The Portuguese king decreed that Jews must wear a red symbol on their garments the size of the royal seal. Jews who did not conform to these new laws were to have their clothes confiscated and would be imprisoned for a fortnight.¹⁵⁸ The laws do not give a precise description of the symbol that the Portuguese Jews were compelled to wear in the second half of the fifteenth century but a truly remarkable visual representation of it has fortunately survived. The Jewish courtier who features so prominently in the rightmost of the six panels which form the celebrated painted altarpiece, attributed to Nuno Gonçalves and known as *The Adoration of São Vicente de Fora* (dated around 1472), conspicuously wears on his chest a bright red badge of identification that is composed of six radiating arrow shaped points that form the outline of a Star of David.¹⁵⁹

The situation concerning the use of identification badges by Portuguese Muslims is somewhat less clear. It appears that, at some unknown date in the middle of the fourteenth century, the Muslim minority was ordered to wear distinctive “Muslim clothing” that would distinguish them from Christians but the earliest allusion to actual badges occurs in the privileges Pedro I granted to the Muslim *comuna* of Moura in 1359. King Pedro ordered the Muslims to wear pieces of cloth described as *quartos*—possibly a reference to their four-sided or diamond shape—on their garments “so that they may be recognised as Muslims.”¹⁶⁰ Was this a measure restricted to the Muslims of Moura or one implemented throughout the Kingdom? There is unfortunately no other evidence to provide an answer to this question. With the existing source material,

¹⁵⁷ H. da Gama Barros, “Judeus e mouros em Portugal em tempos passados”, *Revista Lusitana*, 34 (1936), 192, doc. 63; A.H.C.M.L., *Livro dos Pregos*, fól. 110, doc. 129.

¹⁵⁸ “...porque lhe foi dito per alguũs do seu Povoo em Cortes, que os Judeos do seu Senhorio pola maior parte nom trazião signaaes, quaees devião trazer, e esses, que traziam, eram tão pequenos, que se nom pareciam, e outros os trazião de duas, e tres pernas, e mais nam, e os traziam descofeitos, e baixos em taaes lugares, que se nom parecião, e os cobriam de guisa, (...) o que era de grande perigo, e dapno ao Povoo.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 86.

¹⁵⁹ This magnificent altarpiece is preserved and exhibited in the *Museu Nacional da Arte Antiga* in Lisbon.

¹⁶⁰ “...tenham quartos diante nos peitos como per mjm he mandado por seerem conhecidos por mouros...” A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I*, 143, doc. 360.

it appears that only during the reign of Afonso V were all Portuguese Muslims required to wear a distinctive symbol or badge on their clothing, in the same manner as the Jews.¹⁶¹ This legislation was even applied to slaves. Any Muslim slaves who were discovered not to be wearing a distinctive badge were to be punished by ten lashes and their owners compelled to pay a fine of 300 *reais*. In December 1471, two slavewomen, one of whom had been the property of the deceased *Infanta* Catarina (the sister of Afonso V, who died in 1463) and the other belonging to a certain João de Chaquedo, were both imprisoned and condemned to a flogging for their failure to wear the obligatory identification badge.¹⁶²

The specific dress code imposed on all Muslims led to a series of bitter complaints made by the Muslim communities to their sovereign. The first protest occurred in 1359 when, as we have seen above, the Muslim *comuna* of Moura sent a delegation to the King to complain that the sleeves of the garments they were instructed to wear were far too large and even hampered them in their work, to the ultimate detriment of the Crown's own fiscal income from the community:

The Muslim *comuna* of Moura have sent [envoys] to inform me that they are industrious working men but that they cannot fulfil the service that they must render [to the Crown] with the *al-jubbās* [cloaks] that I have ordered all the Muslims of my lordships to wear. [They state that] it is a great burden and source of annoyance to them to have to carry sleeves that are two palms in width. They have thus sent [envoys] to Us so that We should hear [their grievances] and find a remedy to this situation in order that they may render the services they owe Us and wear the Muslim clothes they are obliged to wear.¹⁶³

In response to their complaint, Pedro I granted the Muslims of Moura an authorisation to wear shorter sleeves on the strict condition that they continued to wear a distinguishing symbol on their garments. The document recording the protest is very interesting both because it not

¹⁶¹ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, titles 86 (Jews) and 103 (Muslims).

¹⁶² For the laws concerning slaves see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 28, fol. 102; For both examples cited here: A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 16, fol. 39 and bk. 17, fol. 84 (The two women were eventually spared the flogging).

¹⁶³ "Sabede que o comuum dos mouros de moura me enujarom dizer que elles eram homens lauradores e de grande afam que nom podiam fazer o serujço que teem de fazer com as aljubas que eu mando trager a todollos mouros de meu senhorio e que outrossy lhes era grande encargo e agrauo de tragerem as mangas dellas de dous palmos de ancho e enujarom me pedir por mercee que lhes ouuese sobre todo remedio pera elles poderem fazer os serujços como deujam e trouuesem abitos de mouros como deuem trazer." A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I*, 143, doc. 360.

only informs us that it was Pedro I who officially instituted an obligatory “dress code” for Muslims in the first few years of his reign—between 1356 and 1359—but also reveals a great deal about the nature of the distinctive clothes that were worn by these Muslims. These garments—identified in the document as the *al-jubba* (الجبة) and burnooses (transliterated in Portuguese as *albornozes* from the Arabic البرنوس)—were intended to clearly mark out the Muslims from the Christian population. Over seventy year later, in 1436, the Muslim community of Lisbon appealed to King Duarte for help, stating that they had always worn burnooses, *escapuleiros* (apparently small hats) and *balandraees* (long mantles) but that a magistrate of the town—the *alcalde pequeno*—had prohibited them from wearing the hoods of their burnooses. The King granted their request to be allowed to continue wearing these clothes in consideration of the fact that “such dress, as that which they presently wear, is sufficiently distinct from that of the Christians.”¹⁶⁴ The clothing of the Muslim minority became an issue of contention once more in 1455 when senior judges—the *desembargadores da Casa do Civel*—forbade the use of open cloaks and ordered all Muslims to wear either seamless cloaks or cloaks with their seams stitched up. The Muslim community of Lisbon was forced once again to seek redress directly from the Crown. They complained that the weight of the seamless cloaks was hampering them in their everyday work and that, furthermore, the injustice of this imposition was aggravated by the fact that the other Muslim communities of the realm were not being compelled to wear such cloaks.¹⁶⁵

The laws on clothing did not simply define the outward shape or appearance of garments but also the quality of their fabric. Sumptuary laws were enacted that prohibited the use of luxurious fabrics by Muslims and Jews in the garments that they chose to wear in order to signal their lower status in society. At a parliament held at Santarém in 1451, the representatives of the commons requested the introduction of such laws to prevent members of both minorities from dressing in garments made of expensive delicate cloths such as silk or wearing clothing similar to that of Christians. The representatives expressed their outrage that the Jews and Muslims could not be distinguished from Christians by the “nobility of their clothing” and petitioned for the introduction of appropriate remedial legislation. The Crown accepted the motion

¹⁶⁴ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 103.

¹⁶⁵ M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1998), 140.

but imposed the provision that Jews and Muslims should be allowed to openly wear clothing made with luxurious fabrics at special events.¹⁶⁶ Little is known of the application of this particular law but it is interesting to note that a Muslim resident of Setúbal named Ibrāhīm saw fit to request, and was granted, a licence to wear silk clothes in April 1466. Ibrāhīm obtained the authorisation he sought with the condition that these garments were to be concealed beneath his distinctive “Muslim clothing” (*traje de mouro*).¹⁶⁷

The segregationist legislation enacted during the reigns of João I, Duarte and Afonso V did not put an end to the complaints made in parliament regarding Jewish and Muslim dress. A number of Jews in the fifteenth century received permission from the Crown not to wear the compulsory identification badges but these exemptions frequently only applied to periods of travel and to the first three days that the recipient spent in a new town.¹⁶⁸ In response to the protests expressed by the urban representatives at the parliament of Évora-Alvito in 1482, João II enacted further legislation affecting the dress of both minorities. Jews were once again forbidden from wearing silk garments and forced to wear the distinguishing badge on their clothing. For their part, the Muslims were not only ordered to wear their distinguishing clothing but now also required to add a red piece of cloth shaped like a crescent on their burnouses that was to be fixed at the height of their shoulders in order to enhance its visibility.¹⁶⁹

Are we to conclude from the recurrent complaints expressed in parliaments, and the various exemptions granted to individual Jews or Muslims, that the segregationist laws were either never implemented in practice or only very ineffectively? Such a conclusion would certainly be a flawed one. The very fact that individuals from both minorities went to the trouble and expense of acquiring royal privileges exempting them from segregationist measures, such as having to wear distinctive badges,

¹⁶⁶ M. F. Lopes de Barros, “Body, baths and cloth: Muslim and Christian perceptions in medieval Portugal”, *Portuguese Studies*, 21 (2005), 10.

¹⁶⁷ “... a brafome mouro foro solteiro morador em ssetuall teemos por bem e nos praz que daquy en diamte elle possa trazer vestido quallquer pano de sseda que elle teuer ou lhe derem ao diante aalguuns senhores assy gibodes como em outras rroupas e esto comtamoto que elle trragua ssobre o dicto panno de seda vestido e trraguo (sic) de mouro e doutra maneira nom sem embargo da nossa hordenaçom e defessa em comtrairo...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 14, fol. 61v.

¹⁶⁸ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 222–7 and 2, table 9.

¹⁶⁹ A.N.T.T., *Núcleo Antigo*, doc. 118, fols. 172v–173.

indicates that the laws were enforced and that the Muslim and Jewish recipients of these privileges did not dare to flout them without first obtaining official sanction. By way of illustration, a royal licence issued on 11 December 1472 to Muḥammad Anaçar and his son Aḥmad, authorising them not to wear the red identification badges, reveals that these Muslims were “afraid to go about without the red badges because they were concerned that they might be arrested for this.”¹⁷⁰ To this evidence may also be added the repeated complaints made by the Jewish and Muslim *comunas* to the Crown concerning these laws, as well as the pardons granted to Jewish and Muslim individuals who were guilty of violating them, which further reinforce the impression that the Christian authorities did attend to the implementation of these laws. The enforcement of these laws depended, of course to a large degree, upon the local authorities. Far from being negligent, some officials even appear to have been overzealous. The Jewish *comuna* of Setúbal complained twice—once to Afonso V and a second time to his son João II—of harassment by local officials, who allegedly arrested five or six members of their community each week for not properly wearing the red symbols on their clothes. This was no isolated occurrence and similar complaints were made by a significant number of other Jewish *comunas* during the same period.¹⁷¹

It is perhaps in the punishment of offenders that the Crown showed itself to be flexible in the application of the segregationist laws. In cases where the offenders ought in theory to have suffered the death penalty or enslavement, it appears that in practice the Crown—acting as the final court of appeal—preferred to punish transgressors through the confiscation of property and monetary fines instead. Even individuals who were found guilty of transgressing the sexual boundaries between Christians and non-Christians, and whose crime thus condemned them to enslavement according to the stipulations of the *ordenações afonsinas*, seem in reality to have incurred a variety of less draconian

¹⁷⁰ “...mafamede anaçar e azmede anaçar seu filho mouros forros (...) nos emviaram dizer que por seerem dos que forom tomados na dicta villa sse temyam d'andar ssem sinaes vermelhos e rreeçauam ser por ello pressos pedindo nos por merce que lhes desemos nossa carta pera poderem andar per todos nossos regnos e senhorios sem synaaees...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 38, fol. 77v.

¹⁷¹ For Setúbal see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 30, fol. 26v; *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 210; M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 414–5 and 457, footnote 136.

punishments including periods of exile, penal military service, the confiscation of property or even monetary fines that were channelled into the special royal fund dedicated to funding charitable works (the *arca da piedade*).¹⁷² A note of caution should nonetheless be sounded in this assessment. Most of the information available in the royal registers concerns the cases of individuals who appealed against the sentences they had received in lower courts. The absence of surviving documents from the lower courts means that we will never know how many sentences were not appealed or even the precise circumstances of the appellants. As a result of this lacuna, it is impossible to appreciate whether it was a standard practice in fifteenth-century Portugal for Jewish and Muslim offenders to appeal to the Crown for a more lenient punishment or whether, on the contrary, these were exceptional cases involving individuals whose finances and connections allowed them to appeal their original sentences.

Popular anti-Judaism in Portugal was not only expressed in legislation but also in isolated acts of physical violence, though evidence of large-scale riots can only be found in documents from the last quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁷³ In most cases, the Crown acted swiftly to stop the mobs and order the municipal authorities to act. The Jewish *comuna* of Leiria sought “a charter of protection” from the Crown in 1378 because of assaults and thefts they suffered during the Holy Week festival.¹⁷⁴ Not long afterwards, the chronicler Fernão Lopes records that an attack on the Jewish quarter of Lisbon during the revolution that brought the dynasty of Avis to power in 1383 was only narrowly prevented by the personal intervention of João I.¹⁷⁵ On only one occasion did popular

¹⁷² M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 404–6. For royal pardons granted to Muslims who had had sexual relations with Christians see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 32, fol. 6 (fine of 3.000 *reais*); bk. 33, fol. 122 (confiscation of property and corporal punishment); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 1, fol. 120v (fine of 6.000 *reais*); bk. 2, fol. 50 (fine of 3.000 *reais*); bk. 8, fol. 73 (fine of 300 *reais* and exile); bk. 23, fol. 103 (fine of 3.000 *reais*).

¹⁷³ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, “Revoltas contra os judeus no Portugal Medieval”, *Revista de História das Ideias*, 6 (1984), 161–173.

¹⁷⁴ “...fizerom certo per stromento publico feito per tabelliam do muito mal e dampno que recebiam dos christãos dessa villa ao dia de quinta feyra e da sexta feira maior d’endoenças, e que lhe [the Christians] britam as portas das casas em que moram e as paredes (...) e lhes fazerem mal e dampno nos corpos...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, bk. 2, fols. 26–26v.

¹⁷⁵ Fernão Lopes, *Crónica del Rei dom João primeiro de boa memória*, ed. A. Braamcamp Freire (Lisbon, 1973), I., 29.

anti-Jewish feeling in Portugal actually erupt into physical violence and murder on a large scale. In December 1449 a riot broke out in Lisbon following the severe punishment by the municipal authorities of a gang of youths that had insulted Jews. To the cry of “kill them and rob them” (*matallos e rouballos*), an angry mob stormed the *Judiaria Grande* and pillaged it, killing a few Jews who resisted them.¹⁷⁶ The young Afonso V was swift to intervene and severely punished the culprits who could be apprehended. An amnesty was eventually proclaimed and at least sixty-nine rioters, all of them small tradesmen, were fined or condemned to serve periods of exile in the Moroccan fortress of Ceuta.¹⁷⁷ Even when the riot of 1449 is taken into account, anti-Jewish violence in Portugal never reached levels even remotely comparable to the rest of the Peninsula, especially Castile. King Afonso himself referred to it as “an event such as has never [before] taken place in our realms.” Portuguese Muslims likewise did not suffer from riots like their Valencian co-religionists in the 1270s or in 1455.¹⁷⁸

The Crown offered attractive privileges to Jewish or Muslim converts to Christianity but never actively encouraged conversions. A law promulgated by João I, reproducing verbatim a bull of Pope Clement VI, forbade the forced conversion of Jews, and extended this prohibition to Muslims. Individuals who ignored this law were punished, as was the case of a group of knights and squires who forced a Jew of Portalegre to convert in 1468.¹⁷⁹ The Portuguese clergy likewise showed remarkably little zeal for converting the infidels in their realm and there were no Portuguese preachers comparable to the Franciscan Ramon Llull of Majorca (1232–1315) or the redoubtable Dominican Vincent Ferrer of Valencia (1350–1419). Relatively little anti-Jewish or anti-Muslim polemical literature was produced in Portugal.¹⁸⁰ Only the anti-Jewish

¹⁷⁶ Rui de Pina, *Chronica de El-Rei D. Affonso V*, ed. G. Pereira (Lisbon, 1904), 2, chapter 130, 119–120.

¹⁷⁷ For a detailed list of these rioters and of the fines they received see H. B. Moreno, “O Assalto à Judiaria Grande de Lisboa”, 125–132.

¹⁷⁸ “. . . por o dito malefício em si seer tem maao e cousa que nunca foy em nossos regnos acontecida.” A.H.C.M.L., *Livro 2º dos Reis D. Duarte e D. Afonso V*, doc. 33. On the anti-Muslim riots in Valencia see chapter 5.

¹⁷⁹ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 93; A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 28, fols. 121–121v.

¹⁸⁰ J. C. Lavajo, “Alvaro Pais um teórico da reconquista cristã e do dialogo islamo-critão”, *Eborensia*, 15–16 (1995), 73–109 and M. de Lourdes Sirgado Ganho, “Une œuvre de théologie ‘*Adversus Judæos*’ d’un auteur portugais du milieu du XIV^e siècle”, *Medievalia. Textos e Estudos*, 5–6 (1994), 99–108.

and anti-Muslim polemic entitled *Livro da Corte Imperial*, written by an anonymous Portuguese author in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, stands out even though it drew much of its inspiration from the works of Ramon Llull and Nicholas of Lyra (c.1270–1349).¹⁸¹

Writing in the sixteenth century, Joseph ha-Cohen relates that Saint Vincent Ferrer was refused entry into Portugal by King Duarte. There is no other evidence that Ferrer ever intended to visit Portugal and this story, doubtless apocryphal, probably reflects the fact that even Jews perceived Portugal to have been largely free of missionary campaigns, in stark contrast with Castile and Aragon.¹⁸² Only one isolated instance of aggressive missionary activity has been recorded in Portugal. This occurred in 1480–1 when a Jewish convert to Christianity and preacher in Braga, called Master Paul, apparently forced the local Jews to attend sermons, caused them “many oppressions” and threatened to excommunicate any Christians who associated with Jews. The Crown reacted swiftly and firmly to end this situation. Afonso V commanded the dean and chapter of Braga either to stop Master Paul preaching and lift all excommunications or risk his displeasure, whilst the preacher himself was ordered to come to the court and explain himself.¹⁸³ Conversions to Christianity by Muslim slaves were more frequent than amongst the free Jewish and Muslim population.¹⁸⁴ Church synods held in Portugal rarely mentioned either Jews or Muslims. The synod held at Lisbon in 1403 simply reiterated previous royal legislation concerning relations between Christians and non-Christians. Subsequently, the synod held

¹⁸¹ J. M. da Cruz Pontes, “Estudo para uma edição crítica do Livro da Corte Imperial”, offprint of *Biblos*, 32 (1957). This author discusses other anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim polemics in medieval Portugal in pages 62–90 of her work.

¹⁸² J. Ha-Cohen, *Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. and tr. P. León Tello (Barcelona, 1989), chapter 90, 105.

¹⁸³ H. B. Moreno, “As pregações de mestre Paulo contra os judeus bracarenses nos fins do século XV”, *Bracara Augusta*, 30 (1976), 53–62 and “Novos elementos relativos a Mestre Paulo, pregador do século XV contra os judeus bracarenses”, *Bracara Augusta*, 32, (1978), 117–124.

¹⁸⁴ For cases of free Muslims converting to marry Christians see bk. 10, fol. 101 (11/09/1454); and *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 45, fol. 15v (08/01/1499), refers to an earlier conversion in 1483). For instances of converted Muslim slaves: A.N.T.T., *Livro 1º dos Reis*, fol. 89; *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 6, fol. 58 (06/05/1476); bk. 7 fol. 28v (03/07/1476); bk. 11, fol. 66v (17/05/1451); bk. 15, fol. 100 (06/01/1445); bk. 20, fol. 83 (13/02/1440); bk. 24, fols. 39v (07/12/1444) and 80v (13/07/1444); bk. 32, fol. 68v (11/02/1480); bk. 33, fol. 60 (10/02/1473); bk. 35, fol. 97v (17/04/1442); *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 13, fol. 18 (01/05/1490). See the next chapter for instances of conversions by Jews.

at Braga in 1477 ordered Christians not to consume meat prepared by Jewish or Muslim butchers and ordered Jews not to work outside their *judiarias* on Sundays or Christian holidays and not to produce or restore any sacred Christian objects.¹⁸⁵

Jews And Muslims In The Economy

Traditional studies examining the economic role of medieval Jews have generally placed a very heavy emphasis on their role as usurers and tax farmers. More recent research on the economic life of the Jewish communities established in the Kingdoms of Castile, Navarre and Aragon has nevertheless presented a much more complex picture.¹⁸⁶ The composite picture that arises from the scattered archival data, particularly through the research undertaken by Tavares, reveals that the traditional portrayal of the limited economic role of the Jews is also simplistic and very far from the reality in Portugal. The sources point to the Jews, and also to the Muslims, as having actively engaged in a wide-ranging number of economic activities that encompassed agriculture, artisanry, commerce, money-lending and tax farming.

Portuguese Jews and Muslims were both actively involved in agriculture. Members of both minorities not only possessed allodial lands but also leased them in emphyteutic contracts. Muslims, as the *foral dos mouros* of 1170 and its thirteenth-century derivatives indicate, were involved in the production of olive oil, figs and even wine. Their involvement in agriculture continues to be documented well into the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁷ The role of Jews in agriculture is also well documented despite repeated complaints of the commons in various parliaments that the Jews should be made to work the land and raise livestock.¹⁸⁸ João II granted Jews the privilege of working in their olive and fig groves and

¹⁸⁵ *Synodicon Hispanum*, ed. A. García y García (Madrid, 1982), 2, 129–133, 321 and 328–9.

¹⁸⁶ J. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier. The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca, 2006), 55–71; B. R. Gampel, *The last Jews on Iberian soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479–1498* (Berkeley, 1989), 22–49. For Aragon see Y. T. Assis, *Jewish Economy in the Medieval Crown of Aragon 1213–1327. Money and Power*, (Leiden, 1997) and M. D. Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 2004), 109–137.

¹⁸⁷ M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 87–98.

¹⁸⁸ Such complaints were made at the parliament in 1352 (*Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de Afonso IV*, 126) and by the representatives of Lamego in 1456 (A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 13, fol. 104; *Leitura Nova, Beira*, bk. 2, fol. 46v).

vineyards on Sundays.¹⁸⁹ It was of course particularly important for Jews to be able to produce their own kosher wine. A fifteenth-century list of fruit producers drawn up by the council of Loulé reveals that these included Christians, Jews and Muslims.¹⁹⁰

Artisans of both minorities were heavily involved in craftwork. Portugal, with a relatively small population that had been struck hard by the Black Death in the fourteenth century, was short of skilled craftsmen and manpower.¹⁹¹ A survey of the professions known to have been practised by Jews in the leading Portuguese cities between 1383 and 1450 has revealed that tailors, weavers and cobblers formed the predominant professional groups. In Leiria a similar study for the whole of the fifteenth-century produces eleven tailors, ten cobblers and nine blacksmiths.¹⁹² The involvement of Jews in metalwork—as blacksmiths, goldsmiths and armourers—is particularly noticeable. The Crown particularly appreciated the expertise of Jews in the production of weapons and accordingly privileges and pensions were granted to a number of Jewish armourers. In Lisbon the dominant trades of the Muslim community were hemp and carpet weavers and potters whilst in Elvas Muslim cobblers dominated the trade.¹⁹³

Small and impoverished towns were anxious to attract skilled artisans, including Muslims and Jews, as settlers. In 1455 the town council of Mourão complained to Afonso V that the town suffered from a shortage of cobblers, tailors, pottery workers and shearers. Apparently no Christians proficient in these occupations were willing to settle in Mourão unless they received a pension that the cash-strapped council could not afford. Instead the council turned its attention to attracting Jews and Muslims proficient in these crafts to settle in Mourão. The town council

¹⁸⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fols. 212v–213 and 148–148v; bk. 21, fols. 131v–132.

¹⁹⁰ A. Iria, *Documentos Portugueses: O Algarve e os Descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1956), II, 2, 437–476. The date given by Iria is 1412. Professor Tavares has argued that the type of currency mentioned in this document makes it more likely to date from 1450. M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 334, n. 63.

¹⁹¹ See V. Rau, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, I. Vicente Gonçalves, L. A. de Oliveira Ramos and H. C. Baquero Moreno, “Para o estudo da peste negra em Portugal”, *Bracara Augusta*, 14–15 (1963), 210–240.

¹⁹² M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 303–5; S. A. Gomes, “Os judeus de Leiria medieval como agentes dinamizadores da economia urbana”, *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 28 (1993), 19–20.

¹⁹³ M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 87–98; F. B. Correia, *Elvas na Idade Média*, unpublished M.A. dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, (Lisbon, 1999), 2, 586–591.

successfully petitioned the Crown to grant Jews and Muslims proficient in these trades the same privileges as those held by the Christian citizens and inhabitants of Mourão.¹⁹⁴ When the town council of Elvas attempted to persuade the Crown to exempt the Muslim population of the *portagem* tax in 1455, they added that such a measure “might result in some Castilian Muslims coming to live in that town, which would be to our service.”¹⁹⁵ Unsurprisingly, towns strove to retain skilled Muslim artisans. In 1449, representatives of the towns of Silves, Faro and Lagos came together to ask the Crown to exempt a Muslim artisan producing packsaddles from municipal and communal taxes “because there is no one else who masters this skill.”¹⁹⁶ Similarly, Aḥmad Castellão, a resident of Évora, was apparently such a skilled carpenter that in 1466 he was exempted from a number of taxes levied by the Crown, municipality and *comuna*.¹⁹⁷

Portuguese Jews were especially active in commerce. Within the realm, Jewish artisans and merchants travelled to sell their wares at fairs or visited villages. In the parliament of 1472, the commons protested that travelling Jewish salesmen selling woollen cloth in the villages of the regions of Beira, Trás-os-Montes, Minho and Riba-Coa were competing unfairly with the fairs of Lamego, Guarda and Trancoso.¹⁹⁸ Jews were engaged in the retail of agricultural produce away from the regions of production. Jewish merchants from Portugal were also active beyond the borders of the realm. Fifteenth-century Valencian documents reveal the presence of Jewish merchants from Portugal in that hub of Mediterranean commerce.¹⁹⁹ At the request of João II, the Catholic Monarchs offered

¹⁹⁴ The privileges were confirmed by João II on 13 September 1486 (A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 219v).

¹⁹⁵ “...nos pediees que nom pagasem e que seria cousa alguus mouros castelaãos se virem morar a essa villa, o que seria nosso serviço e a vos fariamos mercee.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 15, fols. 80–81v; A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Odiana*, bk. 3, fol. 171.

¹⁹⁶ “... não hão outro que saiba do dito officio...” A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Guadiana*, bk. 3, fols. 235–6, chapter 4; H. da Gama Barros, “Judeus e mouros em Portugal em tempos passados”, *Revista Lusitana*, 35 (1937), 188–9.

¹⁹⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 12, fol. 136 (confirmation of an earlier privilege).

¹⁹⁸ A. de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *História da sociedade em Portugal no século XV*, 257.

¹⁹⁹ In 1484, for instance, Jahudà Astori “*Juheu del realme de Portugal*” sold a slave in Valencia. An earlier document of 1457 refers to “*certs juheus mercaders portugueses*” who left the town of Morvedre near Valencia without paying the proper duties: M. D. Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in fifteenth-century Spain* (Princeton, 2004), 116. For

royal protection to all Portuguese Jews trading in their dominions.²⁰⁰ The Portuguese archives contain thirty-two surviving permits to export and import merchandise granted by the Crown between 1466 and 1491 to Jewish merchants. The recipients of these licences were practically all members of prominent Jewish families residing in Lisbon including the Negro, Abas, Latam, Vivas and Abravanel families.²⁰¹ Documents reveal that these Lisboetan Jews were involved in the profitable trade of sugar produced on the Island of Madeira as well as the export and import of products to and from Portugal. Their role in the importation of textiles from Castile, Flanders and England was particularly noticeable.²⁰² The lucrative returns on their commercial investments made these families extremely wealthy and allowed them to have connections amongst the highest ranks of Portuguese aristocracy. A measure of the wealth of these Jewish merchants can be gathered from their contributions to the 60 million *reais* that Afonso V raised for the defence of the realm by means of an *empréstitmo* in 1478–80. The wealthy Guedelha Palaçano and Isaac Abravanel contributed the colossal sums of 1,947,415 and 1,680,000 *reais* respectively. These sums were far in excess of those lent by other lenders and numerous other Jewish merchants lent lesser sums. In total a fifth of the individuals lending to the Crown in 1478–80 were Jews.²⁰³ These men certainly impressed Münzer, who recorded that “extremely wealthy Jews are found [in Lisbon], nearly all merchants, who live off the work of their slaves.”²⁰⁴

other references to Portuguese Jews in Valencia see L. Piles Ros, “Judíos extranjeros en la Valencia del siglo XV”, *Sefarad*, 7 (1947), 357–8 and J. Hinojosa Montalvo, “Judíos portugueses en Valencia a fines de la Edad Media”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas, Universidade Portucalense*, 10 (1995), 221–234. It is likely that Portuguese Jews also traded in Navarre. A document of 1485 mentions a Jew, referred to solely as “*el Portugués*”, who was accused of murdering another Jew in the town of Cascante. M. Zubillaga Garralda, *Los judíos del reino de Navarra. Protocolos notariales de Cascantes 1436–1496* (Pamplona, 2003), 351, doc. 808.

²⁰⁰ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernandez, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 210.

²⁰¹ For a list of these licences and references see M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 285.

²⁰² A. M. P. Ferreira, *A importação e o comércio têxtil em Portugal no século XV* (Lisbon, 1983), 80.

²⁰³ A. Braamcamp Freire, “Os sessenta milhões outorgados em 1478”, *AHP* IV, 425–438; M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 176–182.

²⁰⁴ “*Reperiuntur hic ditissimi Judei, qui quasi omnes merces vendunt, qui ex solo sclavorum suoribus labore vivunt.*” H. Münzer, “Itinerarium Hispanicum”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 88.

Portuguese Muslims participated in international commerce, though on a far lesser scale. The Crown granted a number of Portuguese Muslims the right to trade outside the realm, usually in return for some form of guaranty that they would return.²⁰⁵ In a few cases, the desire to develop trading links even led the Crown to view the emigration of its Muslim subjects in a favourable light. Thus, for instance, on 20 May 1469, Afonso V granted Yūsuf, a resident of Lisbon, the authorisation to reside in the “Muslim territory” (*terra dos mouros*). Yūsuf was authorised to return to Portugal and leave again “freely whenever he wishes (...) because we have cause to expect that he shall return to our lands with things (*cousas*) that will be to our service.” The King extended his protection to his person and merchandise and also ordered that he should be well received aboard Portuguese ships.²⁰⁶ The Crown also granted Muslim merchants from Castile, Granada and North Africa visas to enter Portugal. In 1472, for example, Allecem (‘Alī?), a Muslim from Fez, was granted a licence to trade in Portuguese dominions.²⁰⁷

Portuguese Jews practised money lending and tax farming but there is little documentary evidence of Muslim involvement in either of these activities during the fifteenth century.²⁰⁸ Even amongst Jews, both of these activities were restricted to individuals with the necessary capital to invest in them. Few Jews depended upon these activities as their primary means of subsistence and most were merchants, artisans or physicians and they also included women. A law of 1340 prohibiting usury by Jews never seems to have been applied.²⁰⁹ Our sources provide few details concerning small-scale loans to peasants or artisans but reveal that loans were also made to members of the high nobility and the royal family. The wealthy merchant families of Lisbon acted as the bankers of the Crown and nobility. The will of Prince Fernando, son of João I, reveals that the deceased *infante* owed debts of 52,000 *reais* to a member of the Abravanel family.²¹⁰ Later Afonso V repaid Isaac Abravanel

²⁰⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 20, fol. 146.

²⁰⁶ “...levemente cada vez que lhe aprouver e tornasse per sua terra porquanto esperamos que aja de tornar a nossos regnos com algumas cousas de noso serviço.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 31, fol. 43. See also A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 31, fol. 107.

²⁰⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 29, fol. 15. For other similar examples see Isabel M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, “Contribuição para o estudo da mobilidade dos mouros forros em Portugal nos séculos XIV e XV”, *La Peninsula Iberica en la era de los descubrimientos 1391–1492* (Seville, 1997), 2, 1681–1687.

²⁰⁸ A rare reference to Muslim usurers is made in the 1267 customs of Évora. *PMH, Leges*, II, 78.

²⁰⁹ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 96.

²¹⁰ A.N.T.T., *Livro 1º dos Reis*, fols. 85–92; *Monumenta Henricina*, 6 (1964), 108–132.

200,000 *reais* and Palaçano 46,900 *reais* for the payment of 1500 ducats in Rome.²¹¹

The farming of direct and indirect taxes was not the exclusive preserve of Jews but was also practised by enterprising Christians. In the large towns only a small group of wealthy Jewish merchants took part in tax farming. In the towns and regions within the interior of the realm, contracts to collect taxes were handed out to small Christian and Jewish merchants.²¹² From the reign of Duarte, the law prohibited Jews from serving as tax farmers for the Church.²¹³ It is interesting to note that complaints against Jewish usury, so frequent in the parliaments of the fourteenth century, disappear in the parliaments of the following century and were substituted by protests against the Jewish participation in the collection of royal revenues.²¹⁴

Language, Culture And Faith

The marginalisation of both minorities forced communities to close ranks and support their co-religionists elsewhere in Portugal. A sense of the close ties that bound the Jewish minority—and of the preconceptions it inspired amongst certain Christians—can be gathered from a dispute between the chapter of Porto cathedral and the Jewish *comuna* of that town in 1479 over the dues levied from a slaughterhouse. The judge condemned the Jews to pay a fine and refused to accept their claim of poverty for the following reason:

The accused [Jews] cannot claim penury since we have seen from experience that their *comuna* and those of the Jews of Lisbon and the other *judiarias* of these realms help each other out like brothers in such cases and they are the richest and most prosperous subjects of these realms.²¹⁵

²¹¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 1, fol. 16v; A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Estremadura*, bk. 8, fol. 70.

²¹² M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 313–330.

²¹³ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 68.

²¹⁴ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, “O crescimento económico e o antijudaísmo no Portugal medieval”, *La Peninsula Iberica en la era de los descubrimientos 1391–1492* (Seville, 1997), 2, 51–67.

²¹⁵ “Visto experiencia nem podem elles reeos aleguar inopia porque a cumuna sua e dos judeus de Lixboa e das outras judarias destes regnos que se ajudam em taaes cassos hũus aos outros como irmaaons som dos mais ricos e abastados suditos dos dictos regnos...” G. Coelho Dias, “O cabido da sé do Porto e a comuna dos judeus. Por uma dobra e um açougue”, *Humanística e Teologia*, 4 (1983), 357, doc. 4.

The absence of documents produced within either community greatly hampers any attempt to reconstruct their cultural and religious life. The survival of Arabic and Hebrew is certainly not in doubt. Arabic and Hebrew script feature on Muslim and Jewish tombstones as well as Synagogue lintels. A small hoard of documents in Hebrew confiscated by the Inquisition in 1542, including a will and a marriage contract dated 1484 and 1490 respectively, reveal the continued use of that language within the Jewish community.²¹⁶ Whether these languages were spoken in ordinary everyday conversation or used only in a religious context and by the religious elite is impossible to determine. João I and Afonso V prohibited the use of either language by notaries in official documents on pain of death but it would be wrong to interpret this as an attempt at forced acculturation.²¹⁷ It seems more likely that the King was motivated more by a wish to promote uniformity in the Crown's records. The use of either language in other circumstances was certainly never prohibited. In the fifteenth century, ordinary Jews and Muslims continued to sign their names in Hebrew and Arabic, a fact which strongly suggests their continued usage by members of both communities.

Other regions of the Peninsula witnessed a decline in the use of Arabic by Muslim minorities in favour of local romance dialects and the emergence of *aljamiado*: vernacular romance written with Arabic script. In Portugal, however, no such documents from this period have surfaced.²¹⁸ Only a single fifteenth-century document appears to suggest

²¹⁶ A. Goulart de Melo Borges, "Panorâmica da epigraphia árabe em Portugal", *Estudios Orientais II* (Lisbon, 1991), 91–102 and "Almocavar de Moura: localização e epigrafia", *Arqueologia medieval*, 1 (1992), 65–69. Also F. Díaz Esteban, "Lápidas judías en Portugal", *Estudios Orientais II* (Lisbon, 1991), 207–215 and E. Cunha Azevedo and A. Paulo, "Adiciones a la inscripcion hebraica de Gouveia (Portugal)", *Sefarad*, 40 (1980), 309–314. On the Hebrew documents discovered by the Inquisition in Miranda do Douro, see A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processos n° 4532 and n° 12385*. E. Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé* (Lisbon, 1998), 201–223.

²¹⁷ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, titles 93 (Jews) and 116 (Muslims). João I later rescinded the law but it was reinstated by his grandson Afonso V at some point before 1452. That this law was enforced is proven by the pardons granted to Jewish notaries in Elvas and Setúbal in 1452 for having illegally drawn up documents in Hebrew. A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 12, fols. 27v and 41; F. de Sousa Viterbo, "Occorências da vida judaica", *AHP*, 2, (1904), 182–5; H. da Gama Barros, "Judeus e mouros em Portugal em tempos passados", *Revista Lusitana*, 34 (1936), 228–9, doc. 152.

²¹⁸ The only extant texts in Portuguese *aljamiado* date from the early sixteenth century and were produced by subject Muslims in Morocco. See D. Lopes, *Textos em aljamia portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1897; W. Giese, "Como os mouros de Safi grafavam o Português?", *Biblos*, 7, Coimbra (1931), 482–511 and L. P. Harvey, "Aljamia Portuguesa Revisited", *Portuguese Studies Review*, 2 (1986), 1–14.

that a form of Portuguese *aljamiado* may have existed. Fernão Vasques, public notary of the Muslims of Lisbon, drew up a marriage contract between two Muslims in 1473 and referred to a previous document written “*em alyamyã*.” The use of the term *alyamyã* is certainly striking as the word normally used to refer to Arabic in vernacular Portuguese documents of this period is “*aravigo*”.²¹⁹

In vernacular Portuguese documents Muslims and Jews are normally designated with binomial nomenclature rather than the standard Arabic or Hebrew onomastic forms with their patronymic elements. This is not necessarily a sign of acculturation but might quite possibly have been a simplified nomenclature used by Christian scribes for their own convenience. Culturally distinct first names, such as Isaac and Abraham or Muḥammad and ‘Ali, were retained throughout this period and neither group used Christian first names.²²⁰

The religious life of either community reaches us only dimly through Christian sources. Jews, of course, had always lived as a minority religious group in the Iberian Peninsula whether under Islam or Christianity but the impact of the Christian conquest on the religious life of the once dominant Muslims in Portugal is difficult to gauge. The church council of Vienne of 1311 had prohibited the call to prayer of the *muezzin* but in Portugal this important symbol of Islam was not officially banned until the commons, assembled for the parliament of Coimbra in 1390, protested that these calls were “blasphemous against God and against to the ordinances of the Holy Church.”²²¹

Moreover, the conversion of Christians to Islam—or Judaism for that matter—was not only illegal but also punishable by death. The conversion of slaves, both Muslims and animist black slaves from sub-Saharan Africa imported into Portugal from 1444 onwards, posed particular problems. The conversion of non-Christian slaves to Islam or Judaism was prohibited although it appears that licences could be purchased from the Crown. In 1463, the Crown confiscated a young black slave

²¹⁹ A.N.T.T., *Mosterio de São Vicente-de-Fora, caixa 29*, doc. 18. Another tantalising suggestion of the existence of some form of reverse Portuguese *aljamiado*, this time writing Arabic with Latin letters, can be found in a commemorative inscription left by the Muslim master mason at the castle of Alandroal, which was built by the Order of Avis at the start of the fourteenth century. The inscription is partly in Arabic and partly in Portuguese but completely written with the Latin script. J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Etnografía portuguesa*, 4, 317–8.

²²⁰ M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 115–9.

²²¹ A.H.C.M.L., *Livro 1º de Cortes*, fol. 68v, art. 17.

belonging to Mūsā Toque, a Muslim of Silves, because the former had been “circumcised” (i.e. converted) without a royal licence.²²² Similarly, Judas Ambrão, a Jewish widower living in Santiago do Cacém, was fined 500 *reais* in 1491 for having converted to Judaism a son he had sired by a Muslim slavewoman without official sanction. From 1490 Jews and Muslims owning slaves who converted to Christianity were legally compelled to free them within a set period of time.²²³

Such laws restricted outside manifestations of Islam or Judaism deemed to be offensive to Christianity and Christians but did not impact upon the inner religious life of either Jews or Muslims. Both communities had their own places of worship, schools, cemeteries and butchers (*degoladores*) who could slaughter animals according to their religious customs. Vernacular Portuguese records ordinarily refer to the religious leaders of either community—Muslim *fuqahā*’ or Jewish rabbis—as “chaplains” (*capelão dos mouros/judeus*). Jeronymus Münzer visited the main synagogue of Lisbon on a Saturday in late November 1494 and has left this brief, yet fascinating, description of the building only two years prior to the Manueline edict:

The [synagogue interior] is decorated with great beauty and has one pulpit for preaching [the *bīmāh*], similar to those in mosques. It was lit by ten huge candelabra with fifty or sixty candles each, as well as many other lights. And the women sit in a separate space from the men, lighted, in a similar manner, with very many lights.²²⁴

²²² “...a nos disserom que huum murça toque mouro morador em a nossa cidade de silues conprou huum moço escrauo E ho çercundou E o rretalhou sem tendo pera ello Nossa licença por a quall rrazom per bem da nossa hordenaçom sobre ello facta E dereito comum perde o dicto escravo pera nos...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 8, fol. 159v.

²²³ “...Juda ambraao morador em santiago do caçem nos emuiou dizer que sendo elle veuiuo viera a dormir com huma moura darzilla sua escraua da quall ouuera huum filho ho quall fanara E lhe fizera auto E çerimonya de Judeu como seo filho que era E por lhe ser dicto que elle E a dicta sua escpraua E filho mereçiam por ello pena de Justiça se amoramam...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 9, fol. 93; On the law passed at the parliament of Évora in 1490 see A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555* (Cambridge, 1982), 63.

²²⁴ “O quam pulcerrimum locum et cathedram predicandi ut in mesquitis. Ardebant in ea decem magna candelabra et in unaquaque 50 aut 60 lampades, demptis aliis lampadibus. Et mulieres habebant separatam sinagogam in qua etiam quam multe lampades ardentes.” H. Münzer, “Itinerarium Hispanicum”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 82. Münzer also states that he visited the *mouraria* of Lisbon and its mosque but unfortunately does not describe either of them.

One of the duties of the chief rabbi was in fact to ensure that Jewish *comunias* were properly provisioned with teachers and rabbis.²²⁵ Within their communities, rabbis certainly had the power to pronounce a ban on individuals who disobeyed Jewish laws and customs or defied the authorities of the *comuna*. The Jews of Lisbon and Évora both maintained hospitals for the poor and leper houses. A handful of documents, including some post-expulsion ones, reveal the existence of charitable confraternities in the Jewish *comunias* of Lisbon and Santarém of which nothing else is known.²²⁶ Medical knowledge was apparently highly rated in the Jewish community and sixty percent of those holding licences to practice medicine in fifteenth-century Portugal were Jews.²²⁷ Practically nothing is known of religious life in either community at a popular level though some Jews and Muslims were involved in folk magic. Muḥammad Abauteiro, a Muslim of Lisbon described as a Seer (“*adynhador*”) whose talents even attracted Christian clients, received a royal pardon in 1491 for his “sorcery.” Another document of 1492 mentions a Jewess named Viziboa who concocted love potions and sold them to Christian women.²²⁸

²²⁵ “[O Arraby Mor] Costrangerá, e mandará costranger as Comuias, que tenhaõ Leterados pera ensinar nos Lugares, honde se costumou de os aver, e assy Capellaaes tantos, como se sempre acostumou; e se essas Comunas nom poderem achar esses Leterados, e Capellaaes polos preços, que entenderem que he razom, que o Arraby Mor constranga esses Leterados, e Capellaes, que servam, e lhes faça dar as soldadas, que elle com os Arrabys, e Vereadores, e homees boos Judeos per juramento acharem, e acordarem que merecem outras pessoas.” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 81, item 19.

²²⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 10, fol. 58v and bk. 31, fol. 22v; A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Estremadura*, bk. 4, fols. 67–67v; bk. 5, fol. 287v.

²²⁷ I. Gonçalves, “Físicos e cirurgiões quatrocentistas”, *Imagens do Mundo Medieval* (Lisbon, 1988), 9–53.

²²⁸ “...mafamede abauteiro mouro forro morador em a nossa Cidade de lixboa nos enviou dizer que algũas pessoas que lhe bem nom queriam o culparom em hũas enqueriões deusas geraaes que sse em a dicta cidade tirarom dizemdo em seus testemunhos que ele era adynhador E que lancaua juizos per jrmauera E que lancara juizo sobre hũa taca que fora furtada a huum Ruy da Costa almoxarife do almazem em a dicta cidade E asy lancaua outros juizos dos quaaes nenhũas pessoas Receberom perda nem dapno alguum polla qual Rezom sse ele amorara...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 11, fol. 10. For the document referring to the Jewess Viziboa (A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 5, fol. 34v) see H. B. Moreno, “A Feitiçaria em Portugal no século XV”, 76–7, doc. 7.

Conclusion

In his work on the Portuguese Inquisition, Alexandre Herculano assessed the situation of medieval Portuguese Jewry in the following manner:

Probably nowhere else in medieval Europe did public authorities by their laws, or through their acts of government, so favour the Jews as in Portugal, even though these laws consistently affirmed with more or less rigour the distinctions that signalled their inferiority [as members of a different faith].²²⁹

Herculano's positive assessment has much to support it and is also applicable to the Muslim minority. Indeed a comparison with its Iberian neighbours indubitably presents a positive image of Portugal. The absence of periodic large-scale eruptions of popular violence against religious minorities and of royally sanctioned missionary campaigns led by zealous friars creates a positive image of the situation of either minority in medieval Portugal.

In spite of this, it would be simplistic either to present an overly positive picture of the situation of Jews and Muslims or to draw a sharp distinction between medieval Portugal and its neighbours in its treatment of its religious minorities. As the recurrent complaints made by Christian burghers in the parliaments demonstrate, popular suspicion and prejudice were widespread. Laws compelled Jews and Muslims to reside in segregated residential quarters, wear distinctive symbols, pay discriminatory taxes, and attempted to limit their social interaction with Christians. Many of the elements that characterised popular anti-Jewish resentment in the rest of the Peninsula also existed in Portugal. In spite of the protection that they received from the Crown, Christian festivals represented a time of heightened tension and danger for Portuguese Jews. A document from the reign of João II, recording a complaint by the Jewish *comuna* of Setúbal, attests that in that town the celebrations held to mark the festival of the first Christian martyr, St. Estêvão, included a game known as the hunt for the "pig fish" (*porco pisco*) in which the Christian townsmen descended upon the town's *judiaria* to assault Jews

²²⁹ "Talvez, em parte nenhuma da Europa, durante a Idade Média, o poder público, manifestado quer nas leis, quer nos actos administrativos, favoreceu tanto a raça hebreia como em Portugal, embora nessas leis e nesses actos se mantivessem sempre, com maior ou menor rigor, as distinções que assinalavam a inferioridade deles como sectários de uma religião, posto que verdadeira, abolida pelo cristianismo." A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*, 1, 90.

and extort bribes from them.²³⁰ Even the infamous blood libel, whose origins can be traced back to twelfth-century England, was apparently not unknown in Portugal: the discovery in 1459 of the body of a child between Vila Franca and Povóia gave rise to rumours that it had been murdered by Jews.²³¹ Although the Jews bore the brunt of this popular antipathy, the Muslim population, as will be discussed in greater detail in the last chapter of this work, was not spared either.

Most importantly of all, both Muslims and Jews were entirely dependent upon the protection and goodwill of the Crown. Only the prompt and vigorous intervention of the Crown prevented the escalation of anti-Jewish violence on numerous occasions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The protection of the Crown rested upon the significant benefits for the economy of the realm—and more importantly for the royal treasury—that resulted from the presence of the Jews and the Muslims. The expansionist ambitions of the Portuguese Crown in North Africa and its wars against Castile made it unlikely that the Crown would risk alienating any source of revenue. In the fifteenth century Portugal's Jewish and Muslim communities were fortunate that João I, Duarte, Afonso V and João II were remarkably consistent in their attitudes towards their non-Christian subjects. Moreover, with the notable exception of the turbulent minority of Afonso V, there were few periods of political upheaval and weak royal rule in the fifteenth century that could be exploited by anti-Jewish or anti-Muslim elements.

²³⁰ "...os homens boons do concelho usam antre sy mandarem ao porco pisco e dizem que chegam aa judiarrriia forçosamente tomo o judeu como ho acham e ferem nos com paos e cenho tam aficado que por força lhe vem a dar muito dinheiro e o que lhes pedem; outrosi chegam a cada casa que lhes dem dinheiros senam que lhes britaram as portas..." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 212; M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 32; P. Drummond Braga, *Setúbal Medieval* (Setúbal, 1998), 220.

²³¹ "...que huû mozo fora morto antre Vila Franca e povóia o que mozo diziam que mataram os judeus..." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 36, fol. 210v.

CHAPTER TWO

CASTILIAN CONVERSOS AND JEWS IN PORTUGAL C.1480–C.1495

In the early summer of 1391, a wave of anti-Jewish violence shook much of the Iberian Peninsula and engulfed the principal Jewish communities in Castile and Aragon. Thousands of Jews converted to Christianity to escape slaughter at the hands of the mob. This disaster was compounded by an aggressive preaching campaign led by Saint Vincent Ferrer and the disputation of Tortosa which resulted in many more conversions, both voluntary and unwilling.¹ The most important consequence of the calamitous period of 1391 to 1416 was that the converts and their descendants, who became collectively known as the *conversos*, emerged as a distinct social group that was integrated into mainstream Christian society although not assimilated. The exact number of Jews who converted during this period will never be known but it was sufficiently high for those that did to retain their own group identity.² Large-scale conversion did not result in increased social harmony but rather the contrary. There was widespread suspicion amongst Old Christians that the *conversos* were not sincere Christians but continued secretly to practice their old faith. By way of illustration, the author of the *Alborcayco*, an anti-Jewish polemic written in the 1480s or possibly even earlier, asserted that “in the kingdoms of Toledo, Murcia, Andalucía and Extremadura you will hardly find any of them [*conversos*] who are true Christians.”³ There was a widespread belief amongst certain sectors of Old Christian population that judaizing *conversos* were working to undermine the church from within and even that “Jewishness” was

¹ Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2, 95–243; P. Wolff, “The 1391 pogrom in Spain. Social crisis or not?”, *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 4–18; See also E. Benito Ruano, *Los orígenes del problema converso* (Barcelona, 1976).

² On the number of conversos in fifteenth-century Spain see B. Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain from the late XIVth to the early XVIth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (New York, 1973), 238–248.

³ B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Spanish Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York, 1995), 853.

transmitted by blood.⁴ This resentment against *conversos* was further fuelled by the fact that many of them, now unrestricted by a distinct religious identity, attained positions of power and influence in society. An uprising against the Crown in Toledo led to a violent anti-*converso* riot in 1449 and there was another wave of bloody riots directed against *conversos* in the towns of Andalucía in 1473.⁵ Jews were widely suspected by Old Christians of actively assisting judaizing *conversos* and this allegation led Isabel and Fernando to order the expulsion of the Jews from Castile and Aragon in 1492.⁶

These terrible events have generated a vast body of historical literature and a heated debate still focuses on the real extent of crypto-Judaism amongst the *conversos*.⁷ One aspect of these momentous developments that has received much less attention, however, has been their impact upon the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal. Recently, a few historians have started to perceive this event as a key to the sudden decline of Portuguese Jewry. As we have seen in the introduction, Tavares has described the arrival of the Castilian Jews in Portugal as a “destabilizing element” that was crucial in bringing about the forced conversion of 1497. Another scholar has gone even further and made the following devastating assessment:

Contemporary sources tell us that in the early summer of 1492 Portugal was flooded with 90,000–120,000 Castilian Jews. The admission of such an influx was contrary to reason. This country, whose population numbered barely one million, could not afford such a move that would create chaos from socio-economic, health, and religious perspectives.⁸

⁴ J. Friedman, “Jewish conversion, the Spanish pure blood laws and reformation: a revisionist view of racial and religious anti-Semitism”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 18 (1987), 3–29; J. Edwards, “The beginnings of a scientific theory of Race? Spain, 1450–1600”, *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic History and Culture*, ed. Y. K. Stillman and N. A. Stillman (Leiden, 1999), 179–196.

⁵ A. Mackay, “Popular movements and pogroms in fifteenth-century Castile”, *Past and Present*, 55 (1972), 33–67.

⁶ M. Kriegel, “La prise d’une décision: l’expulsion des juifs d’Espagne en 1492”, *Revue historique*, 260 (1979), 49–90. Haliczzer has contended, without much solid evidence, that Christian urban oligarchies were responsible for the expulsion of 1492: S. H. Haliczzer, “The Castilian urban patriciate and the Jewish expulsions of 1480–1482”, *The American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 35–62.

⁷ See B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Spanish Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York, 1995) and N. Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison, 1995).

⁸ A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 7.

Was Portugal thrown into chaos by the arrival of a tidal wave of Jewish refugees from Castile? Was Portuguese society affected by the religious and social strife that also poisoned relations between the *conversos* and Old-Christians in Castile and Aragon? This chapter seeks to comprehensively examine the impact upon Portugal of two momentous developments in Castile: the arrival of considerable numbers of *conversos* in Portugal during the 1480s and then of even greater numbers of Jews following their expulsion from Castile in 1492. Using both narrative sources and the often fragmentary documentary evidence that has survived, this section will attempt to determine whether a clear case can be made to support the notion that Portugal was destabilised by social and religious events in Castile.

The Castilian Conversos in Portugal

Contrary to the general belief that there was no inquisitorial activity in Portugal prior to the establishment of the “Portuguese” Inquisition in 1536, there is in fact some evidence that, since the fourteenth century, specially appointed inquisitors had held the power to investigate heretical beliefs and deeds. Little is known about heretical movements and their repression in medieval Portugal. The first legalisation relating to heretics dates from the thirteenth century when in 1211 Afonso II included amongst those guilty of the crime of *lèse-majesté* all those heretics who were condemned by the judgement of bishops. A century later, in 1312, Dinis enacted laws condemning all those found guilty of blasphemy and heresy to be burnt after having had their tongues removed. The identity of the heretics and their heretical beliefs in those centuries is not revealed in the sources.⁹

More information concerning heretical movements in Portugal is available from the fourteenth century. According to the polemical *Colírio da fé contra as heresies* authored by the Bishop of Silves Álvaro Pais (1275–1348), a heretical Franciscan preacher named Tomás Escoto [the Scot?] was imprisoned and condemned by a panel of ecclesiastics including the Bishop of Lisbon in the first half of the fourteenth century. Álvaro Pais declares that Tomás Escoto and his followers were apparently guilty of a host of heretical beliefs, including the denial of

⁹ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 54 and bk. V, title 2.

the virgin birth and the resurrection of Christ, the belief that Christ was God's adopted son and the rejection of the validity of the sacraments.¹⁰ The fifteenth century witnessed further legislation against heretics. In 1416 João I ordained the confiscation of all property belonging to convicted heretics.¹¹ His grandson Afonso V, by a royal decree dated 18 August 1451, ordered the justices of his realms to confiscate and burn all the heretical writings of "John Wycliffe, Jan Hus, Friar Gaudio and many other heretics" that they discovered and to punish anyone who owned or read them.¹²

The identity of those who exercised inquisitorial power during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is obscure. A seventeenth-century history of the Franciscan order in Portugal, the *Historia Serafica* of Manuel da Esperança, does provide us with some names. Da Esperança states that by a letter dated 17 January 1376 Pope Gregory XI ordered the Bishop of Lisbon to appoint a Franciscan friar as an inquisitor for the suppression of heresy in Portugal, and that in August of the same year the Bishop named Friar Martim Vasques, a lecturer in theology at the convent of Saint Francis in Lisbon, as inquisitor.¹³ Martim Vasques was succeeded in this office by Friar Rodrigo de Sintra, professor of theology and personal preacher to King João I and in 1413 by Friar Afonso de Alprão who exercised inquisitorial powers over the whole realm. De Esperança states further that the letter sent by Gregory XI contained the phrase "*Nullusque ibidem inquisitor existat*", thus indicating that there were no inquisitors in Portugal prior to Martin Vasques.¹⁴ Notwithstanding De Esperança's claim that Gregory XI decreed that only Franciscans should be inquisitors in Portugal, we learn from another source that Dominican inquisitors took over in the fifteenth century. According to an eighteenth century historian of the Inquisition, it was the creation of the province of Portugal within the Dominican Order

¹⁰ Fr. Álvaro Pais, *Colírio da fé contra as heresias*, ed. M. Pinto de Meneses (Lisbon, 1956), 2, 41–79.

¹¹ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. V, title 1.

¹² A. Moreira de Sá, *Índices dos livros proibidos em Portugal no século XVI* (Lisbon, 1983), 50–51, doc. 1.

¹³ "*Ocupado Gregorio XI em mandar inquisidores por toda a Christianidade, como ja deixo escrito, não quíz faltar cõ elle a este Reino, nem que fosse d'outra Ordem, senão da nossa Franciscana.*" M. da Esperança, *Historia serafica da ordem dos frades menores de S. Francisco na provincia de Portugal*, 2, 391.

¹⁴ M. da Esperança, *Historia Serafica*, 2, 389–392, 515–516 and 559–561; 3, 27; Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal* (Porto, 1967), 401.

in 1418 that led to the appointment of Dominican friars as “general inquisitors of the Realm.” The first *Inquisidor Geral* was Friar Gonçalo. He was followed by a chain of general inquisitors: Gonçalo Mendes (1436–1450) João Martins (1450–1456); Diogo do Porto (1456–1473); Alvaro Correa (1473–1479); João Martins (1479–1485) and Braz de Évora (1485–1500).¹⁵ Documentary evidence supporting this interesting information is unfortunately almost nonexistent. Only in a single isolated document of 1438 is it possible to find Friar Gonçalo Mendes bearing the title of “inquisitor of the heretics” (“*enqueredor dos ereges*”).¹⁶ Once more, the identity of the heretics that these men were to prosecute is not known and Herculano has suggested that the title of inquisitor was purely an honorific one. Whatever the truth, cases of sorcery in fifteenth-century Portugal were not handled by ecclesiastical court or inquisitors but by secular courts and royal magistrates.¹⁷ Furthermore, an undated law explicitly stipulated that Jews and Muslims who converted to Christianity but later returned to their original faiths—and were thus guilty of apostasy—were to be judged by royal magistrates and not by ecclesiastical tribunals.¹⁸

The problem of apostasy by Jewish converts did not affect Portugal until the 1480s. Unlike either Castile or Aragon, Portugal does not appear to have witnessed many Jewish conversions to Christianity prior to the forced conversion of 1497. As we have seen in chapter 1, legislation aimed at creating conditions favourable to conversion did exist, but there was little active effort on the part of authorities to convert the Jews. The royal chancery registers reveal that there was only a small number of Jewish converts to Christianity in Portugal during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The motive behind these conversions appears to have varied from one individual to another. Some of these converts became clerics and we can reasonably presume that they were sincere. They include, for instance, Alfonso de Jesus and Afonso Fernandes de Santiago, both of whom are recorded as monks at the Cistercian

¹⁵ P. Monteiro, *História da Santa Inquisição do reino de Portugal, e suas conquistas* (Lisbon, 1750), 2, 399–402.

¹⁶ S. A. Gomes, “Ética e poder em torno do mosteiro da Batalha”, *Arquivo Histórico Dominicano Português*, 4 (1991), 134, doc. 23a. Lisbon has become an archbishopric in 1393.

¹⁷ A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*, 1, 52; H. B. Moreno, “A Feitiçaria em Portugal no século XV”, 61–78.

¹⁸ Durval Pires de Lima, *Documentos no Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1959), 1, 206–8, doc. 20.

monastery of Alcobaça in documents of 1462 and 1466 respectively. A few other converts were criminals who converted during their imprisonment, presumably to escape corporal punishment or even execution.¹⁹

The attitude of Portuguese Christians towards converts, prior to the arrival of the Castilian *conversos* in the 1480s, is largely unknown. In the thirteenth century there is some evidence to suggest that there existed some suspicion concerning the sincerity of converts. The synod held at Lisbon in December 1271 reminded clerics that any Jew or Muslim “who wished to purify themselves through baptism” must first be properly instructed in the doctrine and customs of the Christian faith.²⁰ A more concrete instance of suspicion can be gathered from a bull that Pope Nicolas IV granted on 5 March 1288 to Francisco Domingues of Lisbon authorising him to receive all ecclesiastical benefices. Apparently this convert, described as a “scholar” (*scolari*), was the son of a Jewish father and Muslim mother (most likely a slave). The papal bull makes it quite unambiguous that it was the “defect of his birth” (*defectu natalium*) that had caused Francisco Domingues problems and triggered his petition to the Holy See.²¹ That prejudice against converts continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be surmised from the fact that under João I a law was instituted ordering that those who called converts “turncoat” (*tornadiço*) or “Jew” be judged in secular courts rather than ecclesiastical ones.²² Surviving documents have so far revealed only one case of possible judaizing by a native convert. In 1474 a register of properties in Silves drawn up by tax collectors records that the property of João Gonçalves, son of Abraham Lourebe, was confiscated after he had been “put to death by the Law” (*morreo per justice*). Nonetheless, it does not explicitly state that the offence for which João Gonçalves was put to death was judaizing. Moreover, even though the first name of

¹⁹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 2, 870–875. Tavares has identified 72 converts, or possible converts, for the period between 1379 and 1496.

²⁰ “*Si Iudeus uel Sarracenus sacri baptismatis lauacro desiderat expiari, baptizans prius consideret et exploret an amor fidei Christiane an alia quauis causa illicita ad huiusmodi instantiam petitionis eum aduocet et inducat. Quod si illum decreuerit baptizandum religioso uiro uel loco episcopus uel eius uicarius deputet in fide instruendum ac moribus informandum.*” A. García y García, *Synodicon Hispanum* (Madrid, 1982), 2, 304.

²¹ “*...cum ascribi desideres militie clericali super defectu natalium, quem de Judeo coniugato et soluta tunc Sarracena, nunc christiana, genitus pateris...*” A. Moreira de Sá, *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis 1288–1537* (Lisbon, 1966), 1, 5, doc. 1.

²² *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 89.

Gonçalves's father is distinctly Jewish, it is not followed by the descriptive "Jew" as is the case of other Jews in the document.²³

Although the riots and massacres which devastated the Jewish communities of Castile and Aragon in 1391 did not spread to Portugal, they did result in the arrival of Jewish refugees from Castile and apparently also from Aragon. Bernáldez states that some Jews who had unwillingly converted in 1391 fled to Portugal. Amongst these were apparently individuals who had converted under duress and sought to return to their original faith in Portugal.²⁴ This is confirmed by a law preserved in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*. João I wrote to all the magistrates, judges and justices of his realms to inform them of how to deal with the cases of Castilian Jews who had settled in Portugal but were accused of having converted to Christianity during the 1391 riots and were thus suspected of committing apostasy and heresy in Portugal. The law starts with a clear reference to the massacres of 1391 and the arrival of the refugees:

Know that the Jews of the *comuna* of Lisbon have informed us that the Jews in the realms of Castile and Aragon have suffered many thefts and evils and some of them have been converted against their will and others have adopted Christian names, having been baptized with godparents as is proper, in the hope of escaping death until such a time when they might reach safety. Some of those Jews and Jewesses have come to Our realms and brought with them their wives, children and property. Some of them live in this city [of Lisbon] and others in other cities, towns and areas of our lordship.²⁵

²³ M. J. da Silva Leal, *Livro do almoxarifado de Silves* (Lisbon, 1989), 47. Despite the ambiguity of the document, Tavres claims that Gonçalves was executed for the "heresy of judaizing." See "Expulsion or integration? The Portuguese Jewish Problem", *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World 1391–1648*, ed. B. R. Gampel (New York, 1997), 96.

²⁴ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, chapter 43, 94–5.

²⁵ "Sabede, que a Comuna dos Judeos da dita Cidade de Lixboa nos enviou dizer, que nos Regnos de Castella, e d'Aragom foram feitos muitos roubos, e males aos Judeos, e Judias estantes á aquella sazom nos ditos Regnos, matando-os, e roubando-os, e fazendo-lhes grandes premas, e costringimentos em tal guisa, que alguis delles se faziam Chrisptaos contra suas vontades, e outros se punham nomes de Chrisptaos nom sendo bautizabos com padrinhos, e madrinhas, segundo o direito quer; e esto faziam por escapar da morte ataa que se podessem poer em salvo; e que alguis desses Judeos, e Judias se vierom aos ditos nossos Regnos, e trouverom suas molheres, e filhos, e fazendas, dos quaes moram, e vivem alguis delles em esta Cidade, e alguis em outras Cidades, e Villas, e Lugares do nosso Senhorio." *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 77, item 1.

João I informed his officials that after having received a petition from the Jews of Lisbon, he had decided that any Castilian Jews accused of having returned to Judaism in Portugal were not to be imprisoned or lose their property until a proper enquiry could be made into the circumstances surrounding their alleged conversion. Moreover, in order to deter malicious accusations, the authors of denunciations would have to provide worthy warrantors and security so that the victims of false accusations might be compensated. This law is undated but it is likely to have been promulgated either in 1392 or 1393. To further highlight his protection of the Portuguese Jews, in 1392 João I also ordered the publication throughout his realm of the papal bull issued by Boniface IX (1389–1404) in response to the massacres, prohibiting the forced conversion of Jews.²⁶ Of these *conversos*, however, no trace survives in the documentary sources but it seems safe to assume that many doubtless settled in Portugal whilst others opted to take ship for other destinations. One of these destinations appears to have been Palma de Majorca, on the Balearic island of Majorca. On 26 March 1395, the royal vicar in the town acknowledged receipt from Isaac Guiandelo and Abraham Baguali, the representatives of 150 Jews from Portugal, of a royal licence dated 15 March 1394 that authorised these Jews to settle there under royal protection. The Jews from Portugal were not only to enjoy all the religious freedoms previously held by Jews in Majorca but were also permitted to live in their own quarter and have their own synagogue. In all likelihood, these Jews were refugees who had fled from Castile to Portugal in 1391. They perhaps have been some of the forced converts who returned to Judaism in that kingdom before emigrating to Majorca.²⁷ In spite of the absence of any documentary evidence, it is nevertheless interesting to note that the insulting term *marranos*—widely applied to *conversos* in Castile in the fifteenth century—was already in use in Portugal from the middle of the fifteenth century. Writing during the reign of Afonso V, the poet Alvaro de Brito Pestana used this expression in one of his poems directed against the rich and influential Lisboetan Jew Isaac Abravanel.²⁸ In view of the anti-*converso* riots that took place

²⁶ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 94.

²⁷ A. Pons i Pastor, *Los judíos del reino de Mallorca durante los siglos XIII y XIV* (Palma de Mallorca, 1984), 2, 195; Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 2, 121.

²⁸ The poem has been printed in E. Lipiner, *Two Portuguese exiles in Castile: Dom David Negro and Dom Isaac Abravanel* (Jerusalem, 1997), 101–3, doc. 6.

in Toledo and Andalucía later in the fifteenth century it seems probable that a small number of *conversos* continued to emigrate to Portugal prior to 1480.

The situation of the *conversos* in Portugal and the attitude towards them changed rapidly following the establishment of the “Spanish Inquisition” in 1480. On 27 September, Isabel and Fernando issued letters to two Dominican Friars, Juan de San Martín and Miguel de Morillo, commissioning them to act as inquisitors in the archdiocese of Seville and the diocese of Cádiz. Under the terms of the bull granted by Pope Sixtus IV two years before, these men were to seek out and punish all acts of heretical behaviour amongst the *converso* community of the town. Soon the institution was introduced into other regions of Castile and even extended, despite considerable opposition by municipal authorities, to the Crown of Aragon. New tribunals were set up in Córdoba, Saragossa and Valencia in 1482; Ciudad Real and Jaén in 1483; Barcelona and Teruel in 1484; Llerena, Medina del Campo and Toledo in 1485; Segovia and Lleida in 1486; Salamanca, Murcia, Alcaraz, Valladolid and Mallorca in 1488; Burgos, Cuenca and Osma in 1489; Ávila in 1490; Calahorra, Sigüenza and Jérez in 1491; León in 1492.²⁹ There followed a period of intense repression of the *conversos*. Hundreds of *conversos* were arrested, put on trial and found guilty of having relapsed into their former faith. Repentant first time offenders who adjured their heretical beliefs were “reconciled” whilst obdurate and relapsed heretics were handed over (“relaxed”) to the secular authorities for execution. The reconciliations of penitents and relaxations of relapsed heretics took place in public ceremonies called *autos-de-fé*. Even those “reconciled” faced the loss of all their property, as well as public humiliation at an *auto-de-fé* and even afterwards since those condemned were forced to wear a penitential garment known as the *sanbenito*.

Our knowledge of the early activities of the new Inquisition in Seville and other regions of Castile and Aragon is severely restricted by a lack of documentary records that leaves us dependent upon the testimony of contemporary chroniclers. Bernáldez claims that in 1488 alone more than 700 were burnt and 5,000 reconciled, adding that after the

²⁹ By 1507 the number of tribunals had been reduced to seven. H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: an Historical Revision* (London, 1997), 142–4; J. Contreras and J. P. Dedieu, “Geografía de la inquisición española: la formación de los distritos 1470–1820”, *Hispania*, 40 (1980), 37–93.

Inquisition had been established in all of Castile and Aragon “it was not possible to count those burnt, condemned, reconciled and imprisoned in all of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of Castile and Aragon.” Some of the most powerful and wealthiest *conversos* of Seville were burnt at the stake or reconciled.³⁰ Other contemporary Castilian chroniclers also provide substantial estimates for the number of victims in the 1480s. Alonso de Palencia thought that the number of *conversos* who had been condemned, or had fled, numbered around 16,000 and the *converso* chronicler Diego de Valera states that more than 1,500 had been burnt.³¹ Another *converso* chronicler, Fernando del Pulgar, puts the number of those burnt at 300 between 1480 and 1492 (when his chronicle ends) and states that the flight of *conversos* so alarmed the local authorities that they sent emissaries to the Queen complaining of the “depopulation.”³² Whilst these figures are open to doubt, and doubtless exaggerated, the Inquisition did indeed strike fear into the heart of the *converso* community of Castile. Andrés Bernáldez declares that the actions of the Inquisition in Seville terrorized the *conversos* of the archbishopric. Although flight was punished by death and guards were posted at the gates of the city, many contrived to run away to Portugal and Islamic lands. Many of them sought refuge in the neighbouring Iberian realms of Portugal and Navarre, where they would be outside the jurisdiction of the Castilian or Aragonese tribunals.³³

The arrival in Portugal of large numbers of Castilian *conversos* fleeing persecution appears to have started soon after the establishment of the

³⁰ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 100.

³¹ Diego de Valera, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1922), 122–4; N. Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison, 2002), 264–6.

³² “Falláronse, especialmente en Sevilla e Córdoba, y en las cibdades e villas de Andalucía, anaquel tiempo, quatro mil casas e más, do moraban muchos de los de aquel linaje; los quales se absentaron de la tierra con sus mugeres e hijos. E como quier que la ausencia de esta gente despobló gran parte de aquella tierra, e fue notificado a la Reyna que el trato se disminuía; pero estimando en poco la disminución de sus rendas, e reputando en mucho la limpieza de sus tierras, decía que todo interese pospuesto quería alimpiar la tierra de aquel pecado de la heregía, porque entendía que aquello era servicio de Dios e suyo. E las suplicaciones que le fueron fechas en este caso, no la retraxeron deste propósito.” Hernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid, 1943), 1, 439.

³³ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 100; On the *converso* exiles in Navarre see B. R. Gampel, *The last Jews on Iberian soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479–1498* (Berkeley, 1989), 71–88.

first tribunal. At the parliament of Évora-Montemor in 1480–1481, the assembled Commons launched a strong verbal attack against foreign merchants including Englishmen, Genoans, Florentines and Castilians living and trading in Portugal. Concerning the Castilians the commons complained particularly of their suspect religious identity:

Concerning the Castilians, it is true that they have fled their lands where they are pursued because of their evil heresies but in your realm they are protected, all of which is to your disservice, as they diminish your rights and work to destroy the realm. Thus, your highness, your people beg you not to consent any longer to their continued presence in your realms and lordships.³⁴

As both suspected Jews and Castilians, the *conversos* doubly attracted the ire of the Portuguese populace as memories of the fierce war between Portugal and Castile were probably still vivid in the mind of many Portuguese.

Little information concerning individual cases of Castilian *conversos* who sought refuge in Portugal during the 1480s has survived. Evidence of the presence of *converso* exiles in Portugal can be found in Inquisition trials though the evidence has to be treated with circumspection. Of those Sevillian *conversos* who fled the Inquisition, one named Alonso Batihoja lived in Lisbon. Others sought refuge in the Portuguese Algarve. Juana Díaz, wife of Alemán Pocasangre, settled in Faro and Rodrigo de Morón in Tavira. Lastly, another group of Sevillian *conversos*, including Fernando de Arahál, Juan de Sevilla, Pedro Ejecutor, Francisca de Herrera, Diego López de Sevilla, Alonso Fernández and Beatriz Sánchez all found refuge in Évora. Both Juan de Sevilla and Pedro Ejecutor had been prominent citizens of Seville before their flight from the Inquisition.³⁵ Soon after they arrived in Portugal, Juan de Sevilla, Pedro Ejecutor and Francisca de Herrera, the latter's wife, appealed to the Bishop of Évora, García de Meneses, against the sentences that the inquisitors had condemned them to *in absentia*. In January 1484 Juan

³⁴ "... e dos castelhanos he verdade que que por suas maas eresias de suas terras sam corridos e lamçados e em vosos regnos defensos e emparados pollo quall todo he voso desserviço porque todo trazem maneira de deminuir em vossos dereitos e destruir vosos regnos do que pede Senhor o voso povoo a vosa alteza por mercee que daqui avamte nom consentaaes mais os taees estamtes em vosos regnos nem Senhorios..." cited in H. B. Moreno, "Reflexos na cidade do Porto da entrada dos conversos em Portugal nos fins do século XV", 134.

³⁵ J. Gil, *Los conversos y la Inquisición sevillana* (Seville, 2000), 1, 105–110.

de Sevilla asked the Bishop for a copy of a bull issued by Sixtus IV in August 1483 that ordered the Holy Office to cooperate with the ecclesiastical authorities, clearly with the intention of using it to obtain an absolution. According to a later Papal bull, Pedro and Francisca at least received an absolution from Pope Sixtus IV.³⁶

The flight of *conversos* to Portugal did not limit itself to individuals from Seville and terrorised *conversos* fled from other regions in which the Inquisition began to operate. Leonor González, a *conversa* from Ciudad Real, was one of these refugees. Inquisitorial documents reveal that she had fled to Portugal but do not mention when her flight took place or where in Portugal she settled.³⁷ Another *converso* named Gabriel Castiel of Cuenca made his way to Portugal and was apparently able to fully integrate into the Jewish community of Viseu. Witnesses at his trial claimed to have seen him there in 1488 dressed as a Jew and even wearing the distinguishing sign on his clothing that all Jews were ordered to wear. He was residing in the Jewish quarter of the town and had even opened a school in which he taught Jewish children to read. One witness even claimed that Gabriel had abandoned his baptismal name or reverted to using his original Hebrew name as after the witness spoke to local Jews, “they told him what his name over there was, although he does not remember whether it was Isaac or Josef.”³⁸ In another interesting case, we hear of another *converso* who hoped to move to Portugal but did not have the financial resources to do so. A Jewish woman named Jamila, who was questioned by the Inquisition, claimed to have recognised a Jew of Valladolid named Isaac who was known to have been a convert. Three or four months after moving to Sigüenza, Jamila saw him begging and “wearing the identification badge of a Jew.” She called him over to her door and asked him where he was from. The *converso* was apparently suspicious at first and falsely claimed that he was from the town of Évora in Portugal. Jamila, however, was

³⁶ F. Fita, “Nuevas fuentes para escribir la historia de los judíos españoles. Bulas inéditas de Sixto IV e Inocencio VIII”, *BRAH*, 15 (1889), 477–489; B. Llorca, *Bulario pontificio de la inquisición española en su periodo constitucional: 1478–1525*, (Rome 1949), 174–9, doc. 43.

³⁷ Her son persuaded her to return to Castile and she was burnt in the Plaza de Zocodover in Toledo on 15 October 1492. H. Beinart, *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem, 1985), 1, 315–334.

³⁸ C. Carrete Parrondo, “Nostalgia for the Past (and for the Future?) among Castilian *Judeoconversos*”, *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 39.

adamant that she knew him and warned him that the Inquisition would burn him. In reply to her query concerning why he was begging in Sigüenza, Isaac eventually answered: "I want to go to Portugal."³⁹

If the above testimony concerning Gabriel Castiel of Cuenca was true then some judaizing *conversos* were able to revert to Judaism in Portugal and integrate into local Jewish communities. Nonetheless Castilian *conversos* were not assured of positive welcome by Portuguese Jews. A royal pardon granted by João II in 1485 refers to a woman who may have been a Castilian *conversa* who made her way to Portugal but was rejected by the Portuguese Jews. That year, Rabbi Jacob Galite of Lisbon was fined 300 *reais* for not having denounced to the royal authorities a Castilian Jewess who wished to marry a Portuguese Jew. According to the pardon, the rabbi "visited the aforesaid Castilian Jewess before he gave them a licence [to marry] and found that it was not in God's service to marry them so that he refused them permission to wed."⁴⁰ The document does not explicitly state that the "Castilian Jewess" was a *conversa* but the fact that a rabbi refused to sanctify the wedding of a *conversa* with a Jew would be in line with the quite hostile contemporary attitudes of Jewish rabbis concerning *conversos*. Moreover, why else would Rabbi Galite have been fined for not denouncing her unless she was in fact a *conversa* attempting to integrate into the Portuguese Jewish community?⁴¹

The arrival of the Castilian *conversos* provoked a hostile response from the municipal authorities of Portuguese towns. In Lisbon their arrival was followed by an outbreak of plague. On 12 August 1484 the municipal council ordered the immediate expulsion of all the Castilian *conversos* on the pretext of an outbreak the plague. The expulsion was accompanied by some disturbances and this led the King to write to the municipal authorities at the behest of the anxious Jewish community of Lisbon on 20 November 1484. João II ordered the municipal council

³⁹ C. Carrete Parrondo, "Nostalgia for the Past (and for the Future?) among Castilian *Judeoconversos*", *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 39–40.

⁴⁰ "... e que elle ante de dar tall licença fora ver o dicta judia castelhana e achara que nom era serviço a Deus ella cassar com o dicto judeo e o judeo com ella e portanto nom dera em ello licença algũa." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 66v.

⁴¹ On the attitude of contemporary rabbis towards *conversos* see B. Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain from the late XIVth to the early XVIth Century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources* (New York, 1973), 68–72. Of course it is also possible that the Jewess had not been divorced by a previous husband.

to take measures ensuring that the Lisboetan Jews were not molested “because if they suffer any harm we shall be most displeased and we will respond as we see fit.”⁴²

The reaction of the municipal authorities of Porto towards *conversos* was just as unwelcoming as that of Lisbon. The town council assembled in July 1485 to discuss whether or not the *conversos* should be allowed to settle in the town as “it is said that in no part of this realm are they welcomed.” The councillors judged that since they were not only foreigners but also “people of that caste (*casta*) which is suspect” they would not be allowed to enter the town and those already living there would be expelled. This expulsion was either never carried out or not fully implemented since the order of expulsion was renewed on 14 March 1487 and all Castilian *conversos* were granted just three days leave to quit to city. On this occasion the council does appear to have enforced its decree. This can be ascertained by the fact that on 31 March 1487 the councillors of Porto met to consider the petition of a Castilian named Francisco de Casasoylla who claimed that neither he nor his wife were members “of the caste of *conversos*.” Two credible witnesses had testified that Francisco’s wife was “an Old Christian and the daughter of a labourer” but the councillors decreed that her husband would have to stay outside the town limits “until it can be ascertained whether or not he is one of them.”⁴³

By decreeing these expulsions, the town council of Porto was acting entirely on its own initiative and without royal approval. On 8 April 1487 the King wrote to the council of Porto to rebuke them for having

⁴² “E porque çerto nosa vomtade he os judeus desa çidade seerem guardados e emparados como cousa nosa que sam, vos emcomendamos e mandamos que por njsto serujrdes tenhaes maneira como em cousa allgũua gramde nem pequena os dictos judeus nom reçebam desagisado algũu e que emtemdaaes e acudaaes com mujta deligençia a todo o que comprir ao bem e defemsam deles, porque seemdolhe feicto allgũu dano averjamos delo desprazer e o semtirjamos como he rrezam.” A.H.C.M.L., Livro 2º de D. João II, fol. 40, doc. 32.

⁴³ The minutes of the council meeting held on 27 July 1485 are as follows: “E porquanto se dizia que em nhũa parte destes Regnos os nom querjam acolher nem agasalhar e que se serja rezom consentiremnos em esta cidade. E perguntados todos as vozes cada hũ per sj acerqua do que lhes acerqua dello parecija, todos em hũa voz disseram que pois que elles vinham lançados ou corridos dos Regnos de Castella e vendo como os nom queriam colher nem agasalhar em nenhũu lugar destes Regnos e jssso mesmo vendo como elles sam estrangeiros e daquella casta de que hy ha sospeicam, acordaram que os nom consentisem na cidade e esses que ja aquj estam que os juizes e oficiaees os lancem logo fora.” H. B. Moreno, “Reflexos na cidade do Porto da entrada dos conversos em Portugal nos fins do século XV”, 154–8, docs. 2 (July 1485), 3 (14 March 1487) and 4 (31 March 1487).

expelled the *conversos*, asserting that they had “acted very badly” and summarily ordering them not to proceed to any further expulsions. He also informed them that he would write to the Bishop of Porto to instruct him in the matter. The King expressed his displeasure that the *conversos* should have been expelled and thus permitted to leave Portugal without having first been examined by the inquisitors. That the King took this issue seriously is confirmed by the fact that two days later he also wrote to Lisuarte Gil, the magistrate of the region of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, ordering him to ensure that his decrees were duly implemented.⁴⁴

At first sight the attitude of João II towards the *conversos* in Lisbon and Porto does present some problems. His willingness to countenance their expulsion from Lisbon in 1484 but not from Porto in 1487 is indeed surprising. The change of attitude and reaction of the King make more sense when they are viewed against the background of the important developments that took place beyond the boundaries of Portugal. In Aragon a group of wealthy *conversos*, fearing for their safety following the establishment of the Inquisition in the kingdom in 1484, conspired to procure the murder of the inquisitor Pedro de Arbués. On 15 September 1485 a group of men attacked and fatally stabbed the inquisitor in the cathedral of Saragossa. Many of those implicated in the murder fled to the Navarrese town of Tudela, which refused to extradite them. The murder of Pedro de Arbués and the shelter his murderers found in Navarre provoked uproar both in Aragon and beyond. If the conspirators hoped that the murder would prevent the establishment of the Inquisition in Aragon then they dramatically misjudged the consequences of their action. Although the populace had initially resented the introduction of the Inquisition, the murder inflamed popular feeling and resentment against the *conversos*. Moreover, there resulted a tense diplomatic standoff between the Catholic Monarchs and the Navarrese authorities when the latter refused to extradite the fugitives. The Catholic Monarchs petitioned the papacy for assistance and Pope Innocent VIII duly issued the bull *Pessimum Genus* on 3 April 1487. The bull ordered all Christian princes, rulers and magistrates to seize and deliver to the Spanish Inquisition within thirty days all fugitives designated by them as heretics.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ H. B. Moreno, “Reflexos na cidade do Porto da entrada dos conversos em Portugal nos fins do século XV”, 158–9, docs. 5 (8 April 1487) and 6 (30 April 1487).

⁴⁵ F. Fita, “La inquisición española y el derecho internacional en 1487. Bula inédita de Inocencio VIII”, *BRAH*, 16 (1890), 367–371.

In the face of the outrage provoked by the murder of Peter Arbués, João II could not continue to tolerate that his realm turn into—or be seen to turn into—a haven for *converso* fugitives. Jurisdiction over such cases was transferred from the secular courts to Episcopal ones and the King wrote to the council of Lisbon that apostates “must be handed over to the vicars [of the bishops] who have jurisdiction over such cases.”⁴⁶ The records of the municipal council of Porto confirm that João II issued a decree on 8 April 1487 ordering an Episcopal inquisition into the religious beliefs of the “*marranos*”:

We have ordered that certain clerics and other people of our court should go forth to the districts of Our realm in which *marranos* have settled to enquire and inform themselves about how they presently live, and have lived until now, and ensure that those who are not good Christians receive the condemnation that they deserve.⁴⁷

The chronicler Rui de Pina certainly believed that the King was acting in accordance with the bull *Pessimum Genus*:

In the year 1487 the King, with licence and authority from the Pope, took an interest in the heretics and *confessos* (sic) who, out of fear of the Inquisition that was moving against them in Castile, had come to these realms with a royal authorisation on condition that they live like good and loyal Christians. And when the King was informed that they were starting to act like heretics and against the Christian religion, he ordered certain agents, doctors in canon law and other masters in theology to conduct inquisitions throughout the provinces of the realm.⁴⁸

Despite Rui de Pina's claim that the Portuguese monarch was acting on account of Papal pressure, his response does not in fact appear to have been motivated by *Pessimum Genus*. The short space of time that

⁴⁶ Durval Pires de Lima, *Documentos no Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1959), 3, 235; “...entreguaae ao vigairo a que dello pertemçe o conhecimento...” A.H.C.M.L., *Livro 2º de D. João II*, fol. 69.

⁴⁷ “Hordenamos em nossa corte certos relligiosos e pesoas outras que pellas comarcas do Regno honde os dictos marranos estam vão saber e se enfformar de como vivem e viveram atee quy pera os que se achar que nam sam boons cristãaos averem aquella condenaçam que por tall caso merecem.” A.H.M.P., *Livro 5 das vereações*, fol. 104v.

⁴⁸ “Neste ano de mil quatrocentos e oitenta e sete começou el-rei, por licença e autoridade do papa, de entender nos hereges e confessos que, com medo das inquirições que se contra eles tiveram em Castela, se acolheram a estes reinos, o que foi por consentimento e licença de el-rei enquanto vissem bem e como fiéis cristãos, mas, depois que el-rei for certificado que começavam a dar sinais e fazer obras de vida herética e contra a religião cristã, ordenou e deputou para isso certos comissários, doutores em cânones e outros mestres em Teologia, que pelas comarcas do reino entenderam por inquirições em suas vidas...” Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 61.

separates the issue of the bull in Rome (3 April) and the King's decree (8 April) makes this impossible. The bull was not officially accepted by Isabel and Fernando in Córdoba before 31 May 1487. Moreover, *Pessimus Genus* did not instruct rulers to establish Inquisitions in their own realms but only to apprehend suspects and hand them over to the Spanish Inquisition.⁴⁹

According to Rui de Pina, the establishment of an inquisition into the beliefs of the Castilian *conversos* was followed by the severe repression of the *conversos*:

[The heretics] were brought to justice and harshly punished. Some were burnt, others were imprisoned for life, and still others punished according to their crimes. And because some of them fled by ship to the lands of the Muslims, where they publicly became Jews again, the King ordered that no one, on pain of death and confiscation of their property, should henceforth transport them without a [royal] licence.⁵⁰

The King's fear that *conversos* were emigrating from Portugal to North Africa was not misplaced. One extant document of the royal chancery mentions that in 1486 the convert João de Medina, with his son Rodrigo and sons-in-law Pedro Fernandes and Pedro Álvares, fled to North Africa and reverted to Judaism there. Both the date and the toponymic element of the first man's name strongly suggest that these men were a group of Castilian *conversos*.⁵¹

Although Rui de Pina states that some Castilian *conversos* were burnt his statement cannot be corroborated by any evidence in the registers of the Portuguese chancery. The only mention of a *converso* burnt for judaizing in Portugal occurs in pardons delivered in June 1488 to two Jews: a goldsmith named Jacob Rodim and Mosse Mourisco. Both men

⁴⁹ The date of the reception of *Pessimus Genus* in Córdoba is attested by a note written on its reverse. See F. Fita, "La inquisición española y el derecho internacional en 1487. Bula inédita de Inocencio VIII", *BRAH*, 16 (1890), 371.

⁵⁰ "...e neles se fez muita punição e castigo de fogo e cárceres perpétuos e outras pendências, segundo que cada um por suas culpas o merecia. E, porque alguns destes por mar se lançaram em terra de mouros, onde publicamente se tornavam logo judeus, foi defeso por el-rei e posto por lei que nenhum de seus reinos e senhorios, sob pena de morte e de perdimento de fazendas, daí em diante sem sua licença os passasse." Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 61. Garcia de Resende repeats this passage practically *verbatim* in his "Vida e feitos d'el rey Dom João Segundo", *Livro das obras de Garcia de Resende*, ed. E. Verdelho (Lisbon, 1994), 257.

⁵¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 87v. João [Juan?] de Medina must have hailed from Medina del Campo, Medina de Pomar or another Castilian town that includes "Medina" in its name.

received their pardons for not having denounced a certain João of Niebla who had himself been burnt in Santarém for being a “bad Christian” (“*māao cristāno*”). The pardons state that the Castilian *converso* had celebrated the Jewish festival of *sūkōt* (סוכות)—described in the documents as the “*pascua das tabanas*”—“like a Jew” in the house of Jacob Rodim as well as contributing alms for the upkeep of the synagogue and the sustenance of destitute Jews.⁵²

In the same year João II also took measures to prevent the immigration of *conversos* into his realm and to encourage the emigration of those already within its borders. On 2 October, João II issued a decree prohibiting any Castilian *converso* from entering his realm. Later that month, on 29 October, he authorised those Castilian *conversos* already within Portugal to migrate to France, England, Italy, Flanders and Germany but prohibited them from going to North Africa under pain of death and of confiscation of their property.⁵³ In spite of the ordinances of 1488, the *converso* problem in Portugal did not come to an end. On 5 July 1493 the King issued a second ordinance prohibiting any more Castilian *conversos* from entering Portugal and ordering that any discovered there be put to death. Münzer records in his diary that they had been ordered to leave Portugal by December 1494 and that, at the time he was in Lisbon, they were boarding a ship to go to the Kingdom of Naples.⁵⁴

Portugal and the Castilian Expulsion of 1492

On 31 March 1492 Isabel and Fernando signed the edict ordering all the Jews residing within the borders of their realms of Castile and Aragon to convert or leave before 31 July 1492. Portugal, with its long land border with Castile, was an obvious refuge for the Jews of Castile. The Portuguese chronicler Rui de Pina records that representatives of the Jews of Castile went to João II with the hope that “by offering him much money he would receive them into his realms and allow them to take ship in his

⁵² A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 15, fols. 36v and 42.

⁵³ A.H.C.M.L., *Livro das Posturas Antigas*, fols. 62v–63v.

⁵⁴ “*Rex autem Portugalie, morem gerens Regi Hispanie, precepit, ut ante festum natiuitatis Domini omnes Marrani regnum exeant. Qui conduxerunt navem Regine, pulcerimam navem, et iam per medium decembris Neapolim ibunt.*” H. Münzer, “Itinerarium Hispanicum”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 83.

ports.” The Portuguese King summoned his councillors and nobles to his palace at Sintra and sought their advice. His councillors advised him against allowing any Castilian Jews into his dominions because such an action would damage the credibility of his image as a defender of the faith. According to Rui de Pina, the King’s councillors also referred to the examples of France and England which had expelled their Jewish population long ago and “where the faith is now flourishing and perfect.” In the end, the lure of the huge financial gains that might be extorted from the Castilian Jews was too much for the King to resist, especially as he was considering a military expedition to Morocco. Despite the misgivings of his councillors, the King declared that 600 “families” (*casas*) would be allowed to settle in Portugal but that the bulk of the refugees would have to leave within eight months. Any Castilian Jews of the latter group who were discovered to have remained in Portugal after that period of time would be enslaved.⁵⁵

At first sight, Rui de Pina’s account of the negotiations that led to the King’s decision to allow the refugees to enter his realm is perfectly straightforward, yet it is quite problematic regarding the identity of the Jewish representatives—he gives no names—and the date of the council held at Sintra. Fortunately, an anonymous Jewish author who was a contemporary of these events identifies the envoy who conducted negotiations with João II over the entry of the Castilian Jews into Portugal as Vidal bar Benveniste de la Cavalleria.⁵⁶ A descendent of one of the most prominent and wealthy Jewish families in Castile, this man was one of the most influential Jews in Castile and thus his selection for the task is not surprising. The other leaders of Castilian Jewry, Isaac Abravanel, Meïr Melamed and Abraham Seneor, were unsuccessfully attempting to convince Isabel and Fernando to annul their edict in return for a large bride.⁵⁷ In the seventeenth century Imanuel Aboab ascribed the

⁵⁵ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque (Lisbon, 1989), 135–9.

⁵⁶ A. Marx, “The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts”, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 85–6 and 93–4:

“ונכנסו מאה ועשרים אלף מהם למלכות פורטוגאל על ידי פשרה שעשה עם מלך פורטוגאל נכבד אחד שמו דון בידאל בר בן וינישטי דלקבלאריאה...”

⁵⁷ On Vidal Beniveniste and his family see Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 1, 91 and 227 and 2, 58–60 and 173–4; A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. H. Filipowski (London, 1857), 226. On the desperate negotiations of Seneor, Melamed and Abravanel see A. Marx, “The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts”, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 91–3 and E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 207–210.

role of negotiator at Sintra to his ancestor Isaac Aboab but his claim is not verified by earlier sources.⁵⁸

Rui de Pina does not reveal when the King went to Sintra or how long he stayed there. The Portuguese chronicler only states that in May 1492 the King had suffered from health problems in Lisbon, which seems to have been his reason to go to Sintra, which was known for the purity and healthiness of its air. The only chronological detail fact provided by Rui de Pina is that João II was in Sintra when he learnt of the death of Pope Innocent VIII and the election of Alexander VI on 16 August 1492, thus well after the expiry of the final delay accorded to Castilian and Aragonese Jews by Isabel and Fernando.⁵⁹ A detailed itinerary of João II, based on extant documentary evidence, has been published and it does not seem that the King went to Sintra prior to the second half of July 1492. Since the Jews of Castile and Aragon had been ordered to leave *before* 31 July, it is therefore likely that Pina was mistaken. Negotiations between the Portuguese King and the Castilian Jews, and the Royal council called by João II, are most likely to have taken place in Lisbon where the King stayed between March and mid-July 1492.⁶⁰ In any event, Jewish and Christian sources agree that the King not only permitted the Jews to transit through his lands but also undertook to provide the exiles with ships to transport them out of his realm.

The Arrival of Jewish Refugees in Portugal

The problem of how many Jews arrived in Portugal in 1492 is a particularly awkward one to attempt to resolve and is unlikely to ever be satisfactorily answered. Even the number of Jewish inhabitants in Castile and Aragon at the time of their expulsion remains the object of considerable controversy. The contemporary Castilian chronicler Bernáldez stated that one rabbi he had baptized told him that 30,000 “married Jews” (*judíos casados*) were settled in Castile and 7,000 in the Crown of

⁵⁸ “...se fue el venerable Sabio, con otras treynta casas de nobles Israelitas, à Portugal, à consertar con el Rey, que era entonces Juan, segundo de aquel nombre (...) Fueron bien recebidos del Rey, y acordaron, que pudiesen entrar en el Reyno, seiscientas casas de Judios...” Imanuel Aboab, *Nomologia o Discursos Legales* (Amsterdam, 1629), 322.

⁵⁹ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 135–9. This information is repeated by García de Resende, “Vida e feitos d’el rey Dom João Segundo”, *Livro das obras de Garcia de Resende*, ed. E. Verdelho (Lisbon, 1994), 402–4.

⁶⁰ J. Veríssimo Serrão, *Itinerários de El-Rei D. João II* (Lisbon, 1993), 470–1.

Aragon.⁶¹ The attempts of modern historians, using both narrative and documentary sources, have yielded equally diverse approximations. The latest trend amongst modern historians has been to reduce estimates of the number of Jews living in Castile and correspondingly of those who sought refuge in Portugal. In the nineteenth century, Graetz believed that the Jewish population of Castile and Aragon probably numbered around 300,000 individuals and Loeb advanced the figure of 160,000 individuals for Castile.⁶² More recently, historians have endeavoured to use surviving tax records to compute the Jewish population of Castile. Ladero Quesada, using the tax record of 1474 put the total Jewish population of Castile at 70,000 and this drastically reduced figure has also been accepted by Kamen.⁶³ Using the same records, and extrapolating from his study of the Jewish population of the region of León, Rodríguez Fernández has estimated the total Jewish population of Castile at a little over 60,000.⁶⁴

Regarding the number of Jews who entered Portugal between April and July 1492, modern historians are faced by many of the same problems. In the seventeenth century Rabbi Aboab, for instance, put their numbers at 420,000 and in the nineteenth century Alexandre Herculano stated, without citing any source to back his claim, that an incredible 800,000 refugees crossed the border.⁶⁵ The number given by Castilian, Portuguese and Jewish chroniclers vary significantly but usually remain elevated. Gedalya ibn Yahya claims that 600,000 exiles left Castile and Aragon of whom half went to Portugal whilst Isaac Abravanel also states that their numbers in Portugal were 300,000. Abraham Zacuto states that 150,000 Jews crossed the border into Portugal and a contemporary anonymous Jewish source put it at 120,000.⁶⁶ The contemporary Castilian chronicler Andrés Bernáldez, who claimed to have spoken to a

⁶¹ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 255.

⁶² Both of these figures are discussed in I. Loeb, "Le nombre de juifs de Castille et d'Espagne", *REJ*, 14 (1887), 161–183.

⁶³ M. A. Ladero Quesada, "Las juderías de Castilla según algunos 'servicios' fiscales del siglo XV", *Sefarad*, 31 (1971), 249–264; H. Kamen, "The Mediterranean and the expulsion of the Spanish Jews in 1492", *Past and Present*, 119 (1988), 44.

⁶⁴ J. Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías de la provincia de León* (León, 1976), 27. The author offers the improbably accurate number of 60,079(!).

⁶⁵ Imanuel Aboab, *Nomologia o Discursos Legales* (Amsterdam, 1629), 312; A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*, 1, 109.

⁶⁶ For a discussion of these various figures (and others) see H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 284–7.

rabbi, put the number of exiles crossing into Portugal at around 93,000. The curate of Los Palacios divided up their numbers accordingly:

- 3,000 left Castile from Benavente and entered Portugal by way of Bragança.
- 30,000 left Castile from Zamora and entered Portugal by way of Miranda do Douro.
- 35,000 left Castile from Ciudad Rodrigo and entered Portugal by way of Vilar de Formosa.
- 15,000 left Castile from Alcántara and entered Portugal by way of “Marván” [Marvão].
- 10,000 left Castile from Badajoz and entered Portugal by way of Elvas.⁶⁷

The later Castilian chronicler Alonso de Santa Cruz gives the same figures as Bernlúdez except for the number of Jews that entered Portugal via Bragança, which he states was 23,000.⁶⁸ The Aragonese Jerónimo Zurita, writing in 1560s, estimated their number at 80,000 citing unnamed sources.⁶⁹ In contrast to Bernáldez, the estimates of Jewish arrivals provided by Portuguese sources are highly imprecise. Rui de Pina does not venture to estimate their numbers but Damião de Góis reckoned their number at over “20,000 households.” The latter author remarks that some of these families included “ten, twelve members or even more [members].”⁷⁰ An anonymous Jewish source states that the exiles included prominent Castilian rabbis: Isaac Aboab, head of a yeshiva in either Buitrago or Guadalajara; Abraham Saba of Zamora; Jacob ibn Habib of Salamanca; Isaac Besudo of León; Simon Mimi of

⁶⁷ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 256–7.

⁶⁸ Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo, (Seville, 1951), 1, 61.

⁶⁹ “Començaron de salir de Castilla los primeros, la postrera semana de Iulio deste año: y con consentimiento del Rey de Portugal, entraron en su reyno: passados, segun algunos afirman, de ochenta mil: y estos salieron por Benavente, Çamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Valencia de Alcantara, y Badajoz: y entraron por Bregança, Miranda, y por el Villar de Narban, y Yelues.” J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 9.

⁷⁰ “Destes Iudeus houue elRei hũa grande soma de dinheiro, porque segũdo se affirma entrarão nestes Regnos mais de vinte mil casaes, em que hauia algũs de dez, & doze pessoas, & outros de mais...” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 23.

Segovia; Samuel Franco of Frómista; Samuel Valensi of Zamora; Isaac de León of Toledo; Moses Alfrangi of Valladolid; Abraham Abzaradiel of Toledo; Joseph Garson and Abraham Zacuto.⁷¹

There is practically no evidence to inform us as to how the Portuguese Jews reacted to the arrival of so many of their Castilian coreligionists. Only Gedalya ibn Yahya relates that the Portuguese Jews, fearful of possible adverse consequences to their own relationship with the Christian majority, were hostile to the Castilian refugees. Ibn Yahya, writing at least half a century later, is usually considered an unreliable source by historians but in this case his account may be credible since he cites his grandfather:

The majority of these exiles were poor, and Portugal could not readily contain all these Jews. The heads of the Jewish communities in the kingdom of Portugal took counsel to decide how to deal with the large number of Spanish exiles. They decided to strenuously attempt to prevent the exiles from entering Portugal so as not to make themselves loathsome in the eyes of the King, the courtiers, or the [Christian] inhabitants. My grandfather (...) Don Joseph ibn Yahya, objected to this great wrong in God's eyes, saying it was an act of scorn and provocation to close the gates of salvation to their brethren. He suggested that at the very least, they donate half their property to feed these souls, and rent ships to transport them from Portugal to Fez and other kingdoms. The [Portuguese] Jews refused to listen to this advice. As a result, the exiles were forced to negotiate with the King of Portugal for entry.⁷²

It is difficult to know what to make of Gedalya's statement that the leaders of Portugal's Jewish *comunias* refused to use their political influence on the behalf of their Castilian brethren. No other evidence survives to corroborate or contradict this interesting information. Even if the leaders of the Portuguese Jews were as hostile to the Castilian refugees as Gedalya maintains, a later document preserved in the archive of Simancas reveals that some Castilian Jews did receive assistance from their Portuguese coreligionists. On 13 April 1493 Fernando and Isabel instructed their magistrate Día Sánchez de Quesada to investigate a complaint made by Fernando de Sosa of Torrelaguna against Pablo de Sosa of Pedraza de

⁷¹ A. Marx, "The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts", *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 88–91.

⁷² The translation from Hebrew is that of A. David. David ibn Gedalya added that Jews fleeing the peninsula also received a hostile reception from the Jews of Rome and the pontifical states. A. David, "The Spanish expulsion and the Portuguese persecution through the eyes of the historian R. Gedalya ibn Yahya", *Sefarad*, 56 (1996), 53.

la Sierra. Both men, who were *conversos*, had received the huge sum of 455,000 *maravedís* from some Jews to smuggle across to Portugal. In Lisbon Fernando de Sosa had received 1,125 Portuguese *cruzados* in exchange for the sum. In order not to risk being robbed whilst travelling on unsafe roads, Fernando entrusted the sum to a “Jewish resident of Lisbon” who agreed to transfer the money to the town of Celorico in Portugal, where Fernando’s wife was then staying. Besides this, Elijah Capsali states that Portuguese Jews subsequently ransomed enslaved Castilian Jews.⁷³

The Portuguese King designated officials to collect the entrance tax from the Castilian Jews. The sums that the Castilian exiles paid to enter Portugal vary according to the sources. Damião de Góis states that it was 8 *cruzados* per head and half that for blacksmiths, tinsmiths, makers of mail shirts and armourers. All Jews were taxed except for very young children who were still breastfed (“*crianças de mama*”). Alonso de Santa Cruz records the sum as one ducat (374 *maravedís*) whilst Jewish chroniclers give it in various other currencies (*bekas* and *florins*).⁷⁴ At that date a *cruzado* was worth 390 *reais* and thus those Jews taxed at 8 *cruzados* would have owed 3,120 *reais* each. According to the Castilian ordinances of 29 January 1480, a Portuguese *cruzado* was worth 375 *maravedís* and thus to enter Portugal each Jew owed 2,920 *maravedís*, a considerable sum. It is impossible to translate these sums into modern equivalents but it is possible to get an idea of the relative value of this sum. By way of comparison Doña Orovida, a Jewish woman of Guadalajara, sold a garden she owned for 5,000 *maravedís*. Master Pablo, a convert who returned from Portugal and became the municipal physician of Medina del Campo, received a yearly salary of 3,000 *maravedís*.⁷⁵ Rabbi Abraham Zacuto, who was amongst the exiles, records the following Portuguese impositions:

⁷³ The sum smuggled by the *conversos* into Portugal apparently also included some of their own money. R.G.S., 10, n° 936, fol. 177. The document is published in E. Cantera Montenegro, “Judíos de Torrelaguna: retorno de algunos expulsados entre 1493 y 1495”, *Sefarad*, 39 (1979), 338–340, doc. 1; E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 222.

⁷⁴ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 23; Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Seville, 1951), 1, 61.

⁷⁵ Both of these examples are from the work of H. Beinart: *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 259, n. 236 and 347, n. 73.

[The Jews] gave a tenth of all their wealth, plus one *ducado* for each soul, apart from three *ducados* for [the permission] to pass through the states, and they also gave a quarter of all their wealth that they brought in, and some nearly a third. And even one who had no wealth at all paid a ransom for his soul of eight *ducados*, and if not he would be imprisoned.⁷⁶

The Jewish, Portuguese and Castilian chronicles do not reveal anything concerning the formalities that Jews entering Portugal had to complete on the border. Only in the chronicle of Elijah Capsali do we get the impression that border controls were rigorously enforced by the Portuguese King's "angels of destruction" (מלאכי משחית):

King João, even before the sons of Israel had entered Portugal, sent zealous agents, angels of destruction, to decimate them and deprive them of their ornaments. As they were emptying their bags, the messengers of the Gentiles appeared before them, insulting them; they searched their tents in search of loot and to take away their gold and silver. In order to prevent any infraction of his orders the King appointed officials and governors whose task it was to prevent anyone from entering [Portugal] until they had offered the royal treasury one golden *beka*. Neither men nor women were exempted.⁷⁷

Fortunately, a complaint lodged by Juan Fernández Alegre against his former son-in-law Alonso Rodríguez in March 1495 provides precious information concerning the formalities that took place on the Portuguese border. These two men were both *conversos* who had gone to Portugal in 1492 but subsequently returned to Castile and settled in Soria. Juan Fernández Alegre claimed that his former son-in-law had stolen his permit to enter Portugal and the receipts for the taxes he had paid on entry to that kingdom. According to the plaintiff, the Portuguese King

⁷⁶ English translation by H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 285; A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. H. Filipowski (London, 1857), 227:

"אבל עיקר קשטיילייא נכנס לפורטוגאל מפני שלא היו יכולין ליכנס בים ולורז עצמן ונתנו מעשר מכל ממונם. וצוד על כל נפש דוקאדו א' חוץ משליש דוקאדו בעבור [הרשאה] לעבור דרך המדינות, ועוד נתנו רביע כל הממון שהכניסו ומהם קרוב לשליש ואפילו מי שלא היה לו ממון כלל נתן כופר נפש ח' דוקאטוש ואם לאו שיהיה שבוי ויכלה הזמן ולא יכלה מלספור דברי פורטוגאל שנכנסו יותר מק"כ אלף נפשות ולא מעט מהם במגפה."

⁷⁷ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 221:

"ויהי טרם בא עם י"י במלכות פורטוג" גאל שלח המלך דו"ן יוא"ן נוגשים אצים מלאכי משחית להשחית את בני ישראל ולהוריד עדים מעליהם, ויהי המ מריקי' שקיהם, והנה מלאכי גוים נצבים לפניהם, וימששו באהליהם, לשלול שלל ולבזו בז כספיהם וזהביהם, ויקראו מלא אחריהם. ועוד הפקיד המלך פקידים ונגידים, על כל העובר על הפקודים, לבל יניחו אדם ליכנס במלכות עד יתן לאוצר המלך ברכה, בקע זהב, לגלגולת מאיש ועד אשה, לא תשאר פרסה."

had decreed that any Jew unable to produce these permits would lose his property and he had consequently lost property worth 4,000 *ducats*. One-third of the confiscated property was granted to informers.⁷⁸ This valuable document informs us that the Portuguese authorities kept a close watch on the Jewish exiles entering the realm. Any Jew who entered Portugal illegally would have been unable to present these permits and receipts if he or she wished to leave. Moreover, the offer of a third of all confiscated assets to informers would have invited denunciations.

The precise total sum of the tax paid by the Castilian Jews to the Portuguese Crown is not known. A convert questioned by the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1537 put the total sum paid to King João at 600,000 *cruzados* but did not reveal how he arrived at this figure.⁷⁹ Some of the receipts given by the Crown to its tax collectors have fortunately survived. João Álvares de Almada, the chief tax-collector (*recebedor-mor*) of the taxes paid by the Castilian Jews entering Portugal, recorded the ingress of 26,356,957 *reais* into the treasury and divided the sum amongst the various following entries:

- 3,183,961 *reais* that were collected in Lisbon by Fernando Afonso from those Jews who were amongst the 600 households allowed to settle in Portugal (taxed at 8 *cruzados* per head).
- 751,000 *reais* from Pedro Pessoa, general collector (*recebedor geral*) of the imposition charged upon the property of the Castilian Jews.
- 2,605,420 *reais* were collected in Porto by João Brandão from those Jews who were amongst the 600 households allowed to settle in Portugal.
- 59,280 *reais* from João Branco, collector of the taxes paid by blacksmiths and tinsmiths.
- 1,604,110 *reais* were collected in Coimbra by Afonso Gonçalves from those Jews who were amongst the 600 households allowed to settle in Portugal.
- 6,439,610 *reais* were collected in Évora by João Mendes Cicioso from those Jews who were amongst the 600 households allowed to settle in Portugal.

⁷⁸ R.G.S., 12, n° 1050, fol. 534. H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 300, n. 38 and 39.

⁷⁹ "...os judeus quando emtraram neste regno de Portuguell compraram a terra e que deram a elRey dom Joham ho Segundo seisçentos mill cruzados porque os deixasse vyuer nella." A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo n° 12560*, fol. 2v.

- 244,252 *reais* from João Gonçalves Batavias, tax collector in the Algarve.
- 3,885,000 *reais* from Antão de Figueiro, predecessor of João Álvares as *recebedor-mor*.
- 92,038 *reais* from Afonso Vasques, collector of the tax in Marvão.
- 4,578,000 *reais* paid by the Jewish communities for the “general pardon” (“*pollo perdam das recadações*”).
- 1,130,000 *reais* paid by Castilian Jews as part of the above “general pardon.”
- 11,700 *reais* paid by some Jews taxed at 8 *cruzados*.
- 4,080 *reais* paid by a certain “Master Jacob.”⁸⁰

In addition to this, we also know from other documents that Fernando Afonso received 8,390,220 *reais* from the Castilian Jews in Lisbon. Moreover, João Mendes Cicioso, the official in charge of collecting taxes in Évora, received a total of 8,951,312 *reais* that included 5,106,169 *reais* paid by the six hundred households, 3,610,618 *reais* paid by the other Jews taxed at 8 *cruzados* per head and 187,590 *reais* paid by blacksmiths and tinsmiths at a rate of 4 *cruzados per capita*.⁸¹

It is difficult to know exactly what to make of some of these numbers. Why, for instance, is the amount collected in Évora by João Mendes Cicioso from the Jews allowed to settle in Portugal listed as 6,439,610 *reais* in the general receipt of João Álvares de Almada but only as 5,106,169 *reais* in the receipt that Cicioso himself received? Who was Master Jacob and why did he pay 4,080 *reais*? Frustratingly, these figures are not divisible by eight and there is no apparent explanation for this. Nevertheless, one very interesting fact to emerge is that the Castilian Jews entering Portugal not only paid the 8 *cruzados* capitation tax but also a tax on the property they imported with them, as indicated by the 751,000 *reais* collected by Pedro Pessoa. This would confirm the assertion by Zacuto that the refugees paid a tax on their “wealth” and a passage from the work of Elijah Capsali that seems to be referring to this tax when he cryptically claims that “he [João II] ordered that all the Jews who owned clothes should pay a tax equivalent to three items of

⁸⁰ A. Braamcamp Freire, “Cartas de quitação del Rei D. Manuel”, *AHP*, 3 (1905), 315, doc. 338.

⁸¹ A. Braamcamp Freire, “Cartas de quitação del Rei D. Manuel”, *AHP*, 2 (1904), 79, doc. 192 and 3 (1905), 472, doc. 390.

clothing for every ten.”⁸² Finally, the reference to the “general pardon” levied from both Portuguese and Castilian Jews suggests that Portuguese communities may have been made to contribute—either willingly or forcibly—towards the entrance tax of some of the poorer exiles.

Using these tax receipts, Tavares has ventured to compute the number of Castilian exiles that crossed into Portugal. Adding together the figures from the receipt of João Álvares de Almada and multiplying the total number by a somewhat conservative coefficient of four, in order to reflect an average family size, she has arrived at a figure of 23,320 individuals and has claimed that even including clandestine entries the total number of Jews who entered Portugal in 1492 is unlikely to have surpassed 30,000.⁸³ Such a small total stands in complete contradiction with the larger estimates put forward by contemporary Christian and Jewish narrative sources. One major *lacuna* in the available documents appears to be the absence of any surviving fiscal data concerning the Jews who entered the north of Portugal via Bragança and Miranda do Douro. Even so, the total would still be far from the estimations of over one hundred thousand individuals which figure in contemporary chronicles and which are frequently cited in modern historical works.

The entrance tax of 3,120 *reais* charged per person must have represented a considerable exaction. In the short period of grace granted to them by the expulsion decree, many Castilian Jews sold their property at discounted prices. This appears to be confirmed by a petition made by Francisco de Madrid, a *converso* who returned from Portugal, from which we learn that a vineyard in Santo Ollala worth 10,000 *maravedís* was sold for a donkey worth 300 and a house worth 100,000 *maravedís* for a paltry 10,500. Nonetheless, some exiles travelled with considerable sums of cash on them. One Salomon Levi of Soria complained that on his way to the Portuguese border in June 1492 he had been robbed of 1,300 gold coins in both Portuguese and Castilian currency.⁸⁴

One general misconception that should be dispelled is that the Castilian Jews, upon entering Portugal and paying the entry tax, were simply allowed to go where they wished. In effect, only those with special royal

⁸² E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 221–2:

”ועוד צוה שכל איש שיהיו לו בגד' יפרע מס מכל עשרה, שלשה במדה ברורה, וישימהו חוק לישראל מהיום ההוא והלאה על אודות הסחורה, ל"ו און ועצרה.”

⁸³ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 252–257.

⁸⁴ R.G.S., 10, n° 851, fol. 364; H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 255, n. 219.

licences to do so were allowed to settle in Portuguese towns.⁸⁵ Elijah Capsali describes the Castilian Jews as having been assembled in a “camp” (“במחנה”) and it appears that many of the Jewish exiles were packed into a number of different refugee camps located close to the border.⁸⁶ One of these encampments was apparently situated near the village of Vila Flor in the north-eastern province of Trás-os-Montes. The existence of this camp can be deduced from a royal pardon delivered in 1496 to a certain Fins Alvarez for unlawfully exporting silver coin cuttings to Castile. The pardon states that he had found the silver in Vila Flor “it could be four years ago more or less, at the time when the Jews came from Castile to these realms” and added that “there were many of the Jews from Castile” in the town.⁸⁷ Another northern refugee camp may also have been situated close to Caçarolos, only a few kilometres from the border with Castile, where there is a place apparently still known as the “valley of the shacks” (*Vale das cabanas*).⁸⁸ Lastly, it appears that the border town of Miranda do Douro also became a collection point for Castilian Jews. A pardon granted in 1496 refers to a time “three years ago” when the town was “full of 4,000 to 5,000 Jews.”⁸⁹ Further south, we only know of another such refugee camp by the border with Castile which was situated at Castelo de Vide and contained Jews who had entered Portugal by way of Marvão. According to Velasco da Mota, the official who was responsible for this encampment, the camp contained between 4,000 and 5,000 refugees. It is worth noting that the term Velasco da Mota used to describe the camp was “*arrayal*”, a word usually employed to refer to an open-air military encampment. He further adds that the Jews were guarded at night to prevent thefts and kidnappings committed by Castilian marauders.⁹⁰ Of course the guards were probably also ordered to stop any of the refugees from attempting to slip away without paying the tax.

The discovery in 1967 of a Hebrew inscription that once formed the lintel of a synagogue in a house of the small country-town of Gouveia

⁸⁵ João II gave such licenses to go to Lisbon to ten Castilian Jews. Durval Pires de Lima, *Documentos do Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1959), 3, 326, 329, 332, 333, 334 and 336; docs. 54, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64.

⁸⁶ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 222.

⁸⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fol. 99.

⁸⁸ M. Kayserling, *História dos Judeus em Portugal* (São Paulo, 1971), 98, n. 8.

⁸⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 26, fols. 42–42v.

⁹⁰ A.D.E., *Livro 3º de Originais*, fol. 214.

has given rise to speculation that this town too was the site of another settlement by Castilian exiles. Using the traditional method of dating, by adding the numerical value of the letters of its last word, the inscription is dated 5257 (1496/7 in the Common Era). Historians have seen it as clear testimony of the settlement of Castilian Jews in Gouveia after 1492.⁹¹ The latter hypothesis is quite compelling as the lateness of the date and the location of Gouveia, close to the border with Castile, both appear to support it. Nevertheless such a hypothesis cannot be proved beyond doubt. Contrary to the claims of some historians, there was a small Portuguese Jewish community in Gouveia prior to 1492, at least until 1483.⁹² Furthermore, there is no proof that the lintel was from Gouveia itself. It might well have been removed after the forced conversion of 1497 from a synagogue in the nearby towns of Guarda, Celorico or Freixedas, which all had Portuguese Jewish *comunhas*, and used in another construction.⁹³

The situation of many of the exiles living in the camps was probably extremely precarious. Details of the conditions in the Portuguese camps are not known but they cannot have differed much from those in Moroccan camps. At the trial of Juan Calderón, a *converso* from Maqueda, by the inquisitors of Toledo in 1510 a witness testified that the Castilian Jews from that town, who had sought refuge in Morocco via Portugal, had lived outside Fez in an encampment of temporary huts made of branches (“*chozas*”) that they had constructed themselves. Another witness at the same trial recorded that a fire broke out among these precarious shelters (probably the result of an unattended fire).⁹⁴

⁹¹ On the inscription see M. A. Rodrigues, “A inscrição hebraica de Gouveia”, *O Instituto*, 130 (1968), 5–27 and “On a Hebrew inscription Discovered in Gouveia (Portugal)” [Hebrew], *Zion*, 33 (1968), 230. Rodrigues argues that the lintel is evidence of the settlement of Castilian Jews in Gouveia after 1492, as does J. Crespo in “A entrada dos Judeus em Portugal e a sua permanência em Gouveia”, *Revista Altitude*, 9–10 (1983–4), 13–29.

⁹² Searching in the *livros das chancelarias*, Professor Tavares has found references to 44 Jewish residents of Gouveia between 1439 and 1483. M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 2, 136–8. This evidence would appear to weaken, though not refute, the assertion of E. Cunha Azevedo and A. Paulo that “there is no proof of the existence of a Portuguese-Jewish community in Gouveia in 1492”, see “Adiciones a la inscripción hebraica de Gouveia (Portugal)”, *Sefarad*, 40 (1980), 311.

⁹³ E. Cunha Azevedo and A. Paulo, “Adiciones a la inscripción hebraica de Gouveia (Portugal)”, *Sefarad*, 40 (1980), 309–314.

⁹⁴ H. Beinart, “The Jewish community of Maqueda at the time of the Expulsion” [Hebrew], *Zion*, 56 (1991), 239–253.

Taking into consideration the example of refugee camps in the twentieth century, we can probably assume that the appalling sanitary conditions of the Jewish refugees packed into these camps assisted the spread of diseases. Abraham Zacuto, Joseph Ha-Cohen and Samuel Usque all state that epidemics claimed the lives of scores of Jewish refugees in Portugal.⁹⁵

Evidence of a high mortality amongst the exiles in Portugal appears to surface in documents from the archives at Simancas. A number of Jews who converted and returned to Castile had lost family members in Portugal. An unfortunate *conversa* of Alcalá de Henares named Francisca, who emigrated to Portugal with her husband and family in 1492, returned to Castile after she lost her husband and one of her sons in Portugal.⁹⁶ Similarly, two converts, Fernán de la Vega and his brother Pérez de la Vega, claimed the property of their sister Reina in 1494 because she had died in Portugal together with her husband and all their children.⁹⁷ An author in the 1530s wrote that after 1492 Portugal had never again suffered from plagues as deadly as the one that followed the Castilian Jews into the realm.⁹⁸ Moving testimony of the desperation of the refugees and the messianic expectations it generated can be found in the testimony of Francisco de Aguila, a *converso* arrested by the Inquisition in the Castilian town of Soria in 1502. Francisco de Aguila told the inquisitors that “up to eight years ago” he had met another *converso* who had recently been to Portugal and had asked him for news of how the Castilian Jews were faring in Portugal. His interlocutor had given him the following reply:

Many were leaving [for North Africa] and others, according to what he had heard, were returning to Castile. The refugees [who remained in Portugal] prayed and supplicated continuously to God, having seen the perdition to which they and their children were condemned. [The refugees]

⁹⁵ A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. H. Filipowski (London, 1857), 227; Joseph Ha-Cohen, *‘Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. and tr. P. León Tello (Barcelona, 1989), 123; Samuel Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fol. 199.

⁹⁶ R.G.S., 12, n° 107, fol. 344.

⁹⁷ R.G.S., 11, n° 3414, fol. 246.

⁹⁸ “O mais compasso da terra he muito são de mui poucas febres e de poucas maleitas, e des que os Judeos de castella entrarão em Portugal, que então foram mui grandes pestelencas, nunca mais ouve peste.” Rui Fernandes, *Descrição do terreno ao redor de Lamego a duas léguas (1531–1532)*, ed. A. Morais Barros (Santa Maria da Feira, 2001), 119.

said that this could not continue but that God would surely hear their prayers to him and produce a miracle.⁹⁹

The threat presented by the epidemics ravaging the Jewish refugees prompted Portuguese municipalities to seek to protect themselves. At an unknown date, João II wrote to the officials of border towns ordering them not to admit into Portugal any Jews from areas of Castile that were known to be affected by outbreaks of the plague. In November 1492 the town of Évora complained to João II of the number of Castilian Jews temporarily staying there whilst on their way to Lisbon and refused to receive any more. The King had to write to them on 9 December to reprimand the municipal councillors:

We have been informed that you have prohibited any Jew that has come from Castile to our realms from entering the town. At present We have not ordered you to act in this manner but have only ordered those places on the borders not to receive Jews from parts of Castile where they are dying [of the plague], We order you to let into the town those Jews that are not from such areas and not already dying of the plague.¹⁰⁰

Town councils, notwithstanding the objections and instructions of the Crown, took active measures to prevent the arrival of Castilian Jews suspected of spreading the plague. In Évora a special police force, including four horsemen, was created in December to keep foreign Jews out of the town.¹⁰¹ The same month, on the seventeenth, the town council of Loulé met to discuss measures to prevent the spread of the plague that was “presently killing people in many parts of this realm and particularly

⁹⁹ “E venido de allá, este testigo le dixo a (...) Juan de Sant Esteuan que cómo avia tardado en Portugal, e le preguntava de las nuebas de alla e como les yva a los judios; el qual le respondió que dellos pasauan allende, segund avía oydo decir, e dellos se tornauan a Castilla, e que los que allá estauan fasyan muchas oraciones e reclamos a Dios, viendo la perdición de sus criaturas e de sus personas. E que desyan que no podyan ser, syno que viendo sus reclamos que Dios avía de fazer algund miraglo con ellos.” C. Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae*. Vol. 2, *El Tribunal de la Inquisición en el Obispado de Soria* (Salamanca, 1985), 144, doc. 351.

¹⁰⁰ “...a nos foy ora dito que vos tiinhees posta defesa que nemhuūs judeus que de Castella vieram e em nossos regnos estam os nom leixam emtrar e estar em essa çidade. E porque nos ataa ora vos nam estprevemos que tall cousa mamdassees ssoomente estprevemos aos luguares do estremo que nom rreçebesem em elles nemhuūas pesoas que dos luguares de Castella domde morresem veesem, vos mamdamos que açerca desto ssoomente ponhaaes booa deligemçia a açerca dos dictos judeus nom viimdo elles dos luguares domde morrem nem morremdo amtre elles, leixees emtrar e estar em esa çidade.” A.D.E., *Livro 3° de Originais*, fol. 212.

¹⁰¹ A.D.E., *Livro 3° de Originais*, fol. 214.

the Jews who have come from Castile.” The officials of the local Jewish *comuna* were called to the meeting and ordered not to welcome “any Jew from outside” (“*judeu de fora*”) on pain of a hefty fine.¹⁰² This measure lasted at least eight months since in July 1493 the Muslims of Loulé lodged a complaint with the municipal council because it was they who, since December 1492 at least, were charged with the unpopular task of preventing outsiders from entering the town and infecting it with the plague.¹⁰³ The attitude of the King himself appears to have changed soon after he sent his letter reprimanding the councillors of Évora. In February 1493, João II confirmed an ordinance passed by the town council of Benavente that expelled the Castilian Jews from the town under pain of a fine of five *justos* (10 *cruzados*).¹⁰⁴

Those who stayed in Portugal: the Six Hundred Families

All of the narrative sources—both Christian and Jewish—agree that the King of Portugal only permitted 600 families to remain in his realm after the eight months of respite granted to the exiles had expired. Immanuel Aboab relates in his *Nomologia* that thirty Jewish households, including that of his grandfather Isaac Aboab, were permitted to settle in Porto and have their own synagogue in the street of São Miguel, which was paved by the town in return for a payment of 50 *reais* from each family.¹⁰⁵ According to the tax receipts listed above, the largest portion of the six hundred families settled in and around Évora: circa 1,637 or 2,064 individuals depending on the two different receipts

¹⁰² “...foi dito que porquanto ora moriam destes arees maaos em muitos lugares deste regno e asy dos judeus de Castella que em elle estauam...” L. M. Duarte, “Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV”, 84–6.

¹⁰³ “Outrosy foi dicto pellos dictos juiz e oficiaees aos dictos fidalgos e caualeiros e povo como os mouros da mouraria da dicta villa se agravavam dizendo que elles serviam avia oito messes o que recebiam em grande opressam e fadiiga e que lhe requereram que os escussassem de tall guarda...” L. M. Duarte, “Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV”, 118–9.

¹⁰⁴ A.H.C.M.L., *Livro 1º do Provimto da saúde*, fols. 16–17. This documents does not explicitly specify that those expelled were Castilians but in view of similar developments elsewhere in the realm this appears likely.

¹⁰⁵ “A estas treynta familias, mandó el Rey acomodar en la ciudad de o Porto; y hizo, que la ciudad diesse à cada una dellas una casa; como dieron muy comodas, en la calle que llaman de San Miguel: y en medio de todas ellas estava la Sinagoga (...). Pagavan de pension, cinquenta reis, o maravedis cada una à la ciudad, y ella les hazia empedrar la calle...” Imanuel Aboab, *Nomologia o Discursos Legales* (Amsterdam, 1629), 322.

of Almada and Cicioso. The same receipt gives us an approximate total of 1,020 individuals settled in the region of Lisbon, and 835 and 514 in Porto and Coimbra respectively. The number of skilled artisans (and their families) who were allowed to settle in Portugal and who paid a preferential entry tax of only 4 *cruzados* (1,560 *reais*) numbered circa 38 according to the receipt of João Álvares de Almada and 120 according to that of Cicioso. Andrés Bernáldez states that these fortunate Jews paid a tax of 100 *cruzados* per family and that a further hundred families of those who had paid eight *cruzados* per head were also allowed to remain.¹⁰⁶ At the tax rate stated by Bernáldez, each family would have paid the colossal sum of 312,000 *reais*. If we compare this sum with the tax receipts then the number of Jewish families established in Évora would be only circa 21 or 16 (depending on the different numbers), 10 in Lisbon, 8 in Porto and 5 in Coimbra. These numbers are evidently much too small and we may gather from this that Bernáldez must have been misinformed or was exaggerating.

Even though the above tax receipts reveal that officials charged with the collection of the tax were based in the towns of Lisbon, Évora, Porto and Coimbra, the families allowed to stay in Portugal were dispersed over a much larger area surrounding these particular towns to ease their social and economic integration. Rabbi Abraham Saba, for instance, settled in Guimarães.¹⁰⁷ Isaac Ibn Faradj of Medina del Campo entered Portugal through Bragança and, after living for a while in a town close to Bragança (“קרית שינאבריא סמיד לעיר בירגאנסיא”), finally settled in Lisbon where he was forcibly converted in 1497.¹⁰⁸ Documentary evidence concerning the settlement of Castilian Jews in Portugal is extremely fragmentary. Documents in the archives of Simancas referring

¹⁰⁶ “...e quedaron en Portugal seiscientas casas, de los más ricos, por cierto tienpo, que dieron al rey cient cruzados por casa; e quedaron otras casas, ciento, que dieron a ocho cruzados por cabeça de cada persona de las que en ella avía.” Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 259.

¹⁰⁷ On Rabbi Abraham Saba see A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 5–39.

¹⁰⁸ I have been unable to find a town or village close to Bragança with a name similar to שינאבריא (SYNAVRIA?). Ibn Faradj states that the move to Portugal took place in 5251 [1491] and A. Marx claims that Ibn Faradj thus moved to Portugal before the expulsion from Castile and was not affected by the conditions imposed by João II on the exiles. Nevertheless, Ibn Faradj consistently made errors with the dates he gives. It seems far more likely that Ibn Faradj and his family crossed over to Portugal with other Jews in 1492. See “The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts”, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 103–4, n. 10 and 11.

to Jews who returned to Castile rarely mention where the exiles had settled in Portugal. One exception seems to be a Rabbi Abraham Valencia who settled in Miranda do Douro.¹⁰⁹ Another is a Jew from Torrelaguna who settled in a town named “Çolorico”, either Celorico de Basto or, more probably, Celorico da Beira.¹¹⁰ More information can be gleaned from the transcripts of inquisitorial trails. Luis Fernández, a *converso* of Ciudad Real who was arrested by the Inquisition in 1503, told his interrogators that he went to Portugal in 1492 and was in Évora when he converted to Christianity, probably in 1497.¹¹¹ Samuel Abulafia, a Toledan Jew who moved to Portugal in 1492, told the inquisitors in 1511 that he was residing in the village of Borba (near Estremoz) with his wife and children when he was forcibly converted in 1497.¹¹² A number of Jews from Guadalajara who settled in Elvas, Estremoz, Évora and Lisbon, gradually returned to Castile between 1493 and 1498.¹¹³

Information concerning Castilian Jews in the Portuguese archives is disappointingly scarce and limited to a few documents scattered amongst the chancery registers of the first year of the reign of Manuel I. Jews explicitly described as “Castilian” are recorded in 1496 as residents of the towns of Bragança, “Veleda” (modern Aveleda, in the district of Bragança), Chaves, Pinhel, Guarda, Portalegre and Sabugal.¹¹⁴ Fortunately, further data can be found in the surviving transcripts of the early trials by the Portuguese Inquisition though care has to be taken in considering this data since many Castilian *conversos* continued to seek refuge in Portugal during the first two decades of the sixteenth century. A number of New Christians arrested from 1536 onwards had arrived in Portugal in 1492 or were the children of Castilian exiles. The

¹⁰⁹ R.G.S., 14, n° 1556, fol. 249. H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 307, n. 61. M. F. Ladero Quesada, “Apuntes para la historia de los judíos y los conversos de Zamora en la edad media (siglos XIII–XV)”, *Sefarad*, 48 (1988), 50–1.

¹¹⁰ E. Cantera Montenegro, “Judíos de Torrelaguna: retorno de algunos expulsados entre 1493 y 1495”, *Sefarad*, 39 (1979), 338–340, doc. 1.

¹¹¹ H. Beinart, *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem, 1985), 2, 136.

¹¹² J. Gómez-Menor Fuentes, “Un judío converso de 1498: Diego Gómez de Toledo (Semuel Abulafia) y su proceso inquisitorial”, *Sefarad*, 33 (1973), 81.

¹¹³ F. Cantera Burgos and C. Carrete Parrondo, “Las juderías medievales en la provincia de Guadalajara”, *Sefarad*, 34 (1974), 315, 326, 342, 348, 354–6 and 358.

¹¹⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 34, fols. 20v–21 (Bragança); bk. 34, fol. 56 (Veleda); bk. 40, fol. 32v (Chaves); bk. 32, fol. 109v (Pinhel); bk. 14, fol. 39 (Guarda); bk. 32, fol. 102 (Portalegre); bk. 26, fols. 27v–28 and 64v (Sabugal).

trial of sixty-two year old Francisco Aires, arrested for judaizing by the inquisitors of Évora in 1548, is a case in point. This native of Medina del Campo entered Portugal when he was an adolescent and was later baptized in Lousã (near Coimbra). He then lived in Lisbon before settling permanently in Bragança.¹¹⁵ Another victim of the tribunal of Évora with a similar past was seventy-five year old Fernão Álvares. He told the inquisitors that, as a Jew named Samuel, he had entered Portugal in 1492 where he was baptized together with his wife in Alcoutim in the Algarve.¹¹⁶ Jorge Manuel of Tomar told the inquisitors in 1543 that he and his father, Rabbi Moses of Palençia, settled in Tomar in 1492, where the latter died before 1497.¹¹⁷ Similar evidence exists for individuals who settled in Trancoso, Setúbal, Évora, Porto and Barcelos.¹¹⁸ Until a full and systematic search has been carried out through the hundreds of surviving trial records produced during the first decades of the Portuguese Inquisition, the full pattern of the exiles' resettlement in Portugal will remain unclear.¹¹⁹ Although the evidence is limited, it nevertheless seems that Castilian Jews settled either in the larger cities of the realm or in towns and villages situated near the border. It is possible that the exiles were clinging to the hope that the expulsion edict would be reversed or that they preferred to stay close to the border with Castile in order to facilitate their contacts with custodians to whom they had entrusted the sale of their unsold property in Castile.

The influx of Jews from Castile did result in the growth of the Jewish community in Portugal. An almost total absence of data renders it impossible to quantify the demographic increase that resulted from the arrival of the Castilian Jews but there exists incidental evidence of this growth. On 26 November 1492 the Jewish *comuna* of Loulé asked for, and received, an authorization from the municipal council to extend

¹¹⁵ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* n° 6117.

¹¹⁶ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* n° 6122.

¹¹⁷ A.N.T.T., *Ordem de Christo, Convento de Tomar*, bk. 26, fols. 34–34v.

¹¹⁸ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* 3946 (Setúbal), 4695 (Évora), 5305 (Trancoso), 7512 (Porto), 8530 (Évora). For Barcelos, see *Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Manuscrito* n° 227, the information in this manuscript is discussed at greater length in chapter 4.

¹¹⁹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, in a map included in her article "Judeus e conversos castelhanos em Portugal", *Anales de la universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 6 (1987), 341–368, located Castilian Jews in Alvito, Trancoso, Faro, Torres, Castelo Branco, Vedras, Viana de Alentejo, Avis, Trancoso, Montalegre, Castanheira de Rio Livre, Lamego, Barcelos, Covilhã, Montemor-o-velho, Celorico, Torres Novas, Arraiolos, Hessejana. She does not, however, provide references and I have not been able to locate her sources.

the *judiaria* by one street.¹²⁰ Towards the end of 1495, Manuel ordered a census of the population in the region of Beira to be carried out. Disappointingly, the census did not include the number of Jewish households. The sole exception was the town of Covilhã in which the Jewish population only amounted to 4.62 percent of the total in 1496. Possibly more impressive might have been the number of Jews in Santarém. A royal document puts the number of Jews residing in Santarém in 1496 at 400 “households.” The total population of Santarém was not evaluated by the royal censors in 1496 but a later census, carried out between 1527 and 1532, estimated the population of the town at 1988 “households”, excluding member of the clergy and other non-taxable groups. Even if the population had been the same in 1496, the Jewish population of Santarém would thus have represented slightly over 20 percent of the total.¹²¹ The presence of the refugees in the town is confirmed by the fact that in August 1496 three “Castilian Jews” acted as witnesses in a contract between the town council and a Jewish woman.¹²²

The fate of the Castilian Jews who settled in Portugal is impossible to reconstruct due to the absence of any surviving royal registers for the crucial years 1493, 1494 and 1495. The handful of extant documents from the chancery registers dating from 1496—the first year of the reign of King Manuel—supply only meagre information concerning the exiles:

- On 8 February 1496 a certain Pedro de Pinhel received a pardon for having stolen an ass belonging to Manam, “a Jew who was amongst those who came from Castile.”¹²³
- According to a document dated 22 April, Rabbi Habney of Chaves was imprisoned in Guimarães because of a dispute with his son-in-law Salomon Mestre, also a resident of Chaves, whom he accused of having killed his (Habney’s) daughter Velida. Both these men are described as *judeus castelhanos*.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ L. M. Duarte, “*Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV*”, 68–70.

¹²¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 14, fol. 35v; J. J. Alves Dias, “A população”, *Nova história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1998), 5, 18–9.

¹²² A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 15, maço 6*, doc. 14; *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 4, 189–194, doc. 3147. The document refers to “*Testemunhas em ella nomeadas Raby David Cheerel e Barzalay Baur e Yuda Carecem solteiro todos judeus castilhanos estantes nesta villa*.” This document is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.

¹²³ “. . . judeu dos que vierom de Castela.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fol. 109v.

¹²⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 40, fol. 32v.

- On 11 May, a Christian named Luís was condemned to serve six years in the North African fortress of Ceuta for having stolen jewels, gold and silver valued at 40–50,000 *reais* from Rabbi Moses, *judeu castelhano*, in the city of Bragança.¹²⁵
- A document dated 14 May records that D. Paloma, *judea castelhana*, was the victim of a theft perpetrated by two Christians.¹²⁶

Although these documents do not reveal much, they are interesting in one particular aspect. In previous centuries, Castilian Jews who settled in Portugal were integrated into the existing Portuguese Jewish communities and usually the only trace of a Castilian origin resided in the toponymic nature of their names (for instance *Segoviano*, *Toledano*, *Soriano*, *Catalão*, *Saragocim* and *Barcelonim*). This, however, does not seem to have been the case of those who arrived in 1492. Even six years after their arrival, the exiles of 1492 continued to be clearly identified in sentences issued by the High Court as “Castilian Jews” (*judeus castelhanos*). A letter sent by João II to the municipal chamber of Lisbon in September 1493 mentions a certain Samuel Naçim, acting as “representative of the Castilian Jews” (“*procurador dos judeus castelhanos*”).¹²⁷ Further evidence that the Castilian Jews had a separate status, at least for fiscal purposes, can be gleaned from a book of accounts which set out various sums received by the royal treasury for the purchase of rope for ships. On 20 October 1496, the Crown acknowledged the receipt of 150,000 *reais* collected from Castilian Jews by João Nunes in his capacity as “*recedor dos dinheiros dos judeus castelhanos*.” The same document also reveals that João Nunes worked with Joseph Çoleyma, a Castilian Jew and “tax-collector of the 600 [families].”¹²⁸

Even if we accept the fact that an unknown number of Jews entered Portugal clandestinely, and evaded the entry tax, it seems likely that this number was not very large. Those who successfully entered the country clandestinely have not left any record. Only one single instance of

¹²⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 34, fols. 20v–21.

¹²⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 34, fol. 56.

¹²⁷ Durval Pires de Lima, *Documentos do Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1959), 3, 332, doc. 60.

¹²⁸ “*Item carregam em recepta ao dito Eytor Garcia recebedor de dinheiros cento e cimquenta mill reais que elle dito Eytor Garcia confessou que recebeo do dito Joham Nunnez recebedor dos dinheiros dos judeus castelhanos por Yoce Çoleyma judeu castelhano recebedor dos Vlc...*” M. C. Cunha, “A compra de fio para as naus. *O Livro de Receitas e Despesas de Heitor Garcia (1496–7)*”, *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e sua epoca. Actas. Vol. 3.* (Porto, 1989), 499.

clandestine entry has surfaced in the royal registers. In 1496 the property of Master Judas, a Jew of Fronteira, was posthumously confiscated by the Crown for having apparently arranged to have his grandson Johan, a convert to Christianity, sent to Castile where he reverted to Judaism before 1492. When the Jews were expelled from Castile the boy had returned to Portugal and his grandfather had hidden him in his house.¹²⁹ Another echo of clandestine emigration to Portugal seems to feature in the poem *A Complaint against Time* composed by Yehuda Abravanel, son of the famous Isaac Abravanel. The author claims that a friend warned him of a plot to kidnap his infant son in order to pressure him into remaining in Castile and converting. Yehuda Abravanel could not enter Portugal because of the death sentence that still hung over his head due to his father's involvement in the conspiracy of the Duke of Bragança against João II in 1483 but he secretly sent his son there with a wet-nurse to place him in safety. Nevertheless, tragedy resulted as the infant was amongst those detained by João II.¹³⁰

One of the arguments that is most frequently put forward to argue that the Castilian refugees had a major demographic impact in Portugal is the fact that many of the *conversos* brought to trial by the Portuguese Inquisition for crypto-judaism in the sixteenth century were of Castilian origin. It would nevertheless be a mistake to tie this phenomenon to the Castilian expulsion of 1492. A substantial number of Castilian *conversos* continue to arrive in Portugal during the period between 1492 and 1536. These flight represented by such a problem that Isabel and Fernando sent a letter to Manuel I in 1504 to remind him of the bull *Pessimum Genus* and the Pope's instruction to all Christian princes to hand over all Castilian or Aragonese "heretics and apostates" to the Spanish tribunals of the Holy Office.¹³¹ Evidence of the continued flight of Castilian *conversos* to Portugal is not rare. Inquisitorial documents relating to the *conversos* of Guadalajara, to cite but one example, indicate that several families from that town alone sought refuge in Portugal during the first decades of the sixteenth century.¹³²

¹²⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fols. 79v–80.

¹³⁰ On the flight of Isaac Abravanel from Portugal see B. Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel: A Statesman and Philosopher* (Philadelphia, 1972), 26–32 and E. Lipiner, *Two Portuguese exiles in Castile: Dom David Negro and Dom Isaac Abravanel* (Jerusalem, 1997), 46–76. On the loss of the child see N. Šlousch, "Poésies hébraïques de Don Jehuda Abravanel (Messer Leone Ebreo)", *Revista de estudos hebraicos*, 1 (1928), 206–7.

¹³¹ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 3, 120–1, doc. 523.

¹³² F. Cantera Burgos and C. Carrete Parrondo, "Las juderías medievales en la provincia de Guadalajara", *Sefarad*, 34 (1974), 317, 325, 340, 355, 356, 359 and 365.

Those who left for North Africa and Italy

The six hundred families permitted to reside in Portugal represented only a small number of the Castilian Jews and for the majority their stay in Portugal was only a temporary respite. The delay authorised by João II was eight months according to Rui de Pina and only six according to both the Rabbi Elijah Capsali and Andrés Bernáldez. If we accept Rui de Pina's account, then it appears the exiles were ordered to leave Portugal before April 1493. Castilian, Portuguese and Jewish sources are all in agreement that the Jews were allowed to leave Portugal and cross over to North Africa. Bernáldez relates that many left Portugal when their leave to remain had expired:

The Jews that entered Portugal gave King João of Portugal a *cruzado* per head, so that would allow them to stay for six months; after the end of this time they took ship in Portuguese ports and left in the month of March 1493 for the Kingdom of Fez in [North] Africa.¹³³

His statement is corroborated by that of the anonymous author of the codex preserved by the Ajuda library who asserted that "the King granted them transport so that they might go to the Barbary Coast and they entered [Morocco] by way of the ports of Arzilla and Tangier and there they were molested and robbed."¹³⁴ For his part Rabbi Elijah Capsali states that the rich and artisans paid the tax and left Portugal:

[The refugees] chartered ships to take them to the lands of Ishmael [i.e. Muslim territories]. One hundred and twenty ships were counted which transported sixty thousand people. These ships left Portugal in the month of Iyyar [April–May] of the year 5253 [1493].¹³⁵

¹³³ "Los judíos que entraron en Portugal dieron al rey don Juan de Portugal a cruçado por cabeça, por el que los dexase estar ende seis meses; e conplido el plazo, embarcaron en los puertos de Portugal, e salieron en el mes de março de MCCCCCLXXXIII años, para ir en Africa, al reino de Fez." Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 259.

¹³⁴ "E antes do termo que se auiam de sair El Rey lhe mandou dar embarcações pera se pasarem a barbaria e emtrarão por tangere e por arzilla e ally forão bem avexados e roubados." B.A., codex 51-V-69, fol. 203.

¹³⁵ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 223:

"והעניים אשר לא השיגה ידם די המס הנ"ל לא נטו שכמם לסבול וישכירו אוניות ללך בארץ ישמעאל ויהיו מספרם מאה ועשרים אניות ויבאו כהם נפשות כששים אלף. ויסעו האניות הנ"ל מפורטוגאל בחדש אייר שנת הרנ"ג..."

The numbers provided by Elijah are huge and indubitably exaggerated. Nevertheless they must reflect the important numbers of Jews who did leave Portugal in the spring of 1493.

In his chronicle Damião de Góis states that the King respected his agreement with the Castilian Jews and ordered his officials in the selected embarkation points to instruct the captains of the transport ships to respect the persons and property of their Jewish passengers. Góis goes on to add that there was widespread abuse despite the Crown's best efforts to prevent it:

But this did not come to pass as the captains and masters of the ships took advantage of the situation to extort more money than they were entitled to. What's more, in addition to treating them badly, they [deliberately] strayed off course in order to vex them and sell them meat, water and wine at whatever prices they saw fit. They humiliated the Jews and they dishonoured their wives and daughters.¹³⁶

Góis's testimony concerning the behaviour of the ship captains is backed by that of Samuel Usque who states with chilling horror that once on the high seas, "where their cries and screams would not move anyone to pity", the Jews were robbed and their women raped.¹³⁷ We know from a petition that Bernaldino Tomás, a former Jew, addressed to the royal court of Castile in 1494 that such incidents certainly did take place. Whilst still a Jew, he made his way to Lisbon where, together with his brother, he secured passage for Naples on board a ship that was owned by a Basque named Pedro Sánchez. En route to Italy, however, Pedro Sánchez robbed Bernaldino Tomás and presumably other Jewish passengers.¹³⁸ Another Castilian Jew who transited via Portugal in

¹³⁶ "...mas isto se nam guardou quomo deuia, & ho elRei mãdaua, porq̄ hos capitães, & mestres destas naos por delles tirarẽ mais dinheiro, & mões fretes, do que por suas auenças erão obrigados, alem do mao tratto que lhes dauam, lhes faziam has derrotas de sua viagem mais longas polos assi auexarem, & lhes venderem has viandas, agooa, & vinho aho preço que lhes bem parecia, cõ lhes fazerem outras afrontas em suas pessoas, & deshonrras a suas molheres, & filhas, mais à lei de perjuros, & maos homẽs, que de christãos, cujo offiço deue ser muim diferente de semelhantes tratts, & enganos." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 23–4.

¹³⁷ "...porque embarcados que foram, cuidando os desuẽturados ysraelitas que hiam em poder de amigos mui confiados e seguros acharonse enganados, porque leuando os em alto mar, onde seus gritos e clamores nã mouesem a piadade a pessoa algũa, aly os atarom de pees e mãos, desonrrandolhe as molheres ante os olhos, e despojando os de tee os vltimos hábitos que leuauam vestidos." Samuel Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fols. 199–199v.

¹³⁸ R.G.S., 11, nos. 220 and 221, fols. 167–8. This document has been edited and published in J. Rodríguez Fernández, *Las juderías de la provincia de León* (León, 1976), 424–5, doc. 71.

1492 was Abraham Çalama who travelled from there to North Africa (“Berberia”), before he and his family eventually returned to Castile and converted.¹³⁹ A group of Jews from Maqueda are also known to have made their way to Fez via Portugal.¹⁴⁰ Finally, in the introduction of his Cabbalistic work *Minhat Yehuda*, Rabbi Judah Hayat describes how he and 250 fellow Jews left Lisbon for Italy by ship in the winter of 1493.¹⁴¹

Lisbon was probably not the only embarkation point. Porto was doubtless the nearest point of embarkation for many Jews who entered northern Portugal. In July 1494 the council of Porto noted in the minutes of its deliberations that Afonso de Albuquerque had made a complaint to the Crown concerning the “bad embarkation” of the Castilian Jews. The minutes unfortunately do not give any details that might clarify exactly what these “bad” conditions were.¹⁴² South of Lisbon, Castilian Jews are known to have embarked at the port of Setúbal. When pressed by the inquisitors of Évora to reveal genealogical details in 1541, Luís Fernandes stated that he was born a Jew in the Castilian town of Valverde and had entered Portugal as a child with his parents in 1492. The family had proceeded to Évora (where his father had died) and from there to Setúbal in hope of catching a ship for North Africa. The death of his mother in Setúbal, however, had forced him to remain in Portugal.¹⁴³

Documents reveal that the Jews leaving Portugal also faced the threat of pirates in addition to unscrupulous mariners. Pero Gomes,

¹³⁹ “...al tiempo que nos mandamos sallir de todos los judios fuera destos nuestros reynos e señorios, el fue fuera dellos e se partieron el dicho Çalama, su suegro, e su suegra, e la dicha Paloma su muger, e fueron al reyno de Portugal. E desde Ay pasaron a Berberia...” This document has been transcribed and published by E. Cantera Montenegro in “Judíos de Torrelaguna: retorno de algunos expulsados entre 1493 y 1495”, *Sefarad*, 39 (1979), 345–6, doc. 6.

¹⁴⁰ H. Beinart, “The Jewish community of Maqueda at the time of the Expulsion” [Hebrew], *Zion*, 56 (1991), 239–253.

¹⁴¹ M. Oron, “Autobiographical elements in the writings of kabbalists from the generation of the Expulsion”, *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 103–6.

¹⁴² “...do queixume que Afonso dAllbuquerque fez a sua alteza do maaço despacho que achara na çidade açerqua da enbarquaçam dos judeus que de Castella vierom.” A.H.M.P., *Livro 6 das vereações*, fols. 73v–74. H. B. Moreno, “Reflexos na cidade do Porto da entrada dos conversos em Portugal nos fins do século XV”, 159–160, doc. 7.

¹⁴³ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo nº 9416*. The original manuscript of this trial (and of many others) is in such a poor state of conservation that the archivists of the *Torre do Tombo* no longer make it available for consultation by researchers, even upon special requests. My source for this trial is therefore the summary of it made during the 1950s (A.N.T.T., *Caderneta* 30, nº 100).

a Portuguese subject and the purser of a ship, petitioned the Catholic Monarchs in November 1493 on behalf of his compatriot Pero Váz de CastilBlanco [Castel Branco?] who complained that his ship bound for the North African port of Larache with Jewish passengers had been captured by Basque pirates.¹⁴⁴ The ordeal of Rabbi Judah Hayat and his fellow Jewish passengers was particularly harrowing. In the introduction to his cabbalistic work *Minhat Yehuda*, Hayat writes that an epidemic broke out amongst the 250 refugees on board the ship on which he was travelling. To add to their woes pirates boarded their ship, robbed them of their possessions and supplies and took the ship to the Castilian port of Málaga. Unable to land because of the expulsion edict and prey to both hunger and disease, the hapless Jews were marooned in the harbour for three months. Hayat states that 50 passengers, including his wife, died and 100 converted before the ship was allowed to pick up supplies and depart again.¹⁴⁵

Whether Christian or Jewish, all the narrative sources agree that it was at the hands of the garrisons of the Portuguese North African strongholds of Arzilla and Tangier and of the local Muslim population that the Jews suffered the greatest harassment and even physical violence. The Portuguese governor of Arzilla, Count Vasco Countinho de Borba, did not welcome the arrival of so many Jews and the strain that this placed on his already limited resources. Capsali reports that the exiles arrived off Arzilla in the month of Ab [July–August 1493] and that “two or three” Jews went ashore to negotiate with the Count, asking him to protect and feed them. Vasco Countinho de Borba agreed to provide them with sustenance on condition that they that paid him 300 florins per week. In fact the governor was unable to fulfil his promises and the Jews soon suffered from famine.¹⁴⁶ Samuel Usque and Joseph Ha-Cohen both assert that when rumours of these events reached those exiles still in Portugal many did not dare to leave the realm.¹⁴⁷ An insight

¹⁴⁴ R.G.S., 10, n° 3018, fol. 64.

¹⁴⁵ M. Oron, “Autobiographical elements in the writings of kabbalists from the generation of the Expulsion”, *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 104–5.

¹⁴⁶ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 223.

¹⁴⁷ “*Vinda esta triste noua a Portugal posto q̄ muitos de meus filhos tinhamo desejo de passar âtes seu catiueiro em poder de mouros que na cristandade, espantados do caso temeroso nam ousarõ pidir pasaje nem per outra via bolir consigo.*” Samuel Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fol. 200; Joseph Ha-Cohen, *‘Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. and tr. P. León Tello (Barcelona, 1989), 122–3.

into the difficult conditions suffered by the Castilian Jews in Morocco is reflected in the genealogical details given by the convert João Alonso when he was arrested by the inquisitors of Lisbon decades later:

[The accused stated that] when the expulsion of the Jews from Castile was decreed he went to the African city of Arzilla with his father, mother and other Jews. He was ten years old and his Jewish name then was Jacob. He converted in Arzilla and his godparent were Dom João the Count of Borba and a certain João de Lamdin, who was an inhabitant of Estremoz. His mother and father also converted as did his siblings.¹⁴⁸

The attitude of João II himself toward the exiles in his realm remains controversial. The opinion generally held by many modern historians is that the Portuguese King consciously attempted to hamper and prevent the departure of the exiles from Portugal.¹⁴⁹ Such a perspective is probably influenced by the testimony of Capsali who states that João II only allowed Castilian Jews to leave on ships licensed by the Crown:

Moreover, this evil King forbade anyone from taking the Jews on their ships and transporting them out of the country. Only his own ships could transport them as he wanted to keep the profit for himself and his men. He fixed the price of the crossing at two florins per head.¹⁵⁰

Whilst Capsali's statement has often been interpreted as indicating that João attempted to prevent the exiles from leaving, the attitude of the King seems to have been quite the opposite. That the King took active measures to enforce the transportation of Jews on ships that had royal licences seems to be reflected in the fact that one captain, Diogo da

¹⁴⁸ "... e asy quando foy o desterro dos Judeus de Castilla elle se foy con o seu pay e may e con outros Judeus pera cidade de arzilla de Afryca e que serya de dez anos quando fora a dita cidade de arzilla en Afryca e que se chamaua Jacob quando Judeu e asy em arzilla se fizera xstaão e que foram o sus padrynhos dom Joam o conde de Borba e huũ Joam de lamdim morador em estremoz e asy mesmo se fez seu pay e may xãos e se tornaran todos tres e outros seus irmãos..." A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo n° 1858*. The seventy-five year-old João Alonso, or perhaps the Inquisitorial scribe, apparently did not remember the correct name of the Count of Borba: Vasco Countinho.

¹⁴⁹ Yerushalmi makes this observation in his introduction to the *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel* of Samuel Usque, 1, 21: "As the eight-month term drew to a close in the spring of 1493, the number of ships provided for the exodus was deliberately limited [by João II] and as a result only some of the refugees were able to leave."

¹⁵⁰ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Bena-yahu, 1, 222:

"ויצו המרשיע לבל יהיה אדם רשאי לקחת מהיהודים באוניותיו להוציאם מן הארץ זולתי אוניות המלך כדי שישתכר בהם המלך ואנשיו וקבע השכר בכל נפש אדם שני פרחי."

Cunha, “was executed in accordance with the law for having transported Jews from the port of Setúbal.”¹⁵¹

A measure of how anxious the Portuguese monarch was to see the majority of the exiles depart from his realm as soon as possible can be gleaned from a royal edict issued on 19 October 1492. The edict aimed to create favourable conditions for the conversion of Portuguese and foreign Jews “of whom many have now arrived in our realms.” Any Jew who converted to Christianity was to be exempted from the payment of a range of taxes levied by the Crown and municipal councils, including *peitas*, *fintas*, *talhas*, *pedidos*, *serviços* and *emprestidos*. Furthermore converts would not have to perform military service “on sea or on land during time of war or peace” or have to appear for muster with weapons or horses. These privileges are similar to the legislation dating back to the reign of João I and incorporated in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*. It is the final privilege that is particularly interesting. Indeed, João II promised any “foreign Jews” who had come to Portugal the right to leave the realm and take with them any gold, silver, cash and jewellery belonging to them without having to pay any taxes on them.¹⁵² This privilege, *granted exclusively to foreign Jews*, starkly reveals the eagerness of the Portuguese monarch to be rid of any unwanted Castilian Jews. Most importantly of all, the privilege does *not* state that the “foreign Jews” should only go to Christian realms and João II cannot have doubted that any who converted under such circumstance would not return to Judaism when they were safely in Islamic lands. Indeed, as we have seen above, the previous edict of 2 October 1488 had expressly prohibited *conversos* from going to North Africa. On balance, the evidence indicates that all those Castilian Jews with the financial means to do so were able to leave Portugal before the expiration of the delay accorded by João II and that the King did not actively prevent their departure.

¹⁵¹ “...foy morto por justiça per razom dos judeus que levou do porto de Setúbal.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fol. 48v. On 23 January 1496, Maria Anes, the widow of Diogo da Cunha, was granted the property and goods confiscated from her husband by the Crown in 1492 which she claimed had belonged to her before her marriage.

¹⁵² “Outrosy queremos e nos praz que os judeus estrangeiros que se asy em nossos regnos e senhorios tornarem cristãos querendo se ir pera fora delles o possam fazer e levar e levar consigo livremente todo ouro prata dinheiro amo[e]dado e joias que em os dictos nossos regnos meteram quando a elles vieram sem dello pagarem nehuum direito.” L. M. Duarte, “Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV”, 62–4.

Those who were Enslaved

Not all the Castilian Jews had left by the expiry of the delay accorded to them by João II. The fate of these Castilian Jews enslaved by João II in 1493 is still shrouded in mystery. If we are to believe Elijah Capsali, Castilian Jews were enslaved by João II in two distinct situations. The first to be enslaved were those Jews who attempted to enter Portugal without paying the entrance tax and were caught:

A great number of humble and destitute people, whose means were insufficient, were not able to pay the tax and, thinking that they would be able to dupe the King, were duped themselves, for he pursued them all from the greatest to the smallest: for it is quite true that nothing can be hidden from a king. Thus he took them as his slaves and servants.¹⁵³

Subsequently, there were those Jews who stayed in Portugal beyond the delay granted to them. According to Capsali the King sent heralds to the Castilian Jews who had still not departed and the following edict was read aloud to the exiles:

Any man or woman amongst those who had come to the lands of João of Portugal and who wished to remain there from this day forward, although the King has limited the duration of their stay to six months, a delay that has already expired, would be able to remain on condition that they give the King a capitation tax of 8 florins. They would then be permitted to remain in the country without being molested. Anyone who disobeyed this order and did not pay this sum would become the slave of the King for the rest of his life.¹⁵⁴

Elijah Capsali contrasted the reaction of rich and poor Jews to this edict. The former rejoiced loudly whilst the latter were dismayed and fell into

¹⁵³ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 222:

”ורבי מהדלי’ והאביוני’ אשר לא השיגה ידם די צ”א לא יצאו ידי חובתם וגנבו את לב המלך ולא גנבו אלא את לבם כי חפש המלך אחריהם בגדול החל ובקטן כלה. וכל דבר לא יחד מן המלך. ויקחם לעבדים ולשפחות ויהיו כט’ א’ אלף איש ואשה ויפדו מהם קהלות פורטו גאל כעשרת אלפים.”

¹⁵⁴ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 223:

”כל איש ואשה מעדת הגרושי’ אשר באו לגור בארץ דון’ יואן רי’ די פורטו גאל אף כי המלך נתן להם זמן מוגבל לעמוד במלכותו עד ו’ חדשים וכבר השלימו שמהיום והלאה כל אשר נדבו לבו לעמוד יעמוד ככל חפצו ויתן למלך על כל ראש וראש שמנה פרחים, וישבו לארץ מרווחים, וכל אשר ימרה פי המלך ולא יתנם ישאר עבד למלך ועבדו לעולם.”

despondency because they did not have 8 florins. Capsali's account appears to be substantiated by the fact that as late as 30 December 1493, from his palace at Almeirim (near Santarém), the King sent a missive to the municipal authorities of Lisbon ordering them to ensure that they took good care of the Jews who took ship in the city. Thus it would appear that Castilian Jews continued to leave Portugal well after the expiration of the original deadline.

Without doubt the most remarkable and shocking aspect of this policy was the enslavement of Jewish children who were taken from their parents and sent to the equatorial island of São Tomé with the expedition of Álvaro de Caminha.¹⁵⁵ In São Tomé they were to be raised as Christians and colonists. Ibn Gedalya claims that the King at first took the children as security for the taxes still owed by their parents:

The King cleverly inquired whether all the [Castilian] exiles had paid their taxes according to their status. Upon discovering that many had not, he was filled with rage, and he took their sons as security.¹⁵⁶

Ibn Verga, himself a victim of the forced conversion of 1497, recalls a particularly tragic episode:

There was a woman from whom they had taken six children. When the unfortunate woman heard that the King was leaving the church [where he had attended mass], she went to implore his mercy and threw herself before the feet of his horse, begging him to return her youngest child to her but the King did not listen to her.

The King ordered his servants: "take her out of my sight!"

[The woman] continued to plead her case with yet louder screams and they rebuked her.

The King then exclaimed: "Let her be, for she is like a bitch whose pups have been taken away!"¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ H. B. Moreno, "Álvaro de Caminha, Capitão-mor da ilha de São Tomé", *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e sua época. Actas. Vol. 1. D. João II e a política quatrocentista* (Porto, 1989), 299–313.

¹⁵⁶ The translation from Hebrew is that of A. David, see "The Spanish expulsion and the Portuguese persecution though the eyes of the historian R. Gedalya ibn Yahya", *Sefarad*, 56 (1996), 52.

¹⁵⁷ Solomon Ibn Verga, *Sefer Shebet Yehudah*, ed. and tr. M. José Cano (Barcelona, 1991), 224. The modern Spanish editor confuses this passage with that of the forced conversion of 1497. Ibn Verga does not in fact mention the events of 1497 but leaps forward from 1492–3 to the massacre of the converts of Lisbon in 1506 that is discussed in the conclusion of this work.

The tragic fate of these children, marooned on the disease ridden islands, features in every major Jewish account but the number of children who were sent to São Tomé varies considerably from one chronicle to another. Capsali states that “5,000 boys” were sent to the “Island of the lizards.” Abraham ben Solomon Torrutiel thought that there were 800 children, including both boys and girls, whilst an anonymous Jewish chronicler alludes to 700.¹⁵⁸ Possibly more credence can be attributed to Valentim Fernandez, who wrote a description of São Tomé in 1510 and asserts that they had numbered 2,000 of whom only 600 had survived into adulthood.¹⁵⁹

Just as problematic is the fate of those adult Jews who were enslaved because of their inability to pay the tax imposed by João II or because they failed to depart within the agreed delay. Capsali stated that 15,000 Castilian Jews, unable to pay the tax imposed by João II, were enslaved but that 10,000 of them were subsequently ransomed by the Portuguese Jewish community.¹⁶⁰ For his part Bernáldez claimed that only 1,000 Jews were thus enslaved because they stayed in Portugal beyond the delay that had been agreed.¹⁶¹ This number is comparatively small when we take into consideration that tens of thousands of Jews entered Portugal in 1492. One of these hapless Jews was Joseph Abenaçan, a resident of Torrelaguna. His son Francisco Lopes, a resident of Alcalá de Henares, returned to Castile and addressed a petition to the Crown to recover property that had once belonged to his father. From the reply that the Crown issued on 16 December 1494 we learn that “his father remained

¹⁵⁸ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 222; Abraham ben Solomon Torrutiel, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. and tr. Y. Moreno Koch in *Dos crónicas hispanohebreas del siglo XV*, Biblioteca nueva Sefarad, 19 (Barcelona, 1992), 105.

¹⁵⁹ R. Garfield, “Public Christians, secret Jews: religion and political conflict on São Tome island in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21 (1990), 645–654 and “A forgotten fragment of the Diaspora: the Jews of São Tomé Island, 1492–1654”, *The Expulsion of the Jews. 1492 and After*, ed. R. B. Waddington and A. H. Williamson (New York, 1994), 73–87. M. Mitchell Serels has argued, though unconvincingly, that the children were sent to the Cape Verde islands rather than São Tome in “The two thousand missing Portuguese-Jewish children”, *Studies on the History of Portuguese Jews from their Expulsion in 1497 through their Dispersion*, ed. J. Katz and M. Mitchell Serels (New York, 2000) 193–200.

¹⁶⁰ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 222.

¹⁶¹ “... e quedaron más de mill ánimas captivas en poder del rey, porqueno pagaron los cruzados e los derechos de la entrada.” Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 259.

in the kingdom of Portugal and has been enslaved by the said King [João II], because of certain laws he passed concerning the Jews who went there.” According to this document, Joseph Abenaçan was rumoured to have died in captivity.¹⁶² A certain Jacob (*Yaco*), whose name features in a list of slaves working in the royal stables for whom new clothes were bought in 1493, may possibly be another of these enslaved Jews.¹⁶³

Some enslaved Jews were apparently granted or sold by the King to private individuals. This appears to have been the fate of a Castilian Jewess named Velida who became the slave of João Tavares, a knight of Portalegre. A royal pardon dating from February 1496 informs us that her father Jacob Abraham and mother Oraboina, both Castilian Jews, brought a suit against João Tavares for having raped their daughter, who had converted to Christianity and taken the name Filipa Rodrigues. This isolated case, however, raises many more questions that cannot be answered. How, for instance, did the hapless Velida come to be enslaved whilst her parents remained free? Did Velida convert in the hope of obtaining her freedom?¹⁶⁴

Those who returned to Castile

As has been mentioned above, a number of Castilian Jews did convert to Christianity and returned to Castile. Some Jews did not even make it to Portugal. Francisco de Águila, a *converso* from the town of Atienza, arrived in the Castilian border town of Ciudad Rodrigo and converted there. Even before entering Portugal he decided to return with a group of 53 people, including his family and relatives.¹⁶⁵ The conversion and return of many Jews to Castile from Portugal appears to have started

¹⁶² “E dis que depues el se convertio a nuestra santa fe e torno a estos nuestros reynos, e quel dicho su padre se quedo en el reyno de Portugal e por esclavo del dicho rey, por çiertas leys que en su reyno fiso çerca de los judios que alla pasaron (...) e veyendo que su padre hera reputado e tenido por muerto, pues que nos lo aviamos mandado echar de nuestros reynos y estava esclavo e captivo en Portugal por mandado del dicho rey...” R.G.S., 11, nº 4361, fol. 119. This document has been published in E. Cantera Montenegro, “Judíos de Torrelaguna: retorno de algunos expulsados entre 1493 y 1495”, *Sefarad*, 39 (1979), 343–4, doc. 5.

¹⁶³ A.N.T.T., *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte I, maço 2, doc. 9.

¹⁶⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fol. 102.

¹⁶⁵ L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, 495–6, doc. 236.

almost as soon as they arrived in Portugal. The *converso* Nicolas Beltrán of Soria emigrated to Portugal as a Jew in the Summer of 1492 but “within a few days” returned to his hometown via Ciudad Rodrigo, where he converted before Michaelmas (29 September).¹⁶⁶ On 10 November 1492, Fernando and Isabel granted a safe-conduct to three Jewish physicians. Although primarily given to these three individuals, this document also contains a general safe-conduct to any Castilian Jew in Portugal who converted to Christianity in the border towns of Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz in the presence of the local bishop and governor or officials and *alcaldes*. Those who had converted in Portugal would have to bring a certificate, presumably from the Portuguese clergyman who had baptized them. Upon their return to Castile, the converts would be entitled to recover the property they had sold in 1492 for the value at which they had sold it plus the value of any improvements made by the current owners. Both rulers further stated that all returning converts would be under royal protection and that officials should assist them to collect debts that had been still outstanding at the time of their departure, minus any interest as the practice of usury was now forbidden to the neophytes. Officials who did not assist the returnees or acted against them would incur a fine of 10,000 *maravedís* payable to the royal treasury.¹⁶⁷ An almost identical general safe-conduct was issued to Jewish exiles in Portugal and Navarre again on 30 July 1493.¹⁶⁸

The precise number of Jews who returned from Portugal will never be known but it is nevertheless clear from the available documentary evidence that this was significant. For many Castilian Jews, stranded in camps near the Portuguese border with Castile, the prospect of returning must have been an attractive one, especially with the favourable conditions offered by Isabel and Fernando. With time running out, many an impoverished Jew probably decided to convert to Christianity and return to Castile rather than be enslaved in Portugal. Christian and Jewish chroniclers seem to agree on this point. Rui de Pina in particular states that “many of [the Jews], unable to bear the harshness of so many misfortunes, converted [to Christianity] more out of necessity than out

¹⁶⁶ C. Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae. Vol. 4, Los judeoconversos de Almazán: 1501–1505* (Salamanca, 1987), 53, doc. 81.

¹⁶⁷ L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, 487–9, doc. 231.

¹⁶⁸ L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, 526–7, doc. 258.

of faith, and they returned to Castile poor and dishonoured.”¹⁶⁹ Luis Suárez Fernández has counted 177 names of individuals returning to Castile in the documents conserved in the archives of Simancas alone and in many cases these individuals were the heads of larger families and groups of returning converts. Furthermore, Haim Beinart has identified at least 64 different Castilian towns and villages to which converts returned from both Portugal and North Africa in the years following the expulsion.¹⁷⁰ Studies of local Jewish communities in Castile have highlighted the importance of conversions and returns. In the town of Torrelaguna, north-east of Madrid, a stream of converts returned between 1493 and 1495.¹⁷¹ Likewise, in Maqueda at least 68 Jewish men, probably many of them with their families, either converted straight-away or converted when they returned from exile.¹⁷²

Many of the returning converts found that those to whom they had sold property were reluctant to sell it back to them and had to appeal to the Crown for justice. The archives at Simancas contain numerous cases of Jews who, either as individuals or in small groups chose to convert and return to Castile. On 15 January 1493, Fernando and Isabel granted a safeguard to the physician Isaac Abuacar, together with an indeterminate number of other Jews who had sought refuge with him in Portugal, to convert and return. Abuacar was even allowed to bring back with him books in Hebrew and Arabic (presumably medical books) so long as they were not religious ones such as the Talmud.¹⁷³ In many instances whole groups returned and in some cases entire families, including servants. One convert of Plasencia, who took the name Juan de Vargas, returned from Portugal with his wife, nine children and even a servant-girl.¹⁷⁴

The motives that prompted many Jews who had chosen to avoid conversion by moving to Portugal to subsequently change their minds and

¹⁶⁹ “...de que muitos, não podendo sofrer a aspereza de tantos males, com forças que pareciam de necessidade mais que de fé, se converteram a ela e pobres e desonrados se tornavam para Castela.” Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 138.

¹⁷⁰ L. Suárez Fernández, *La expulsión de los judíos de España* (Madrid, 1992), 341–4; H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 407–412 (table 7.1).

¹⁷¹ E. Cantera Montenegro, “Judíos de Torrelaguna: retorno de algunos expulsados entre 1493 y 1495”, *Sefarad*, 39 (1979), 333–346.

¹⁷² C. Carrete Parrondo, “La conversión de la comunidad hebrea de Maqueda en el siglo XV”, *Sefarad*, 32 (1972), 141–147.

¹⁷³ L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, 504–5, doc. 242.

¹⁷⁴ R.G.S., 11, n° 3148, fol. 493.

return to Castile must have varied according to individuals and cannot be easily generalised. In many cases destitute Jews doubtless returned to Castile because their lack of funds prevented them from embarking for North Africa or remaining in Portugal. In some cases the returning exiles appear to have exercised a degree of caution. This appears to have been the case of Pedro Nuñez de Santa Fe, formerly Joseph de Valladolid. Pedro Nuñez de Santa Fe, and his relative Nuño Nuñez de Santa Fe—both of whom were residents of Coruña del Conde—converted and returned in 1492 but were forced to leave their wives and children behind in Portugal since the latter refused to abandon their faith. From inquisitorial sources we know that Pedro's wife eventually converted and returned in 1494 and that in 1496 or 1497 Pedro Nuñez sent a fellow *converso* tailor named Juan de Santo Esteban to fetch his children after King Manuel of Portugal had published his own expulsion edict. There is no cause to doubt Pedro Nuñez's claim that his wife at first refused to return but the decision to leave the children in Portugal makes it clear that Pedro Nuñez was waiting to see how his situation would develop in Castile before he brought back his family.¹⁷⁵

Royal and inquisitorial documents do provide evidence to support the notion that the return of converted Jews after 1492 was a significant event. An ordinance sent by the Catholic Monarchs to the governor (*corregidor*) of Murcia in May 1493 instructed him to freeze all debts that were owed to Jews who converted and returned until it could be determined that the latter had not illegally exported gold, silver or other forbidden items in 1492. The Catholic Monarchs justified their command by emphasising the important numbers of such returns and conversions:

We are informed that many of the Jews that left our realms have converted to our Holy Faith and have returned to our realms.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos acerca de la expulsión de los judíos*, 468–9, and 506–7, docs. 221 and 244; C. Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae* (Salamanca, 1985), 2, 144; J. Edwards, "Jews and Conversos in the region of Soria and Almazán: departures and returns", *Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492* (Great Yarmouth, 1996), 10.

¹⁷⁶ "E porque agora nos somos ynformados que muchos de los dichos judios que de nuestros regnos salieron se an convertido a nuestra santa fe catolica e se an tornado a estos nuestros regnos, los quales diz que procuran de corbrar las debdas que les eran devidas..." A. Gomariz Marín, *Documentos de los Reyes Católicos (1492–1504)*. Colección de documentos para la historia del reino de Murcia (Murcia, 2000), 20, 155–6, doc. 95.

Perhaps even more evocative are certain witness statements made to the inquisitorial tribunals of Soria and Burgo de Osma. In 1502 a witness in the region of Soria referred in his deposition to “the time when the Jews returned from Portugal” (“... *al tiempo que se tornaron los judíos de Portugal*”) and in 1505 another witness used a very similar expression (“... *al tiempo que vinieron los judíos de Portugal convertidos*”).¹⁷⁷

The incidence of Jews converting and returning after their expulsion was not limited to the Portuguese border or even to the Iberian Peninsula. Many Jews who had left Castile via the Andalusian ports and headed to North Africa also returned. With a gleeful tone Bernáldez noted the return of these Jews.

From 1493, when they started to return to Castile, until 1496 there was a ceaseless stream of Jews returning to Castile (...) to convert to Christianity. In this very place of Los Palacios over one hundred of them, more or less, were brought to me to baptize, including some rabbis.¹⁷⁸

Nor was this phenomenon limited to Castile alone. In Catalonia and Aragon a consequent number of Jews converted and returned from Navarre and even Italy.¹⁷⁹ Even Sicily witnessed the return of many converted Jews during the years following their expulsion from the island in January 1493, despite unfavourable circumstances. Sicilian Jews converted and returned to the island even though the authorities charged returning converts a heavy tax of 45 percent on all their property in flagrant violation of ecclesiastical doctrine.¹⁸⁰

Conclusion

The suffering of the Castilian Jews who entered Portugal in 1492 cannot be underestimated or ignored. Nonetheless, it is difficult not to come to

¹⁷⁷ C. Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae* (Salamanca, 1985), 2, 71 and 144 also (Salamanca, 1987), 4, 89.

¹⁷⁸ “... *por todo el año de MCCCCXCIII desde que començaron de dar buelta a Castilla, fasta el año de MCCCCXCVI, no cesaron de pasar de allende acá los que en qualquiera manera se podían libertar o despedir o furtadamente venir a Castilla a tornar cristianos. E aquí en este lugar de Los Palacios aportaron, que yo bautizé, cient ánimas dellos, poco más o menos, en que avía algunos rabíes...*” Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo, 260.

¹⁷⁹ M. D. Meyerson, “Aragonese and Catalan Jewish Converts at the Time of the Expulsion”, *Jewish History*, 6 (1992), 131–149.

¹⁸⁰ N. Zeldes, “*The Former Jews of this Kingdom.*” *Sicilian Converts after the Expulsion, 1492–1516* (Leiden, 2003), 27–43 and 69–83.

the conclusion that the impact of 1492 on Portugal has been overstated and even exaggerated. It is in fact difficult to detect any real long-term social and economic impact upon Portugal. Considerable numbers of Jews did enter Portugal in 1492, in all likelihood many more than the 30,000 postulated by Tavares. Of these, however, many left for North Africa and Italy whilst many others, for a variety of different reasons, converted and returned to Castile. An unknown but probably significant number of Jewish exiles also died of illness in the miserable camps in which many of them were forced to live while their situation was determined. The “six hundred families” who remained in Portugal after 1493 were dispersed across the realm and thus the social and economic impact of their arrival was minimised. It is noteworthy that Hieronymus Münzer, who travelled through Portugal from south to north in 1494 and visited the towns of Évora, Lisbon, Coimbra and Porto, does not even mention the presence of any Castilian Jews but only of Castilian *conversos*. Also striking is the fact that that no complaints were made by the commons concerning an excessive numbers of Castilian Jews in the realm.

The enslavement of those Jews who failed to pay their entrance tax or did not leave Portugal before the agreed deadline, and particularly the deportation of the Jewish children to São Tomé, has certainly created a very negative perception of the way João II treated the Castilian Jews. Somewhat understandably, for Jewish chroniclers João II was an evil king who mercilessly mistreated the exiles. This extremely negative opinion of João II and his actions towards the refugees has also been adopted by many modern historians such as Kayserling, Novinsky and Yerushalmi.¹⁸¹ The Portuguese King is supposed to have deliberately hampered the embarkation of the Castilian Jews in order to enslave them. In truth, all the available evidence indicates that João II allowed the majority of the refugees to leave his realm. Those who could afford it were able to board ships and leave the kingdom whilst those who could not were either enslaved or, more probably, converted and returned to Castile.

¹⁸¹ M. Kayserling, *História dos Judeus em Portugal* (São Paulo, 1971), 95–104; A. Novinsky, “Juifs et nouveaux chrétiens du Portugal”, *Les juifs d’Espagne. Histoire d’une diaspora 1492–1992* (Lornai, 1992), 80. For Yerushalmi’s opinion on the actions of João II see page 21 of his introduction to S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel* (first volume).

Even if we accept Capsali's claim that the King extorted more money from them to pay for their passage out of the realm and limited their transport to ships operating with a royal license, there is absolutely no evidence that the King actually attempted to prevent Castilian Jews who paid the eight *cruzados* tax from leaving his kingdom. Rather than attempting to prevent their departure, the King encouraged as many exiles as possible to leave his realm and even permitted some exiles who had stayed beyond the expiry of the eight-month limit upon their stay in Portugal to leave. The Jewish population of Portugal certainly did increase as a result of the Castilian expulsion but not to unsustainable levels. On balance, however, there is little evidence to support the contention that Portugal was so destabilized as to make the persecution of 1497 inevitable. As will be outlined in the following chapters, the change in attitude of the Portuguese Crown towards the religious minorities has its origins firmly in political developments that occurred at the start of Manuel's reign. On the other hand, the problems posed by the Castilian *conversos* did not end with the ordinances of 1488 and 1493 and were to return to the fore in the first years of Manuel's reign.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEATH OF JOÃO II AND THE ACCESSION OF MANUEL I

The brief period extending from the arrival of the Jewish refugees from Castile in 1492 to the promulgation of the Portuguese expulsion edict in December 1496 witnessed important political developments in Portugal, not least the death of João II and the accession of Manuel I to the throne in October 1495. Historians of Portuguese Jewry have not devoted much attention to these four years. Nevertheless, as will become clear below, the fate of Portuguese Jews and Muslims cannot be studied in isolation but rather has to be understood in the light of three decisive factors: firstly the changing political situation in Portugal, secondly a dramatic shift in the nature of Luso-Castilian diplomatic relations that occurred with the accession of Manuel and thirdly the policies outlined by the new King in his first year in power. The crucial developments that took place during these intervening years were all to be instrumental in bringing about the end of religious tolerance in Portugal. This chapter will endeavour to provide an analysis of these developments and highlight the manner in which they set in motion a chain of events that ultimately led to, amongst other things, the persecution of the Jewish and Muslim minorities in Portugal.

The Last Years of João II (1493–1495):

The Cold War with Castile and the Troubled Succession

The last three years of João II's reign were overshadowed by intrigues over the succession to the throne and hostile relations with the neighbouring rulers of Castile and Aragon. Even the relative political calm in Portugal that characterised these final years belied tensions that threatened to cause anarchy after the King's death. To understand these tensions it is necessary to briefly focus on the very start of his reign.

Soon after his accession, in 1481, João II clashed violently with part of his aristocracy. João II held definite views on kingship and wished to tighten royal control of administration but faced opposition from

powerful aristocratic families who had increased their power and influence during the reign of his father. In the parliamentary assembly held at Évora in August 1481, the new King introduced the first measures necessary to establish royal supremacy: all those holding castles were to surrender their titles for confirmation by the Crown. Other reforms continued to attack the privileges enjoyed by powerful noblemen. The most notable was the abolition of the offices of *adiantado*, *regedores* and *governadores*, which had been granted to high noblemen and allowed them to enjoy jurisdiction over judicial affairs in one or more districts. These offices were replaced by magistrates directly appointed by the Crown. Moreover, provincial governors (*corregedores*) were instructed by the King to enter lands held and administered by nobles in order to supervise their administration.¹

The chief opponents of the King and his reforms were Duke Fernando of Bragança and his cousin Duke Diogo of Viseu. Duke Fernando of Bragança was the greatest landowner in Portugal, personally accumulating the titles of Duke of Bragança and of Guimarães, Marquis of Vila Viçosa and Count of Ourém, Arraiolos and Neiva. According to a later source, the Duke could muster a private army of 3,000 horse and 10,000 infantry.² The Duke of Viseu, for his part, held not only the Dukedom of Viseu but was also lord of Covilhã, the Azores, Madeira and the town of Gouveia. He was Grand Master of the Military Order of Christ and the officer responsible for the border with Castile (*fronteiro-mor*) in the province of Beira. On top of everything else, Dom Diogo held lucrative monopolies over the production of soap and the fishing of tuna as well as the income from taxes levied in the towns Serpa, Beja and Moura and from the *mouraria* of Loulé.³

The confrontation between the Crown and these powerful magnates came to a head when letters were discovered amongst the Duke of Bragança's papers indicating that he had been in communication with Isabel and Fernando with the aim of negotiating a marriage alliance with Castile. The King's riposte was both swift and fierce. In June 1483, the

¹ J. José Alves Dias, I. M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga, and P. D. Braga, "A conjuntura", *Nova história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1998), 5, 701–2; M. Mendonça, *D. João II: um percurso humano e político nas origens da modernidade em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1991), 212–6 and "Problemática das conspirações contra D. João II", *Clio-Revista do Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa*, 5 (1984–5), 34–5.

² A. Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1948), 5, 234–240.

³ A. de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *História da sociedade em Portugal no século XV*, 467.

Duke of Bragança was arrested and, following a speedy treason trial, publicly beheaded for treason. The following year João II was persuaded that the Duke of Viseu was also plotting against him and personally stabbed him to death in Setúbal. Relatives and supporters of the Dukes of Bragança and Viseu fled for their lives to Castile where they received political asylum from Isabel and Fernando. Other supporters of the Braganças were arrested and executed. The Bishop of Évora, the same Garcia de Meneses to whom the Castilian *conversos* had appealed for assistance, was left to die in a cistern of the castle of Palmela. Those who were able to flee Portugal were condemned to death *in absentia* and executed in effigy and their property and lands were confiscated. Amongst the exiles were the three sons of the executed Duke of Bragança as well as his brothers the Marquis of Montemor and the Count of Faro. Other exiles included Álvaro de Portugal, lord of Tentugal and Cadavel and the famous Lisboetan Jew Isaac Abravanel, a personal friend and close associate of the Duke of Bragança. From their refuge in Castile, the supporters of the executed Duke plotted against João II but did not receive any official backing from Queen Isabel.⁴ In their place, a new faction arose in Portugal on which João relied for support and this was centred on the Almeida family. The chief member of the family was Francisco de Almeida, Count of Abrantes, who was later to achieve fame as viceroy of the Crown in India. His relatives included Diogo de Almeida, Prior of Crato and head of the Hospitaller Order in Portugal; Jorge de Almeida, Bishop of Coimbra; Diogo Lobo, Baron of Alvito and Álvaro de Castro, chief supervisor of the royal finances.⁵

How the deaths of his brother and brother-in-law at the hands of João II affected the personal feelings of Manuel towards the King—or how the King viewed his brother-in-law—remains a mystery. Rui de Pina claims that, after the murder of Duke Diogo, João II summoned the young Manuel, then aged only 15, to appear before him. In a tearful

⁴ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 26–48. On the conspiracies see M. Mendonça, “Problemática das conspirações contra D. João II”, *Clio-Revista do Centro da História da Universidade de Lisboa*, 5 (1984–5), 29–48 and H. B. Moreno, “A conspiração contra D. João II: O julgamento do duque de Bragança”, *Exilados, marginais e contestatários na sociedade portuguesa medieval* (Lisbon, 1990), 179–233; I. S. León-Borja, “Las paces de Tordesillas en Peligro. Los refugiados portugueses y el dilema de la guerra”, *Las relaciones entre Portugal y Castilla en la época de los descubrimientos y la expansión colonial*, ed. A. M. Carabias Torres (Salamanca, 1994), 117–131.

⁵ On the subsequent career in India of Francisco de Almeida see J. Candeias Silva, *O fundador do “Estado Português da Índia.” D. Francisco de Almeida 1457?–1510* (Lisbon, 1996).

interview, an embarrassed King João informed Manuel of the death of his brother, protesting that he loved Manuel as much as his son and even promising to make him his heir in the event that he should have no legitimate descendents. The chronicler adds that Manuel kneeled before the King, swore his loyalty to João II and was granted the dukedom of Beja.⁶ In the wake of the purges, João II heaped honours and benefices upon Manuel, who was made master of the military order of Christ in 1484 and *frontiero-mor* of the province of *Ente-Tejo-e-Odiana* in 1489. Manuel also received from João II lordship over the island archipelago of Cape Verde as well as the island of Madeira in 1489. In the archipelago of the Azores, Manuel received from João II lordship over the islands of Graciosa and Terceira with the exception of high criminal justice.⁷ All this apparent munificence might have been motivated by a sincere desire on João's part to atone for the murder of Duke Diogo but it is difficult not to believe that it was also presumably stimulated by a wish to placate Queen Isabel of Castile, who had been profoundly shocked and angered by the executions.⁸ Philippe de Commynes provides a very different perspective on the relationship between Manuel and João II when he states that Manuel lived "in great fear and trepidation" following the bloody events of 1483–4.⁹ As we shall see below, Manuel's actions in the days immediately preceding the death of João II indicate that he continued to feel uneasy about the latter's intentions.

Although Isabel and Fernando were shocked by the events of 1483–4 and granted asylum to those relatives and supporters of the Bragança

⁶ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 45.

⁷ J. Martins da Silva Marques, *Descobrimientos portugueses. Documentos para sua história* (Lisbon, 1944), 3, docs. 234, 235 and 237. See also João dos Santos Ramalho Cosme and Maria de Deus Beites Manso, "D. Manuel, duque de Beja, e a expansão portuguesa (1484–1495)", *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e sua época. Actas. Vol. 1. D. João II e a política quatrocentista* (Porto, 1989), 359–375.

⁸ "Y con la nueva de un caso tan grave, la reina de Castilla recibió tanta pena como si fuera el duque su hermano, porque tenía a la infante doña Beatriz su tía en cuenta de madre, y dolíale en el corazón ver la persecución que pasaba por aquella casa; (...) y entendióse claramente que si no tuvieran entre las manos la empresa de la guerra de los moros se revolvió contra aquel reino, estando aquel príncipe en él muy aborrecido y malquisto." J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. A. Canellas López, (Zaragoza, 1977), 8, 476.

⁹ "Et luy estoit advenue la couronne de Portingal par le trespas du roy dernier mort, lequel a seigneuruy cruellement; car il fit couper la teste au pere de sa femme et tua le frere d'elle despuis et le filz du dessusdict et frere ainsé de celluy qui de present est roy de Portingal, qu'il a faict vivre en grant paour et crainte." Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Blanchard (Paris, 2001), 666. De Commynes confuses Duke Ferdinand of Bragança with Duke Ferdinand of Viseu who was Queen Leonor's actual father.

faction who had fled to Castile, they did not seek to interfere in Portuguese domestic matters and the period up to 1491 was actually marked by a thaw in diplomatic relation between Castile and Portugal. Negotiations led to the marriage of the Portuguese King's heir, Prince Afonso, and the *Infanta* Isabel, the eldest daughter of Isabel and Fernando. This upturn in Luso-Castilian relations was nonetheless destined to be only a brief one. In July 1491, Prince Afonso, the only son of João II and his wife Queen Leonor, died following a fall from his horse whilst racing along the banks of the Tejo near Santarém.¹⁰

Prince Afonso was the only legitimate son that João II had by Queen Leonor but he had also fathered an illegitimate son, named Jorge, by his mistress Ana de Mendonça. Following the death of Prince Afonso, João II ordered that his illegitimate son Jorge be brought to the court with the clear intention of making him his heir.¹¹ In the eyes of the Portuguese monarch, Jorge's illegitimacy was not an insurmountable obstacle. It is important not to forget that the legitimacy of kingship in Portugal placed great emphasis on its elective nature. Whereas there existed a strong tradition of sacred monarchy in France and England—where sovereigns were ritually anointed and crowned—the rulers of Portugal were rarely crowned but rather ritually “elevated” and acclaimed. King João I—João II's great grandfather and the founder of the dynasty of Avis—had himself been an illegitimate son and had invoked the Visigothic custom of elective kingship to justify his seizure of power at the parliament of Coimbra in 1385.¹² To strengthen the position of his bastard son, the young Jorge was made master of the powerful and wealthy military orders of Santiago and Avis in 1492; both of these positions had previously been held by the defunct Prince Afonso. A fascinating contemporary testimony of the prominent position accorded to Jorge at court by his father is contained in the travel diary of Hieronymus Münzer. The German traveller records that he was entertained by the Portuguese King and Jorge at Évora in 1494. The Portuguese monarch, though he

¹⁰ On the marriage of Afonso to Princess Isabel see Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 45–108.

¹¹ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 108–9; On Dom Jorge see L. de Lancastre e Tavora, “O Senhor D. Jorge”, *Oceanos*, 4 (1990), 82–92.

¹² R. Costa Gomes, *The Making of a Court Society. Kings and Nobles in Medieval Portugal* (Cambridge, 2003), 370–8. On the parliament of Coimbra and the election of João I in 1385 see Fernão Lopes, *Crónica del Rei dom João primeiro de boa memória*, ed. A. Braamcamp Freire (Lisbon, 1973), 1, 341–372.

was ill, lavished honours on the Germans and knighted one of them. Münzer left the following description of Jorge:

[João II] has a bastard son named Jorge, a boy of thirteen, who is very learned despite his young age and particularly adept at the recitation of poetry. His mentor is the erudite Cataldo Sículo of Paris, a great orator (...). The boy would be very worthy to claim the Crown [of Portugal] both because of his learning and of his accomplished manners.¹³

Münzer's last remark is striking and proof that the young Jorge was treated as his father's heir and being groomed by his father to succeed him. A reader of Münzer's journal cannot escape the notion that the force behind the generosity displayed by João II towards his German visitors was the hope, vindicated as it turned out, that they would take favourable news of him and his illegitimate son back with them to Germany. This was all the more important to João II as these particular visitors were not ordinary merchants. Münzer himself had played a key part in diplomatic negotiations with the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519) only a year prior to his journey.¹⁴

João's efforts to legitimise Jorge ran into unyielding opposition from Isabel and Fernando and relations between the rulers of Portugal and Castile rapidly deteriorated. In 1494, João II sent his ambassador, Pedro da Silva, ostensibly to congratulate Pope Alexander VI on his election but in reality to negotiate the legitimisation of Jorge with the Pontiff. In Rome, João II's plans were thwarted not only by the ambassadors of Isabel and Fernando but also Jorge da Costa, the Portuguese cardinal of Alpedrinha and absentee archbishop of Lisbon. The Portuguese cardinal had helped João obtain the papal bulls necessary to confirm the position of Jorge as master of the orders of Santiago and Avis but seemingly refused to support the King's attempts to legitimise his bastard son.¹⁵

¹³ "*Habet etiam filium unum bastardum, dominum Geor[ig]um, adolescentem de 13 annis, adeo ingeniosum, adeo in recitandis poetis pro etate sua doctum, ut nihil supra. Habet tamen idem Geor[ig]ius doctissimum preceptorem Cataldum Siculum de Parisio, oratorem maximum, qui mihi infinitas humanitates exhibuit. Dignus esset hic adolescens regio sceptro propter excellenciam ingenii et morum suorum.*" H. Münzer, "Itinerarium Hispanicum", ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 81.

¹⁴ J. Aubin, "João II devant sa succession", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 27 (1991), 113; H. Münzer, "Viaje por España y Portugal en los años 1494 y 1495", trad. J. Puyol, *BRAH*, 84 (1924), 34.

¹⁵ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 112; M. Mendonça, *D. Jorge da Costa. Cardeal de Alpedrinha* (Lisbon, 1991), 55–62.

Another factor that poisoned relations between João and his neighbours was the fact that he had granted asylum to one of their most dangerous opponents: Princess Juana, daughter of Henry IV of Castile (1454–1474). Princess Juana, known as the “Excellent Lady”, had been married to Afonso V and claimed the throne of Castile in 1474 with Portuguese assistance but had been defeated by Isabel and Fernando. The peace treaty of Alcáçovas had stipulated that Juana must become a nun in Portugal. Isabel and Fernando, however, clearly continued to fear the potential source of danger that she represented to their regime. Zurita states that the Portuguese King knowingly manipulated this fear:

To further demonstrate the hatred he harboured against the Queen of Castile, he granted a considerable pension to the one he called the “Excellent lady”, that is *Doña Juana*, his cousin, whom he claimed to be have been Queen of Castile and Portugal, so that she may be kept according to her standing as she had always been while he was alive.¹⁶

Though there was never any indication that João II actually intended to support her claim, the continued presence of the “Excellent lady” in Portugal was a continual reminder to Queen Isabel of the difficult beginning of her reign and represented a potential danger to her rule. The prospect of a renewed challenge from the “Excellent lady” would continue to haunt Queen Isabel right up to her death in 1504.¹⁷

Tensions between Portugal and Castile were further aggravated by the return of Christopher Columbus to Europe in 1493 with the sensational news of his discoveries. Unsubstantiated rumours had it that the Portuguese King had secretly sent caravels to reconnoitre the islands explored by Columbus. All-out war seemed only a matter of time during the winter of 1493–4. João II was accused of violating the treaty of Alcáçovas by building a castle at Vimioso and two other fortifications in the region of Miranda do Douro, along the border with Castile. The threat of war

¹⁶ “...y para mostrar mas el odio q̄ tenia a la Reyna d[e] Castilla, le dexo muy encomẽdada la q̄ llamaua la excelẽte señora doña luana su prima q̄ dezia auer sido Reyna de Castilla y Portugal: y q̄ fuese mãtenida en seu estado, como siempre lo fue miẽtras el viuia.” J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 78.

¹⁷ P. Drummond Braga, “A ‘Excelente Senhora’, D. Joana em Portugal (1479–1530). Dados para um estudo”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas, Universidade Portucalense Infante D. Henrique*, 4 (1989), 247–254; I. S. León-Borja, “Ysabel y la excelente señora en 1504: ¿Razón de estado o usurpación a un trono? Un nuevo documento”, *Estudios de historia de España. Universidad Católica Argentina*, 7 (2005), 147–168.

was real enough for the French King to summon the Spanish ambassador and ask him whether the terms of the current truce between France and Spain would be affected in the event of a war between Portugal and Castile.¹⁸

The situation came to a head when, in May 1494, Isabel and Fernando sent two Dominican Friars, Fray Diego de Madalena and Fray Antonio de la Peña, as their ambassadors to João II. The two men were instructed to warn the Portuguese King against pursuing such a course of action. A detailed account of the embassy was made by the ambassadors upon their return to Spain and has fortunately survived. This document offers a fascinating insight into the barely disguised hostility that characterised diplomatic relations between the Crowns of Castile and Portugal towards the end of João's reign. The Castilian ambassadors state that they found the Portuguese King in the coastal town of Setúbal and immediately sought an audience. In a sanctimonious tone, they informed the Portuguese King that Isabel and Fernando—as concerned neighbours and good Christians—wished him to personally confirm the falsehood of disturbing rumours they had heard:

They have heard, and have been made to understand, that your Highness proposes to name as your successor to the Portuguese throne Dom Jorge, and have the [subjects] of your realm swear an oath to him. This would certainly be a wicked and unjust deed, not to mention a sinful and scandalous one that would set a bad example. Nevertheless, because of your own virtue, the sense of justice and good conscience of your Royal person they have not and cannot believe it.¹⁹

João was also warned that by making Jorge his successor he would be sowing seeds of discord in his realm. Finally, the ambassadors warned the Portuguese monarch to take care lest another foreign ruler might be tempted to seek to usurp the throne and they added a scarcely veiled threat to their admonition:

¹⁸ J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fols. 37 and 39v.

¹⁹ "...an oydo dezir e les ha sido dado a entender muy afincadamente que Vuestra Alteza, ha tenido y tiene consigo deliberando de nonbrar por su sucesor y principe heredero deste su reyno de Portugal, para despues de su vida, al Señor don Jorge, y por tal le hazer jurar a los de su reyno. Y ansy, por ser ello en sy, como lo seria, cosa muy fea e injusta y de grande pecado y muy escandalosa e de mal exemplo, como por la mucha virtud y grand justia y buena consçiençia de vuestra real persona, jamas lo han podido creer ni creen." A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 414, doc. 461.

Their Highnesses [Isabel and Fernando] would be most inconvenienced if they themselves concluded a marriage alliance with the King of the Romans or another foreign prince who then claimed to have a right to the Portuguese throne and requested their assistance. Your Excellency can see why on the one hand they would regrettably have to renounce the friendship they maintain with Your royal person whilst on the other hand they would be compelled, in accordance with [the will of] God and their good consciences, to side with truth and justice...²⁰

The dark threats made by Isabel and Fernando through the mouths of their ambassadors were not idle ones. The foreign ruler to which Isabel and Fernando alluded was the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. As the Castilian ambassadors reminded him, Emperor Maximilian was a direct and legitimate descendent of King Duarte of Portugal through his mother Leonor of Portugal. Though João enjoyed good diplomatic relations with Emperor Maximilian I, he must also have known that Isabel and Fernando intended to secure a marriage alliance with Philip, the son and heir of Maximilian.²¹

João II reacted to the patronising tone of the embassy with a silent fury that he could barely suppress and that left him quite literally speechless. The ambassadors noted in their report that after their speech the King was “in an emotional state and [visibly] perturbed, changing from one colour to another, he stuttered and spoke falteringly.” So dumbstruck was the Portuguese King that the ambassadors were dismissed without having received an official reply.²² A week later they were summoned back to the palace and, in a second interview, João replied to the

²⁰ “Y lo que mas al rey y a la reyna, nuestros señores les daría pena seria, sy con el rey de los Romanos, o con otro alguno de los príncipes estrangeros, se contraxiese algun matrimonio y el dixese la tal suçesion perteneçer, y para esto requiriese a Sus Altezas. Ya vuestra esçellençia ve con que razon se podría escusar; ansi que por vna parte penarian de no poder conservar la amistad que con vuestra real persona tienen, y por la otra seria nesçesario, segun Dios y buena conaçiençia, de ayudar a la verdad y a la justiçia, y como vuestra Alteza sabe, estos y otros mucho inconnuenientes sobre lo tal se podrian seguir.” A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 415, doc. 461.

²¹ On relations between João II and Maximilian see M. D. Mendonça, “D. João II e Maximiliano, rei dos romanos, contribuição para a história das relações luso-germânicas (1494)”, *As relações externas de Portugal nos finais da idade média* (Lisbon, 1994), 93–124. Leonor, sister of Afonso V of Portugal, married Emperor Frederick III in 1452.

²² “Verdad es que ansi al oyr de nuestra primera habla como en todo este processo, mostraua consigo alguna passion y turbaçion, y segun lo que podimos conoçer, ovo mucho sentimiento, yendose un color y viniendo otro, y sus palabras desordenadas y mal marcadas.” A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 418, doc. 461.

ambassadors, with equal hypocrisy, that he did not wish to discuss the matter further as he had “never so much as spoken of such an idea” and apparently ignored their protest that “the whole world was talking about how [João II] wished to have an oath sworn to Jorge and make him his heir.”²³ Neither Isabel nor Fernando was fooled by João II’s duplicitous claims. In the summer of 1494, Fernando was taken gravely ill at Segovia and, believing he might be dying, warned his son Juan that the Portuguese King intended to make the bastard Jorge his heir and that Juan must only support “the faction [in Portugal] that has right in its claim to the Portuguese throne.”²⁴

The parlous state of relations between Castile and Portugal is highlighted by a short memorandum of 25 folios sent to Queen Isabel around the time of the negotiations at Tordesillas in May/June 1494. Its anonymous Portuguese author, one of the exiled supporters of the Bragança clan, counselled the queen not to waste her efforts and resources financing further expeditions to the islands explored by Columbus. Instead he urged her not only to conquer the North African Kingdom of Fez but also to invade Portugal. The anonymous author argues that the throne of Portugal belonged by right to Isabel of Castile since she was the legitimate descendent of King Alfonso VI of León-Castile, the ruler of the county of Portugal before its breakaway as an independent kingdom in the early twelfth century. João II was portrayed as a tyrant who oppressed his people and Queen Isabel, as a Christian monarch, was duty bound to rescue the Portuguese people. To further bolster his line of reasoning, the author also stated that a hostile Portugal represented a grave threat to the security of Castile:

Another great problem is that your realms have no more dangerous point of entry for the French, English or any other nation who may wish to harm you than via the port of Lisbon (...) they can disembark there and from there enter Castile via a flat road with neither hills nor ravines.²⁵

²³ “... y a nosotros encargaua, que por su amor, que pues el tal pensamiento no tenia por jamas por su boca avia salido, esto se callase y no se divulgase más. Nosotros le diximos que nos plazia de ansy lo dezir a Vuestras Altezas (...) pero que todo el mundo estaua lleno que el queria hazer jurar a dom Jorge por príncipe, su heredero.” A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 419, doc. 461.

²⁴ “... y porq̄ aũ en este tiempo el Rey de Portugal trabajaua, è insistia con todo su poder, por dexar por sucessor de aquel Reyno a don Jorge su hijo, dexaua el Rey encargado al Principe, que no diesse favor sino a la parte q̄ tuuiesse justicia en la sucession.” J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, 1, fols. 38–38v.

²⁵ “Otro aun maior inconveniente es que estos Vuestros Reinos no tienen otra mas peligrosa entrada ny mas segura ni mejor para lo françeses engreses ho otras gentes que los

The author warned Isabel that, from Portugal, an enemy army could strike at most cities of Castile. He claimed to have the support of no less a personage than Álvaro de Portugal, the head of the Royal Council. What is particularly significant is that its author believed that political conditions were favourable to put forward such a document and that it might even influence the Queen. His argument that a hostile Portugal was a threat to Isabel is a clear indication that he wished to exploit the real fears of the Castilian Queen (and her husband).²⁶

The treaty of Tordesillas, signed on 6 June 1494, defused the immediate crisis in Luso-Castilian relations. Isabel and Fernando ordered the disbandment of the fleet based in the Basque ports that had assembled to attack the Portuguese in the event of the outbreak of war.²⁷ Nevertheless, the issue of the succession to the throne of Portugal remained unresolved and suspicions were now revived by international events. In 1494, Isabel and Fernando became concerned by French pretensions in southern Italy. When Charles VIII of France (1483–1498) invaded the Italian Peninsula, they sought to isolate the French King by building an international alliance against him. The mistrust and dissemblance that continued to characterise relations between the Portuguese and Castilian courts towards the end of João II's reign is well illustrated in Zurita's account of their attempts to convince João II to join the alliance:

The King [Fernando] was attempting to force all the princes who had joined the Holy League to come to his assistance; moreover, [he also hoped] that the King of Portugal would join it, or that he could at the very least be certain of [João's] intentions. In addition to the fact that [João II] had concluded a secret alliance with the King of France and kept it with great dissemblance, [Fernando] also remembered that [João II] had once been one of his greatest enemies. For this reason the King [of Portugal] was invited through diverse letters and messengers to join the Holy League, but he sent back a knight of his household named Estevan Vaez to present his polite refusal.²⁸

quisiesen danhar hy en ellos entrar que por mar por el puerto de Lixbona (...) hy alhy desembarcar hy estar i de alhy para entrar en Castilha camino lhano ssin cuesta ni deçendida ssino todo lhano como la palma...? *Memorial Portugués*, ed. I. S. León-Borja and K. Klimes-Szmik (Madrid, 1994), 133.

²⁶ I. S. León-Borja, "Las paces de Tordesillas en Peligro. Los refugiados portugueses y el dilema de la guerra", *Las relaciones entre Portugal y Castilla en la época de los descubrimientos y la expansión colonial*, ed. A. M. Carabias Torres (Salamanca, 1994), 126–8. León-Borja identifies the author of the *memorial* as either Pedro de Noronha or Vasco Fernandes de Lucena.

²⁷ J. Pérez de Tudela Bueso, "La armada de Vizcaya", *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su Proyección* (Valladolid, 1973), 1, 86–8, docs. 2, 3 and 4.

²⁸ "...procuraua el Rey de obligar q̄ le socorriessen todos los Principes de la liga: y q̄ el

Zurita records that Isabel and Fernando were also concerned that João II had still not stated his plans for his succession:

[João II] knew that the King and Queen of Castile opposed this plan [to put Jorge on the throne] and he did not dare to speak in any other manner concerning this business, for which reason the King and Queen considered him to be extremely dishonest. It is true that, for this end, the King of Portugal did not have very Christian intentions and that he was biding his time. He thought that he could legitimise his son and marry him into the house of Castile with one of the princesses. But this project, just like others, was cut short by his death soon afterwards.²⁹

Isabel and Fernando clearly feared that a hostile Portugal might seek help from their French enemy. Such fears of a military alliance between Portugal and France were not groundless. João II had concluded an anti-piracy agreement with Charles VIII by the treaty of Montemor-o-Novo as early as January 1485, concerning the problem of piracy by the French on Portuguese shipping. Since then both monarchs had entertained favourable contacts. Worse still for the Castilians, in May 1494 there were persistent rumours in Italy that João had sent, or intended to send, naval forces to assist the French army invading the Kingdom of Naples.³⁰ As we have seen above, the anonymous author of the memorandum sent to Isabel in 1494 had underlined the risk Portugal presented to the security of Castile and had included the French among possible attackers. Garcia de Resende claims, on what evidence is not known, that the French King had once proclaimed that he considered João II to be his only true ally against the Holy League.³¹ João II's refusal

Rey de Portugal entrasse en ella, ò alomenos estuuiesse cierto, y seguro del: porque alluende que tenia secreta amistad con Francia, y la sustentaua con gran artificio, acordauase que le auia sido muy enemigo. Por esta causa, fue diversas vezes requerido por el Rey con cartas, y mensageros, y èl se embiò a escusar con vn cauallero de su casa, llamado Estevan Vaez." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 75.

²⁹ "...y sabia que tenia en ello por contrarios al Rey, y Reyna de Castilla: y no osaua hablar de otra manera, en aquel negocio, que estos Principes tenian por muy deshonesto. Era cierto, que por este fin el Rey de Portugal tenia no muy santas intenciones: y aguardaua ocasion para emprender lo que tenia muy estudiado: pensando hazer legitimo a su hijo, y casalle en la casa de Castilla, con vna da las Infantas: pero esto, y otras empresas las atajo presto la muerte dentro de breues dias." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 75v.

³⁰ On this rumour see J. Aubin, "João II devant sa succession", *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 27 (1991), 122-3.

³¹ Garcia de Resende, "Vida e feitos d'el rey Dom Ioão Segundo", *Livro das obras de Garcia de Resende*, ed. E. Verdelho (Lisbon, 1994), 383.

to join the Holy League against France was real enough. Pope Alexander VI invited João to join to Holy League in May 1495 but his proposal was apparently rejected. According to Zurita, when Castilian ambassadors visited João II in September 1495 he once again refused to join the Holy League, cynically claiming that he was “everyone’s friend” and that what he desired most was “peace amongst [all the] princes.”³² In return for his benevolent neutrality, João II hoped to receive support from the French King for his attempts to legitimate Jorge at papal *curia*. In a secret letter sent in 1495 to his ambassador in Italy, Pedro da Silva, the King ordered him only to pledge Portugal’s allegiance to the Pope if the pontiff and King of France, then campaigning in Italy, had themselves come to an understanding with one another.³³

The Jews of Portugal during the last years of João II

The four years that followed the arrival of the Jews expelled from Castile continue to represent something of a mystery. The absence of any surviving documents produced by the royal chancery for the years 1493, 1494 and 1495 is probably in part responsible for this silence. The German traveller Münzer reports that in 1494 the Jews of Lisbon “feared an expulsion” since it was known that João II had received letters from Isabel and Fernando calling upon him to expel them. Münzer’s most sensational revelation, however, is that João II had given the Jews two years to leave the realm (that is until the end of 1496).³⁴ It is difficult to know what to make of this astonishing statement. If it is true, then Manuel was only implementing a policy devised by his predecessor. Münzer met João II in person and was generally well informed but in this respect he must have been mistaken or was perhaps reporting hearsay he picked

³² “...lo que [el] mas desseava, era paz entre los principes.” J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 75. For Pope Alexander VI’s letter to João II see L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 371–2, doc. 88.

³³ J. Aubin, “João II devant sa succession”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 27 (1991), 101–140. L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 374–5, doc. 90. The letter has no date but from its content it must have been written before June 1495.

³⁴ “*Timent etiam maxime de proscriptiōe. Nam Rex Hispanie precepit Regi Portugalie (...) Ad Judeos autem Rex habet inducias per integros duos annos, ut cum moderacione eos ex regno eiciat. Considerantes hoc Judei continuo abeunt et extera loca pro habitacione querunt.*” H. Münzer, “Itinerarium Hispanicum”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 82–3.

up in the streets of Lisbon. Such an extraordinary decision would have been contrary to the King's own interests. Why would King João, at a time when his relations with Isabel and Fernando were so bad, have meekly acquiesced to their demands and forfeited considerable fiscal revenues?

Absolutely no hint of such a plan exists in either chronicles or documentary evidence. If such a plan were public knowledge then it is difficult to understand why it is not mentioned by any Christian or Jewish chronicler. Rabbi Abraham Saba states that the period between 1492 and 1497 was marked by a relative return to normality. He recalls that he completed most of the exegetical commentaries he had begun in Castile while resettled with his family at Guimarães.³⁵ Had João II ordered such an expulsion then Eliyahu Capsali, who heaped abuse upon the Portuguese monarch, would surely have mentioned it. Moreover, as we shall see in the following chapter, Manuel himself does not refer to any such plans of João II. The meagre documentary evidence for this period also challenges Münzer's assertion. Indeed, it appears highly unlikely that, if João II had issued such an expulsion decree, Jews would have continued to enter into contractual agreements to rent houses for a number of years but there is evidence that they did do just that. By way of illustration, on 22 February 1495, Samuel Alferce, a Jew of Vila Nova de Portimão, rented houses in the southern towns of Lagos and Sagres for the duration of three lifetimes. Similarly, on 26 May, Judas Caçam and his wife Tamar agreed to rent some houses situated in the *judiaria* of Évora for a period of two years on the condition that they complete certain renovations in addition to paying a yearly rent of 700 *reais brancos* and a measure of honey.³⁶

How then are we to interpret Münzer's astonishing declaration? If João II ever entertained ideas of expelling his Jewish subjects then these were certainly never made public, as Münzer seemingly claims. The well informed chronicler Rui de Pina, who also knew the king and whose position as royal archivist gave him access to documents that are

³⁵ A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 7–8 and M. Oron, "Autobiographical elements in the writings of kabbalists from the generation of the Expulsion", *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 107, n. 22.

³⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 26, fols. 10–10v and bk. 32, fols. 123–123v (both documents are confirmations made by Manuel I in October 1495 of the leases made on 22 February 1495). J. C. Baptista, "Os pegaminhos dos bacharéis da Sé de Évora", offprint of *A cidade de Évora*, 65–66 (1982–1983), 92–3, doc. 284.

no-longer existent, does not even hint at such a scheme in his work. The apparent contradiction that Münzer makes in reporting that the Jews lived in fear of an expulsion that had already been decreed is striking. Was the German simply reporting as fact a vague idea that King João may have been contemplating during one of their meetings. Is it possible that João II was trying to convey upon the German traveller—whom he knew would report back to the Emperor—the impression that he too, like Fernando and Isabel, was a deeply Christian ruler?

The Death of João II

In September 1495, João II met his estranged wife and Manuel in the town of Alcáçovas. Furthermore, as we have seen above, Zurita further states in his work that a second Castilian embassy, headed by Alonso de Silva, also met King João at Alcáçovas that same month to invite him to join the Holy League. We will probably never know what discussions were held at Alcáçovas but it seems likely that the Portuguese queen and the Castilian ambassadors combined to put pressure on João II to officially recognise Manuel as his heir.³⁷ Damião de Góis is certainly referring to this very meeting when he states that “before his death there were various councils and opinions concerning the succession, whether he should be succeeded by his cousin Duke Manuel of Beja or his bastard son Jorge.”³⁸

It is certainly as a result of these discussions that João finally did agree to dictate his last will and testament to his Franciscan confessor João de Póvoa. The will, dated 29 September 1495, recognised Manuel as his successor in the event that he should die within one year without having drawn up another testament or a codicil. João II decreed that the young Jorge should be next in line to the throne in the event of Manuel’s death. Another clause further stipulated that if Manuel should have a daughter he should marry her to Jorge. The will was witnessed by a number of courtiers including Jorge and Manuel.³⁹ João II had made an

³⁷ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 144; J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 75.

³⁸ “E porq̃ antes de seu faleçimento hauia varios pareceres, e opiniões de a quem deixaria ha suçessam do Regno, se a dom Emanuel Duque de Beja, seu primo com irmão, se a dom George seu filho bastaro...” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 3.

³⁹ The clause declaring Manuel as his heir reads as follows: “Item conhecendo eu como a serviço de Deus e ao bem destes meus regnos e senhorios compre seu fallecer da vida

important concession but still kept considerable space for manoeuvre. By stating that the will could be revoked whenever he wished, João II cleverly managed to forestall having to commit himself to a permanent decision concerning the succession. Furthermore, the testament was not to be made public but to be kept secret. Rui de Pina and Garcia de Resende both state that the meeting held at Alcáçovas led to a genuine reconciliation between the King and Queen Leonor but in view of the precarious nature of his will this is unlikely to have been the case. From Alcáçovas both parties went their separate ways. Departing in the first days of October, João II took the advice of his doctors and travelled to the town of Monchique in the Algarve, which boasted a medicinal spa. For their part, Duke Manuel and Queen Leonor made their way to Alcácer do Sal.⁴⁰

Upon his arrival in Monchique, the condition of the King unexpectedly deteriorated. Rui de Pina states that a false rumour began to circulate throughout the realm that João II had died without naming any successor and gave rise to many disturbances. The King had recovered sufficiently by 23 October to send a letter to the Queen and Manuel announcing his recovery. He moved from Monchique to the nearby town of Alvor on the morning of Saturday 24 October. Other letters were apparently sent to towns throughout the kingdom to inform them of his recovery. The atmosphere of uncertainty that arose across the whole kingdom also affected its Jewish population. From Alcácer do Sal, Queen Leonor wrote to the town council of Évora asking them to be vigilant in protecting its Jewish population:

The Jews of this town [of Évora] have sent messengers to inform us that certain persons have said that it would be a good thing to enter [the *judiaria*] to rob them and inflict upon them as much harm and as many injuries as possible. They have wished to inform the King of this but have been unable to, due to his absence, and they have come to us instead so that we

deste mundo ante de passar tempo de huum anno da feitura deste meu testamento que o duque D. Manuel meu muito amado e preçado primo os aja e possuua nom aveendo eu filho ou filha legitimos. E portando de meu moto proprio certa sciencia livre vontade poder absoluto na melhor forma e maneira que eu posso quero e me praz que levando me Nosso Senhor deste mundo ante o dicto tempo de huum anno e de eu fazer outro testamento cedolla ou coudicilho que elle fique por meu verdadeiro erdeiro dos dictos meus regnos e senhorios... A.N.T.T., Gaveta 16, maço 1, doc. 16. *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 6, 88–98, doc. 3784.

⁴⁰ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 146–7; García de Resende, “Vida e feitos d’el rey Dom Ioão Segundo”, *Livro das obras de Garcia de Resende*, ed. E. Verdelho (Lisbon, 1994), 440–2.

may act as we see fit. And because this has already been done before, it has seemed right to us to involve ourselves. Now that you know that certain persons talk in such a manner, we ask you not permit such discussions and restore calm [to the town].⁴¹

In Alvor, João II was compelled to show himself from a window in his room to reassure his subjects and quash rumours. Nevertheless, this recovery was only very brief and his condition rapidly worsened again the next day. King João II died prematurely in the town of Alvor on Sunday 25 October 1495, aged only 40.⁴² Damião de Góis alleges that the King was poisoned but there is absolutely no evidence whatsoever to back his claim.⁴³

Rui de Pina records that the Queen and Manuel were summoned to Alvor by the dying King. Still suspecting some intrigue or plot by her husband, the Queen did not go. Manuel himself left Alcácer de Sal for Alvor but brusquely turned back at the small village of Colos, when he was already two thirds of the way to Alvor. The real reasons behind this sudden change of mind will never be known but two explanations suggest themselves. It is possible that Manuel, remembering the murder of his brother Duke Diogo of Viseu in 1484, feared that João II had laid a similar trap for him. Another reason may be that, in the event of the King's death, Manuel did not wish to find himself surrounded by partisans of Jorge in Alvor and far from his own supporters. Surrounding the King's deathbed at Alvor were the most prominent members of the Almeida family, including Diogo Fernandes de Almeida (the Prior of Crato) and his brother Jorge (bishop of Coimbra). Rui de Pina certainly hints at such fears when he states that Manuel acted this way to preserve "his life, his honour and his realm."⁴⁴

⁴¹ "...os judeus daçima desa cidade nos emvyaram ora dizer que alguumas pesoas della fallavam como seria bem de entrarem com eles pera os rroubarem e fazerem todo mall e dapmno que podem Pedindonos que por quanto elles quiseram sobre isto emvyar fallar a elRey meu señor e nõ viam tempo por escusa de sua demora se secorriam a nos pera que nello mamdasemos proveer como nos bem parece. E por que esta cousa se fez ja em outros tempos nos pareço que era bem entemdermos em ello E porrem vos rroguamos muyto que vymdo aa vosa noticia que algumas pesoas fallam niso o que nom devem vos loguo per vos e per aquellas pesoas que virdes que comprira a tudo sobre ello e nom comsentaes que se tall nem faça e poemde tudo em bõo soseguo..." A.D.E., Livro 3º de Originais da Câmara de Évora, fol. 159.

⁴² Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 147–150.

⁴³ This claim was considered to be so scandalous that it had to be deleted from the definitive edition of the chronicle. Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 3, n. 1.

⁴⁴ "...como prudente segurar su vida, honra e estado." Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 148–9.

According to Rui de Pina, when news of the King's death first reached Manuel and Queen Leonor they initially refused to give credence to the report. His repeated bouts of ill health since 1492 had given rise to many premature reports of his demise. An idea of the many false rumours that revolved around the health of João II can be gathered from the fact that Peter Martyr (1457–1526), the Italian tutor of the Crown Prince of Castile Don Juan, falsely reports the death of the Portuguese monarch twice in his correspondence: once in November 1493 and a second time in December 1494.⁴⁵ The Venetian writer Marino Sanuto similarly records that in June 1495 a false rumour arose in Venice which alleged that João II had died and left the throne to his bastard son “under the tutelage and protection of the King of France.”⁴⁶

The Spanish reaction to the turn of events in Portugal was one of apprehension. Jerónimo Zurita records that Isabel and Fernando, after receiving news of the death of João II, took immediate steps to prepare for the possible outbreak of a civil war in Portugal:

Orders were sent to the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Alba that they should gather all the men they could muster and that they should inform the Duke of Beja, who later became King [of Portugal], of what they had been ordered to do if they were needed and that they should carry out whatever he [Manuel] ordered. It was agreed that the Queen should go to the Portuguese border and there was no shortage of people who advised the King [Fernando] that if a civil war broke out over the succession [in Portugal], as was feared, he should not provide any assistance to either party unless one was far stronger than the other. (...) He was advised not to intervene so that the rivalry of both sides might escalate into a greater civil war and that they should be kept equal in strength. This was so that in such a situation an agreement might be struck with the Duke of Beja, the legitimate heir, and that he should be made to renounce his claims to places that belonged to the Kingdom of Castile and which had been

⁴⁵ Petri Anglerii Martyris, *Opus Epistolarum* (Amsterdam, 1670), 80–1, letter 146; *Epistolario*, ed. J. López de Toro, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1953), 9, 249–250 and 267–270, docs. 138 (1 November 1493) and 146 (4 December 1494).

⁴⁶ “*Et ancora advisò la Signoria haver inteso da alcuni mercadanti, che havia habuto lettere di Barcelona, come a dì 19 Mazo era morto el re don Joanne di Portogallo, di malattia longiqua, zoè idropesia, de età de anni 43, et non havea figlioli legittimi, (...) ma fo divulgato el Re haver fatto testamento, et lassato el regno a uno suo fiul natural, chiamato don Zorzi, di età de anni 13, in governo tamen e protetione dil Re de Franza, non havendo nominato el Re de Spagna suo parente et vicino, però che Portogallo è in mezzo di la Spagna. Et una mattina per tutto in questa terra se rasonava di tal nova, dubitando el Re de Spagna non fusse impazato in quelle cosse, et non potesse attendere a romper al Re de Franza. Tamen dopoi se intese ditto Re star benissimo, si che non fo.*” M. Sanuto, *La Spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia*, ed. R. Fulin (Venice, 1873), 376–7.

violently occupied by the past Kings [of Portugal]. Then forces should be sent to Africa, which was also claimed by the rulers of Castile, as King Fernando was planning to start the conquest of the [North] African coasts, starting with the realms of Fez and Tlemcen and continue [this conquest] beyond the straits [of Gibraltar] along the [Atlantic] Ocean coast.⁴⁷

Zurita's account appears to be essentially correct in most of its details though nothing is known of the supposed plans of Isabel to move closer to the border. Concerning the mobilisation of Castilian troops along the border, this information is corroborated by an independent Italian source, the Venetian Marino Sanuto, who recorded in his diary that these troops were only withdrawn from the border with Portugal in May or June 1496.⁴⁸

In the end, the fears held by Isabel and Fernando of an uprising in favour of Jorge by the Almeida clan did not materialise. Manuel moved with great speed to establish his authority. On 26 October, he sent an inhabitant of Alcácer do Sal with a letter for the authorities of Porto informing them of his succession and ordering them to publicly announce his accession by "raising your banners and pennons in that town in our name and all the good things which, as the good and loyal vassals which you are, you have been accustomed to perform in such cases." Manuel signed the letter with the title "King" even though he had not yet been acclaimed King. Moreover, he insisted that he would "protect and respect their honours, freedoms, privileges and good customs" and even promised to grant them "all reasonable privileges and honours."⁴⁹

⁴⁷ "...se dio orden a los Duqs de Medina Sidonia, y de Alua, q̄ juntassen luego toda la gente q̄ pudiessen, y auisassen al Duque de Beja que se llamo luego Rey, para que entendisse lo que les estaua mādado, si alguna necesidad se ofreciesse: y pusiesen en obra lo q̄ el les ordenasse. Por esta causa se acordò que la Reyna se fuesse luego a la frontera de Portugal: y no falto quien acõsejo al rey que si en aquel Reyno vuisse cõpetencia sobre la sucesion, como se temia, no ayudasse a ninguna de las partes: sino en caso, q̄ la vna fuese mas poderosa: porq̄ del todo no se apoderasse de la tierra: y los dexasse, q̄ formasen mayor contienda: y los entretuuiesse yguales. Era esto con fin que se tomasse en aquel medio asiento cõ el Duque de Beja, q̄ era el mas justo heredero: y le sacassen por concierto los Lugares que auian sido del Reino de Castilla, q̄ fueron ocupados por los Reyes passados violentamente: y se trabaxasse de auer las fuerças q̄ tenian en Africa, con la conquista de Fez, que tambien se pretendia perteneçer a los Reyes de Castilla: porque pensaua el Rey emprender la cõquista de las costas de Africa, començando por los Reynos de Fez, y Tremcem, y continuarla fuero del estrecho por el mar Oceano." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 78v.

⁴⁸ "...come si faceva preparatione di zente grande, e che le zente erano a li confine di Portogallo erano star evocate, e venivano per andar e cumularse insieme con le altre." M. Sanuto, *I Diarii* (Venice, 1879), 1, col. 236.

⁴⁹ "...vos rroguamos emcomendamos e mandamos que loguo aleuamtees vosas bandeiras e pemdoes por nos nesa çidade e facaaes e emtendaes em todallas cousas que neste

Two days after the death of João II, on 27 October, Manuel was acclaimed king in the town of Alcácer do Sal in the presence of the court. From there he moved to Montemor-o-Novo where Jorge and his guardian, Diogo Fernandes de Almeida (the head of the Order of St. John in Portugal), sought an audience and, following a tearful interview, made their oath of allegiance to Manuel.⁵⁰ The transition of power was surprisingly smooth. Zurita relates that only three men of any importance delayed recognising the new monarch. These were Count Vasco Coutinho of Borba, Diego de Azambuja and Pedro Iusarte. These three men had clear reasons to fear acts of revenge from the new monarch for the past deaths of his relatives. Pedro Iusarte, together with his brother Gaspar, had exposed the conspiracy of the Duke of Bragança to João II in 1483 and the Count of Borba had likewise received his title as a reward for denouncing the Duke of Viseu a year later. Lastly, Diego de Azambuja had been present at the murder of the Duke of Viseu although his exact part in the killing is unclear.⁵¹

The relief felt by the rulers of Castile and their advisors at the undisputed accession of Manuel is starkly revealed in a ciphered letter sent on 28 December 1495 by the Castilian secretary of State to the Spanish ambassador in London:

You already know that the King of Portugal has died, which [must be seen] is an act of divine providence at such a time and in such circumstances. The former Duke of Beja, a cousin of our Queen, is now undisputed King of Portugal. The crown belonged to him by right, and besides the departed King left it to him in his will. He left nothing to his natural son Jorge, to whom it was thought he would leave the kingdom, but only recommended him to the new King. Portugal is now as obedient to the orders of our lady the Queen, as Andalucía.⁵²

caso sempre fizeram os boos e leaas vasallos como vos sooes a seu Rey e Sennhor naturall e sede certos que ssempre folguaremos nam tam soomemte de vos guardar todas vosas homrras framquezas priuylegios e boos custumes mas ajmda vos faremos aquellas mercess e omrras que rrezam for... A de Magalhães Basto, *Livro antigo de cartas e provisões dos senhores reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do arquivo municipal do Porto* (Porto, 1940), 54–5, doc. 32. According to a note on its reverse, the letter was officially received in Porto on 2 November 1496.

⁵⁰ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 16–8.

⁵¹ J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 78v. Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, (Lisbon, 1989), 26–9 and 43–8.

⁵² “*Ya avreys sabido como el rey de Portugal es fallecido que fue cosa fecha de Dios en tal tiempo y en tal coyuntura, y es rey pacífico de Portugal el que era duque de Beja, primo hijos de hermanos de la reyna nuestra señora, a quien pertenecía el reyno de derecho, y*

There could not be a clearer statement revealing the attitude of the Castilians towards the new King of Portugal. For Isabel and Fernando and their Castilian officials the accession of Manuel was thus clearly perceived as a diplomatic and strategic triumph. In their opinion, the weak position in which Manuel found himself meant that he would be compelled to be “obedient” to their plans and schemes. In fact, as the Castilians were very soon to discover, Manuel entertained ambitions of his own. The new monarch had no intention of becoming a mere puppet of his neighbours and Portugal was certainly not about to turn into Andalucía.

*The Parliament of Montemor-o-Novo (October 1495–March 1496):
Aims and Ambitions of the New Monarch*

The acclamation of Manuel as King of Portugal took place at Alcácer do Sal on 27 October 1495 and was a major triumph for Manuel and his supporters. The new King clearly also needed to receive the public obedience and loyalty of the towns of the kingdom before he could be secure of his position. On the very day of his accession, Manuel sent identical letters to the town councils of Porto and Évora urging them to prevent the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence:

It might happen that because of the death of the King my Lord, God grant him peace, riots may take place against the Jews of this city which would be a great evil and a great disservice to Ourselves. We charge and order you to take every care necessary [to prevent this]. You must not tolerate that the Jews suffer any injury or damage and ensure that they be as well protected as they have always been for We will not suffer the contrary and will have recourse to the law. If you act according [to Our wishes] we shall be very thankful and regard it as a [great] service.⁵³

tanbien el mismo rey de Portugal difunto ge lo dexo en su testameno, y a don Jorge, el fijo bastardo del rey de Portugal a quien se pensava que queria dexar el reyno no le dexo otra cosa salvo que lo encomendo al rey nuevo, de manera que aquel reyno de Portugal esta asy a voluntad y mandamiento de la reyna nuestra señora como el Andaluzia...” G. A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. Vol. I: 1485–1509* (London, 1862), 75–7, doc. 117; L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 468–470, doc. 125.

⁵³ “Honrrados procurador e procuradores Dos mesteres Nos ElRey enuiamos muyto saudar porquanto por bem do falecimẽto delRey meu Senhor que Deos aja podera auer all-gum alvoroço comtra os Judeus Desa cidade o que seria cousa de grãde mall e muyto noso

These letters are not evidence of anti-Jewish violence having actually taken place in the wake of King João's death. Manuel must have known perfectly well that in the event of any power vacuum the Jewish communities would be targeted. In Castile and Aragon, anti-Jewish violence had often taken place during interregnums or royal minorities. In Portugal itself, the riot that affected the Jews of Lisbon in December 1449 had taken place during the minority of Afonso V and in the wake of the civil war between the regent Pedro and the Duke of Bragança. Thus, either at the prompting of the Jews themselves or possibly from his own initiative, Manuel was taking a pre-emptive measure to protect the Jewish communities from any individuals who might seek to seize the opportunity, presented by the uncertainty surrounding the succession of Manuel, to instigate anti-Jewish riots. The following day, 28 October, the King wrote to the municipal council of Évora and ordered them to hold public ceremonies to celebrate his succession "for we know that there have been certain contentions in this town concerning this [subject]." Manuel appointed a knight of his household with full powers to judge and punish those individuals found to be responsible for the unrest in Évora.⁵⁴

The kingdom that Manuel inherited from his brother-in-law was diplomatically isolated and messengers were rapidly dispatched to inform Isabel of Castile and Fernando, as well as the Pope, of his accession. Within a month of his coronation, the new King of Portugal summoned the Commons of his realm to gather at the small town of Montemor-o-Novo in the Alentejo. It is possible that Manuel considered holding his first parliament in Lisbon but the outbreak of the plague in that town altered his plans. No contemporary transcript of the deliberations held at Montemor-o-Novo has survived and the modern historian is thus

desseruico vos encomẽdamos e mãdamos que loguo entendaes niso tendo em todo comprido aviso e nom consentaes que aos ditos Judeus seja feito nenhũ mall nẽ outro nenhũ dãpno ante sejam muito guardados e emparados como sempre foram porque fazẽdose o contrario nõ ho averemos por bem e tornaremos a ello cõ justiça E de ho asy fazerdes vollo guarderemos muyto e teremos ẽ serviço . . ." A. F. Barrata, "Últimos cinco annos do viver de D. João II", *AHP*, 3 (1905), 370, doc. 8; A de Magalhães Basto, *Livro antigo de cartas e provisões dos senhores reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do arquivo municipal do Porto* (Porto, 1940), 121, doc. 79.

⁵⁴ "Nos ElREy vos enuiamos mujto saudar Ja vos temos escriptodo faleçimẽto dElRey meu Senhor e padre que Deos aja E como nos aleuantarees por Rey nesa çidade e porque soubemos ora que nesa çidade auia alguns competimentos neste caso vos encommendamos e mandamos que se ainda o nom tendes feto que logo o façaes . . ." A. F. Barrata, "Últimos cinco annos do viver de D. João II", *AHP*, 3 (1905), 370–1, docs. 9, 10 and 11.

deprived of a major source of information concerning not only these crucial first months but also King Manuel's objectives. Fortunately, Damião de Góis provides sufficient information in his chronicle to allow us to reconstruct the broad outline of the discussions. What emerges is that the parliament held at Montermor-o-Novo was far more than just a politically motivated ceremony designed to assure the new monarch of the loyalty of his subjects. For the first time the new monarch unveiled his ambitions with regards to Portugal's stalled overseas expansion in Morocco and exploration along the Atlantic coast of Africa.

The Portuguese military presence in Morocco dated back to the conquest of Ceuta by King João I in 1415. Further conquests had resulted in the capture of Alcácer-Ceguer in 1458 and of both Tanger and Arzilla in 1471. The reign of João II, however, had been marked by a period of relative inactivity in North Africa. The only military effort undertaken by this King was an unsuccessful attempt in 1489 to build a fort at Graciosa, a site on the coast at the mouth of the Lukkus River (near Larache). Prompted by his failure, the following year João II had concluded a ten-year peace with the Muslim ruler of Fez: the Wattâside sultan.⁵⁵ Manuel, however, made it clear in 1496 that he intended to resume the war in Morocco. Orders were sent to provision the Portuguese strongholds on the Moroccan coast and that the local commanders should enforce the payment of tribute by the Muslim inhabitants of the villages situated close to the fortresses, including a tithe that was to be rendered to the Church.⁵⁶ When news reached the King in Montemor-o-Novo of a minor success in which the governor of Arzilla, João de Meneses, had gained the upper hand over the Muslims forces of the ruler of Tetuan in a skirmish, he ordered that the captured banners be exhibited in Lisbon cathedral "in memory of that honourable victory."⁵⁷ The obsession with the crusade against Islam was a constant cornerstone of Manuel's reign and was to culminate in grandiose plans of an international crusade to "liberate" Jerusalem and the Holy Land.⁵⁸ The desire amongst modern historians to represent the Portuguese monarch as a "modern" renaissance prince has led many to overlook this particularly "medieval" aspect of his reign.

⁵⁵ Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque, 74–8.

⁵⁶ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 24–5.

⁵⁷ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 25–7.

⁵⁸ CH.-M. de Witte, "Un projet portugais de reconquête de la Terre Sainte (1506–1507)", *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos. Actas. Vol. V, Parte I* (Lisbon, 1961), 419–449.

Another area of overseas expansion that Manuel wished to revive was the stalled efforts to find a maritime route to India. Prior to the reign of João II, Portuguese expansion and exploration along the coast of West Africa had been directed by junior members of the royal family or other individuals. Under the João II, however, the Crown for the first time took a leading role in the organisation and financing of a Portuguese expedition along the western coast of Africa in the 1480s. The result was further great strides. In 1485 Diogo Cão reached the mouth of the Zaire River in the Congo whilst in 1488 Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, the southernmost tip of Africa, before returning to Portugal. The fact that João II also sent undercover agents to reconnoitre the lands in Ethiopia and India during this period leaves little doubt that he also hoped to find a sea passage to the East.⁵⁹ From 1490 onwards, however, there were no further major advances. Why this was so remains the object of wild speculation and it has been argued, mostly without any firm supporting evidence, that a number of secret expeditions were sent further along the African coast. Far more convincing is the explanation that the King's declining health and his domestic preoccupations, notably over his succession, diverted his attention away from further attempts to reach India. Moreover, it would have been imprudent for the King to invest large financial resources in such an uncertain enterprise while his relations with Castile steadily grew worse following the death of Prince Afonso in 1491.⁶⁰

The King publicly announced at Montemor-o-Novo, in December 1495, his intention of financing a naval expedition to go beyond the Cape of Good Hope and thus fulfilling the plans of expansion that had been broken off by João II after 1490. The Portuguese chroniclers João de Barros and Damião de Góis both state that many of the King's advisors cautioned him against such a venture. João Barros records in his *Décadas da Ásia* that many of the King's advisers argued that India was

⁵⁹ L. F. F. R. Thomaz, "O projecto Imperial Joanino", *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e sua época. Actas. Vol. 1. D. João II e a política quatrocentista* (Porto, 1989), 81–98. On the reconnaissance mission of the Arabic speaking Afonso de Paiva and Pero de Covilhã to Ethiopia and India in 1487 see Conde de Ficalho, *Viagens de Pêro de Covilhã* (Lisbon, 2000 [facsimile of Lisbon, 1898]).

⁶⁰ Armando Cortesão argued in 1973 that certain documents proved that João II financed secret expeditions to India between 1489 and 1495 but his claims have been convincingly disproved and attacked by many historians, most notably Luis de Albuquerque. A. Cortesão, *The Mystery of Vasco da Gama* (Coimbra, 1973), 165–188. L. de Albuquerque, *Navegadores, viajantes e aventureiros Portugueses: séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon, 1987), 1, 94–6.

far too remote to be conquered and retained by the Portuguese; they added that such an endeavour would weaken Portuguese forces to such an extent that even the defence of the realm itself would be compromised. Furthermore, once a sea passage to India was discovered, Portugal would face challenges from other Christian powers over its control. The cautious councillors reminded Manuel of the dangerous rivalry that had arisen between Portugal and Castile over the discoveries of Christopher Columbus prior to the treaty of Tordesillas.⁶¹ Barros's account is repeated in almost all its details by Damião de Góis who only added that Manuel was "not content with what has been discovered and greatly desired to press further."⁶²

Manuel's interest in Portugal's overseas possessions predates his accession. His personal symbol, granted to him by João II, was the nautical sphere. Perhaps more concretely, as we have seen above, Manuel had received lordship over the island archipelagos of the Azores and Cape Verde as well as the island of Madeira. It would also be wrong to ignore the fact that his father, Duke Fernando of Viseu, had inherited lordship over these islands from his great uncle Prince Henrique (known since the nineteenth century as "The Navigator") in 1460.⁶³ This awareness of his family's close involvement in overseas exploration is reflected in the version João de Barros gives of the arguments Manuel put to counter the objections of his cautious councillors:

(...) the principal [reasons] that moved him were that he had inherited this obligation together with the inheritance of the kingdom, and his father Prince Fernando had worked towards this discovery when, by his orders, the islands of Cape Verde were discovered; and even more for the

⁶¹ "... estando em Montemor-o-Novo, teve alguns gerais conselhos, em que houve muitos e diferentes votos, e os mais foram que a Índia não se devia descobrir. Porque, além de trazer consigo muitas obrigações por ser estado mui remoto pera poder conquistar e conservar, debilitaria tanto as fôrças do reino, que ficaria sem as necessárias pera sua conservação. Quanto mais que, sendo descoberta, podia cobrar este reino novos competidores, do qual já tinham experiênciã, no que se moveu entre el-Rei Dom João e el-Rei Dom Fernando de Castela, sôbre o descobrimento das Antilhas, chegando a tanto, que vieram repartir o Mundo em duas partes iguais, pera o poder descobrir e conquistar." João de Barros, *Da Ásia, Década I*, ed. Hernândi Cidade and Manuel Múrias (Lisbon, 1945), 1, 130.

⁶² "Assi que falecido elrei dom João, soccedeo no Regno elrei dom Emanuel, ho qual quomo herdeiro vniuersal de toda ha machina, e peso destas nauegações, não contente do que já era descuberto, mas antes muito deseioso de passar adiãte..." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 47–9.

⁶³ J. dos Santos Ramalho Cosme and Maria de Deus Beites Manso, "D. Manuel, duque de Beja, e a expansão portuguesa (1484–1495)", *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e sua epoca. Actas. Vol. 1. D. João II e a política quatrocentista* (Porto, 1989), 359–375.

singular affection in which he held the memory of the deeds of his uncle Prince Henrique (...). And in the end, he gave as reason to those who brought attention to the problems if India were to be discovered, that God, in whose hands he put the whole business, would provide the means that were needed for the welfare of this Kingdom [of Portugal].⁶⁴

The reference that Barros makes regarding Manuel's confidence in the intervention of God in favour of the Portuguese is significant as it underscores another interesting aspect of Manuel's personality that is often overlooked by modern historians. There can be little doubt that Manuel displayed a strong sense of his obligations as a Christian monarch throughout his reign, particularly as a crusader against Islam, though it is dubious to suggest that a strong messianic attitude towards kingship actually emerged from this conviction.⁶⁵ The extraordinary circumstances surrounding his accession to the throne, in particular the manner in which fate (or as Manuel saw it God) had allowed him to inherit the throne, encouraged Manuel to fervently believe that God had entrusted him with a mission to lead the fight against Islam. Even a noted humanist like Damião de Góis famously stated in his chronicle that the succession of Manuel to the Portuguese throne was so unexpected it could only have been the result of divine intervention:

It was surely the will of God that allowed him to inherit the throne of these realms by way of the death of eight persons who, had they lived, could have legitimately inherited the throne.⁶⁶

It is striking that only a few months into his reign, and with so many domestic concerns to divert his attention, Manuel was already forging ahead with plans for overseas expansion in Morocco and exploration along the African coast. Some historians have maintained that Manuel, his attention focused upon Castile and Morocco, only reluctantly undertook these overseas endeavours, allocated only minimal resources

⁶⁴ "E as principais que o moveram foram herdar esta obrigação com a herança do reino, e o Infante Dom Fernando, seu pai, ter trabalhado neste descobrimento, quando per seu mandado se descobriram as Ilhas do Cabo Verde, e mais por a singular afeição que tinha à memória das cousas do Infante Dom Henrique, seu tio (...). Dando por razão final, àqueles que punham os inconvenientes a se Índia descobrir, que Deus, em cujas mãos êle punha êste caso, daria os meios que convinham a bem do estado do reino." João de Barros, *Da Ásia, Década I*, ed. Hernândi Cidade and Manuel Múrias (Lisbon, 1945), 1, 130.

⁶⁵ L. F. F. R. Thomaz, "L'idée impériale Manueline", *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, ed. J. Aubin (Paris, 1990), 35–103.

⁶⁶ "Nem por certo foi sem causa permitir Deos que viesse ha herança destes Regnos a este felicissimo Rei per falecimento de oito pessoas, que ligitimamente ho herdauão se viuerão..." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 11–2.

to them and that he only allowed them to take place in order to placate a pressure group at court headed by the illegitimate son of João II.⁶⁷ In truth, there is no evidence whatsoever to support such a view of events. Rather it seems that the various measures announced by King Manuel whilst he was at Montemor-o-Novo demonstrate that he had conceived of these policies prior to his accession.⁶⁸

Manuel embarked upon a protracted diplomatic offensive at Rome in an effort to obtain Papal sanction for his grand crusading plans. The man Manuel chose to send to Rome as his ambassador was Pedro Correia, a knight of his own household. Pedro Correia was also instructed to arrange for the return of the venerable Portuguese cardinal Jorge de Alpedrinha. Once in Rome, however, Pedro Correia apparently decided to bring the Cardinal's influence to bear in negotiations at the papal curia. It is possible that news of these developments was brought to Manuel by Pedro da Silva, João II's ambassador in Rome, who returned to Portugal in late February or March 1496.⁶⁹ The joint lobbying of Correia and the Cardinal in Rome eventually bore fruit. On 13 September 1496, Pope Alexander VI granted the Portuguese monarch the bulls *Redemptor noster* and *Cogimus jubente*. *Redemptor noster* was a reissue of an earlier bull—*Orthodoxe fidei*, granted to João II in 1486—exhorting the Portuguese to support their King and granting those who served in Morocco or contributed financially to the crusade a plenary indulgence. *Cogimus jubente* granted the King the church tithe collected in Portugal to finance a crusade in North Africa for a period of two years.⁷⁰ These bulls prove that Manuel's crusading project was a serious plan and not just pious rhetoric. In the texts of the bulls *Redemptor noster* and *Cogimus jubente*, Pope Alexander VI stated that Manuel had informed

⁶⁷ For a very recent statement of this belief that Manuel was reluctant to embark on overseas adventures see, for instance, Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1668* (New York, 2005), 57–8.

⁶⁸ I am in complete agreement with this argument as it has been put forward by the Portuguese historian João Paulo Oliveira e Costa ("*Nos cinco meses que permaneceu ali, o monarca tomou várias decisões importantes que nos mostram, de facto, a existência de um programa arquitetado antes da ascensão ao trono e que foi aplicado de imediato de uma forma metódica e sistemática.*"), *D. Manuel I 1469–1521 Um Príncipe do Renascimento* (Rio de Mouro, 2005), 75.

⁶⁹ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 35–6; On 6 February 1496 King Fernando of Aragon granted a safe-conduct to Pedro da Silva, enabling him to return to Portugal from Rome via Catalonia and Aragon. A. de la Torre, *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, 5, 203, doc. 33.

⁷⁰ CH.-M. de Witte, "Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion Portugaise au XV^e siècle", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 53 (1958), 39–42 and 450–1.

him—both by personal letters and through his *de facto* ambassador cardinal Jorge Alpedrinha—that he wished to personally lead a great army against “the infidels in Africa.”⁷¹ The new monarch’s ambitions in Morocco, and the implications for Portugal’s Muslim community, will be discussed more fully in chapter five.

It is important not to neglect the fact that the King’s two ambitions of opening a sea route to India and waging war on the Muslims in North Africa were certainly not divergent goals. Part of the aim of reaching India was the prospect of depriving the Muslim rulers of the Near East of their control of the valuable spice trade and the hope of establishing contacts with friendly Christian princes thought to reside in those regions. Thus the Portuguese King expected that the opening of a new sea route to India would not only bring material wealth to Portugal but also open a new front against Islam.

Setúbal, Easter 1496: The Reconciliation with the Bragança Clan

Before he could embark upon overseas adventures, Manuel first of all had to confront the much more immediate problem of restoring political harmony to his kingdom. To achieve this, the King faced the much more delicate task of healing the political wounds opened by João II and bringing about a reconciliation between the exiles in Castile and the partisans of his predecessor. João II had expressly stipulated in his will that none of those found guilty of treason “nor their sons who are out of the realm”, must on no account be readmitted into Portugal. The reference to the “sons” left no room for doubt that he meant the sons of the Duke of Bragança and their supporters.⁷²

⁷¹ “*Cum itaque carissimus in Christo filius noster Emanuel Portugalie et Algarbiorum rex illustris, sicut nobis nuper tam per litteras suas quam per venerabilem fratrem nostrum Georgium episcopum albanensem cardinalem ulixbonensem nuncupatur fecit exponi (...) decrevit (...) adversus infideles Affrice illorumque depressionem omnino bellum mouere et personaliter cum valido exercitu ad partes illas transfretare.*” CH.-M. de Witte, “Les bulles pontificales et l’expansion Portugaise au XV^e siècle”, *Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 53 (1958), 450, n. 1.

⁷² “*Item porque tenho visto e sabido quanto mal e dano se segue nos regnos e senhores com a viinda dalgũs que cometem maaos casos contra os rex e senhores das terras encomendo e mando ao dicto duque meu primo que aquelles que nos semelhantes casos erraram contra mym nem seus filhos que fora destes regnos estam nom sejam recebidos neelles...*” A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 16, maço 1, doc. 16; Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 6, 97, doc. 3784.

The new monarch handled the reconciliation with considerable subtlety and skill. The most delicate problem facing Manuel involved the return of lands and titles confiscated by João II to the exiles without alienating the supporters of the erstwhile King. Prior to leaving Montemor-o-Novo, Manuel sent messengers to invite all the members of the Bragança family and its partisans exiled in Castile to return to Portugal. The eldest son of the beheaded Duke of Bragança, Felipe, had died there whilst still a boy in 1484 but his two younger sons Jaime and Dinis had grown up in Castile and for over a decade had been maintained at the expense of Isabel and Fernando. A little after Lent 1496, Jaime and Dinis were welcomed back at the court, with them also returned their uncle Álvaro de Portugal (the brother of D. Fernando de Bragança) with his son Rodrigo de Melo and finally Sancho de Noronha, the son of the deceased Count of Faro.⁷³

Their return to Portugal was followed by a complex redistribution of titles and lands. Jaime, the heir to the Dukedom of Bragança, was granted the vast estates that had belonged to his father. In the original, uncensored, version of his chronicle Damião de Góis states that Manuel was reluctant to make a full restitution but was pressured into it by his mother Beatrice and his sister, the dowager Queen Leonor.⁷⁴ Fernando de Meneses, the Marquis of Vila Real, was made to surrender the title of Count of Ourém which he had received from João II to the Braganças. The same occurred to the Count of Borba, Vasco Countinha, who was allowed to retain his title but compelled to give up his rights over the town of Borba.⁷⁵ In addition to lands and titles, the Crown also compensated the new Duke of Bragança for the taxes and rents his father had held before 1483. Amongst these were the rents and taxes (including the *serviço real* and *genesim*) paid by the Jewish *comuna* of Lisbon. In May 1496, these were granted back to the new Duke of Bragança and Manuel substituted an annual payment of 1,260,000 *reais* to his sister Leonor to compensate her.⁷⁶ The taxes paid by the Jewish *comuna* of the town of Bragança, which had previously been held by Constança Gil, the widow

⁷³ On the period of Castilian exile served by the sons of the executed Duke of Bragança see A. de la Torre, "Los hijos del duque de Braganza en Castilla (1483–1496)", *Hidalguía*, 50 (1962), 161–8.

⁷⁴ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 30, n. 3.

⁷⁵ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 30.

⁷⁶ A. Braamcamp Freire, "O livro das tenças del rei", *AHP* 2 (1904), 201–227.

of the governor of Bragança, were likewise restored to the Duke.⁷⁷ Other members of the Bragança faction were similarly compensated:

- Álvaro de Portugal, son of the second Duke of Bragança, was given back his titles and lands as well as the county of Olivença which had been previously held by his deceased father-in-law.⁷⁸
- Sancho de Noronha, son of the deceased Count of Faro, was made Count of Odemira.⁷⁹
- Diogo da Silva Meneses, Manuel's old tutor, was given the title of Count of Portalegre and the castle of that town but not actual jurisdiction over the town itself since the town's council, much to Manuel's annoyance, refused to be thus alienated from the Crown.⁸⁰
- The illegitimate son of the murdered Duke of Viseu, Manuel's nephew Afonso, was awarded the prestigious position of constable of Portugal (*condestável do reino*).⁸¹

For all these restitutions, Manuel was also prudent enough to accommodate the supporters of João II. No other lands or titles were taken from them except those that had belonged to the exiles. Manuel in some cases even attempted to soften the blow caused by these restitutions. The Marquis of Vilareal, for instance, received the county of Alcoutim on 15 November 1496 and, ten days later, he was also granted the office of *fronteiro-mor* of the Algarve.⁸² Many of the members of João II's royal council were not dismissed but kept their positions and continued to sit in Manuel's council. The high chamberlain Antão de Faria, who had been a close supporter of D. Jorge, was replaced by João Manuel though not without being granted an annuity of 119,000 *reais brancos* as a sweetener.⁸³ Nonetheless, the generous terms of King João's will respecting his bastard son were completely disregarded. The young Jorge was kept apart from the court until Manuel felt his position to be absolutely

⁷⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 28, fol. 52v.

⁷⁸ A. Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1953), 10, 17–8.

⁷⁹ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 29.

⁸⁰ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 34–5.

⁸¹ A. Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1946), 2, 290.

⁸² Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 37–8; A. Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1948), 5, 118.

⁸³ S. C. Humble Ferreira, "Development of the Portuguese royal council in the Reign of Manuel I (1495–1521)", *Portuguese Studies Review*, 12 (2004), 1–17.

secure. It was only in 1500 that Manuel granted Jorge the title of Duke of Coimbra. The defunct King had also stipulated that Manuel hand over the Mastership of the Military Order of Christ to Jorge and control of the Atlantic islands in addition to the Dukedom of Coimbra but this clause was never carried out.⁸⁴

Manuel would not tolerate criticism of his predecessor. João II was granted all the honours traditionally due to a deceased King of Portugal. Towns were instructed to observe the usual period of mourning and the King's body was buried in the Cathedral of Silves in preparation for its ceremonial transfer to the royal mausoleum at the Dominican monastery of Batalha.⁸⁵ It is important to note that although the new Duke of Bragança and his supporters were welcomed back into the kingdom they were not officially pardoned and neither were those who had played a part in the deaths of Dukes Fernando and Diogo punished in any manner.

*In Search of an Iberian Settlement:
The Tortuous Marriage Negotiations with Castile*

The cornerstone of any renewed policy of overseas expansion depended entirely upon the forging of a lasting diplomatic settlement between Portugal and Castile and such a settlement would logically have to include a marriage. If the Castilian court gossip, relayed by Peter Martyr in his correspondence, is to be given any credence then it appears that Isabel and Fernando were planning to marry their eldest daughter to Manuel as early as 1494. Peter Martyr wrote to one of his correspondents on 5 December 1494 that Isabel and Fernando already had plans to wed their eldest daughter to Manuel but that the widowed princess refused to remarry "and until today no one has managed to overcome her resistance." A month later Martyr wrote to the Archbishop of Granada informing him that the planned marriage was to take place "after the death of King João."⁸⁶ These projects may even have dated back to 1493

⁸⁴ L. de Lancastre e Tavora, "O Senhor D. Jorge", *Oceanos*, 4 (1990), 82–92.

⁸⁵ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 107–9; A. C. Araújo, "Hagiografia política e cerimoniais de Estado no tempo de D. Manuel I", *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 36 (2002–3), fasc. 1, 321–7.

⁸⁶ Petri Martyris, *Opus Epistolarum* (Amsterdam, 1670), 88–9, doc. 157; See also *Epistolario*, ed. J. López de Toro, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1953), 9, 267–270 and 295–6, docs. 146 (4 December 1494) and 158 (15 January 1495).

since, in June of that year, Isabel and Fernando had secured a papal bull authorising the matrimony of their children to partners related to them within the forbidden degree of consanguinity.⁸⁷

The eagerness of Isabel and Fernando to secure an alliance with Portugal was directly connected with their own international policies. The French diplomat Philippe de Commynes, in a somewhat convoluted passage, outlines in his memoirs what he perceived to be the three main reasons behind the urgent desire of Isabel and Fernando to marry one of their daughters to Manuel:

[The King and Queen] married their daughter to the King of Portugal [first] in order to have no enemies in Spain, all of which they control except for Navarre, with which they do as they please; [second] to set to rest the issue of the dowry and the money and [third] to ensure that those Portuguese nobles banished from that realm when [João II] caused the deaths [of the Dukes of Bragança and Viseu] should be compensated in Castile and that their lands [in Portugal] be granted to the Queen of Portugal.⁸⁸

It goes without saying that De Commynes's perspective has to be treated with the caveat that it was that of a Frenchman hostile to Isabel and Fernando. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Isabel and Fernando were aware that a politically unstable Portugal would remain potentially dangerous and the possibility of an alliance between France and Portugal continued to haunt them. Peace and a marriage alliance with Portugal, however, would indeed leave no hostile powers in the Iberian Peninsula—De Commynes used the term Spain (“*Espaigne*”) in its geographical sense—and give them the freedom to turn all of their resources against the King of France. Moreover, Portugal and its fleet would be a useful ally in the war against the French. One crucial consideration that De Commynes fails to mention altogether is that of the Jews. The chief reason why Isabel and Fernando expelled the Jews from Castile and Aragon in 1492 was to prevent contact between *conversos* and Jews.

⁸⁷ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 411–2, doc. 459.

⁸⁸ “...avoient donné leur fille a ce roy de Portingal pour n'avoir nul ennemy en Espaigne, qu'ilz tiennent toute, fors Navarre, dont ilz font ce qu'il leur plaist et y tiennent quatre des principales places. Et aussi l'avoient fait pour paciffier du douayre de ceste dame et de l'argent baillé, et pour ce que aulcuns seigneurs de Portingal qui furent banniz du païs quant le roy mort fist mourir ces deux seigneurs dont j'ay parlé, et avoit confisqué leurs biens (et par ce moyen la confiscation tient de present, combien que le cas dont ilz estoient accusé estoit de vouloir faire celui qui de present regne roy de Portingal), et ces chevaliers sont recompenséz en Castille, et leurs terres demoureez a la royne de Portingal, dont je parle.” Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Blanchard (Paris, 2001), 667.

However, if the presence of Jews continued to be tolerated in neighbouring Portugal and Navarre then their strategy could not succeed as judaizing *conversos* in Castile could keep in contact with Jews in those two kingdoms.

Since the death of Prince Afonso of Portugal in 1491, Princess Isabel had lived as a recluse and refused to contemplate remarriage. In view of their eldest daughter's steadfast refusal to remarry, her parents chose to offer their third daughter, Princess Maria, to the Portuguese King. It was whilst the new King of Portugal was staying in Montemor-o-Novo, and thus at some point between December 1495 and March 1496, that he was visited by Alfonso da Silva, who was sent by Fernando and Isabel with an offer of marriage to their third daughter Maria. Damião de Góis insists that Manuel "refused the offer of Maria's hand with polite words, not because he thought that such an alliance would be disadvantageous but rather because he wished to marry Princess Isabel, the widow of Prince Afonso [of Portugal]."⁸⁹ It is this single fact that has been seized upon by historians to affirm that Manuel had ambitions in 1496 to rule over the entire Iberian Peninsula. In fact there were many more practical reasons why Manuel should have preferred Isabel over her sister. In 1496 Princess Isabel was twenty-six years old whilst her younger sister Maria was only thirteen. Isabel was thus much more likely to rapidly provide Manuel with a legitimate heir and thus buttress the political stability of his newly acquired throne. According to Zurita, there was considerable pressure from within Portugal that Manuel should quickly produce an heir. The Aragonese chronicler states that the marriage "was greatly desired by the Portuguese because of their wish that the King should have sons, for it seemed to them that the Kingdom of Portugal would be in the gravest of dangers if the King died since in that case [Prince] Jorge would have considerable support."⁹⁰ Furthermore, a marriage with Princess Isabel, as the widow of the previous legitimate heir to the throne,

⁸⁹ "Estando ainda elRei em monte mór ho mandarão visitar hos Reis dō Fernando, e dōna Isabel sua molher, per dō Afoso da sylua, pessoa príçipal de sua corte, (...) lhe mandaram cometter casamêto com ha Infante dōna Maria sua filha, do q̄ se elrei excusou per boas palauras, não por ha tal aliança lhe não vir muito a proposito, mas porque sua tenção era casar com ha Prínçesa donna Isabel, molher que fora do Prínçipe dō Afonso." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 25.

⁹⁰ "...y el matrimonio de la Princesa, era codiciado generalmente por todos los Portugueses, por el deseo que tenían que tuuiesse el Rey hijos: pareciendoles, que estaua entonces el Reyno a mayor peligro que nunca, si el Rey muriesse: porque en aquel caso pensaua don Jorge de Portugal ser mucho parte..." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 88v.

would strengthen his political legitimacy in Portugal. Lastly, it must not be overlooked that the treaty of Alcáçovas, in 1479, had stipulated that the heir to the throne of Portugal should marry the eldest daughter of Isabel and Fernando.⁹¹

According to the well informed Zurita, who had access to many documents that are no longer extant, Manuel was prepared to compromise in view of the obstinacy of Princess Isabel:

The King of Portugal declared that, even though he wished to marry Princess Isabel, he would marry the *Infanta* Maria if this could not be done so long as she was given the same dowry that had been given to the Princess [Isabel] when she had married Prince Afonso.⁹²

Alonso de Silva brought Manuel's reply back to his masters in Daroca. From that point onwards, the erratic survival of documentary evidence greatly hinders any attempt to reconstruct the negotiations. Isabel and Fernando appear to have been enthusiastic to conclude the marriage alliance as soon as possible but it was Princess Isabel who steadfastly rejected the idea. On 21 June 1496, a letter was sent to the Spanish ambassador in London to inform him that a projected marriage alliance with the King of Scotland was impossible since they had "no daughter to give to the King of the Scots as they intend to marry one of their daughters to the King of Portugal."⁹³ The importance Isabel and Fernando attached to the marriage negotiations with Manuel can be gathered from the comparison made by their ambassador in London in the reply he wrote to them on 11 July 1496. De Puebla was trying to explain why the King of England did not wish to join the Holy League against France before he had reached a settlement with the Scots:

⁹¹ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 1, 327–352, doc. 167.

⁹² "El Rey de Portugal se declare que aunque su deseo era de casar con la Princesa doña Isabel, si aquello no se podia hazer, holgaria casar con la Infante doña Maria, con el dote que se dió a la Princesa con el Principe don Alonso..." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 88v.

⁹³ "Direis al Rey de Inglaterra que nosotros no tenemos hija para dar al rey de Escoçia, pero suponiendo que una de nuestras hijas avemos de dar al rey de Portugal, porque esto nos conviene mucho, de manera que aunque tenemos otra fija por casar no tenemos asy libertad para disponer della." L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 560, doc. 161. G. A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. Vol. I: 1485–1509* (London, 1862), 104–6, doc. 137. J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 81v (return of Alfonso da Silva).

As far as his own kingdom is concerned, [Henry VII of England] does not esteem Scottish affairs more than Your Highnesses do those of Portugal.⁹⁴

Nearly two months later the situation had still not improved since, on 18 August 1496, Queen Isabel was compelled to send a second despatch to her ambassador in London to inform him of this:

Now in order to explain everything to you more fully, We have to tell you that the Princess, Our daughter [Isabel], is very determined not to marry, on which account We are obliged to give the *Infanta* Doña Maria to the King of Portugal.⁹⁵

In August 1496 negotiations had thus reached an apparent impasse. The move that finally broke the deadlock came from Portugal and not from Castile. Damião de Góis claims that from the town of Torres Vedras, where he stayed during the months of September and October 1496, Manuel gave new instructions to Álvaro de Portugal and sent him to the court of Isabel and Fernando.⁹⁶ Álvaro de Portugal was in many ways the perfect ambassador for such delicate negotiations. To begin with, the close ties of kinship that related him to both Queen Isabel of Castile and Manuel made him an ideal neutral mediator who commanded the trust and respect of both courts. Furthermore, his many years of exile in Castile after 1484 had given this Portuguese nobleman an intimate knowledge of Isabel and Fernando. Whilst banished from Portugal, he had occupied the positions of president of the Royal Council as well as that of chief royal auditor (*contador-mayor*) in Castile and had participated in the conquest of Granada.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 600, doc. 169; G. A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. Vol. I: 1485–1509* (London, 1862), 112, doc. 143.

⁹⁵ “*Ahora aclarandoos mas aquello vos decimos que la princesa nuestra fija esta muy determinada de no casar y por eso habemos de dar la infanta doña Maria al rey de Portugal.*” L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 608, doc. 175; G. A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain. Vol. I: 1485–1509* (London, 1862), 114–9, doc. 150.

⁹⁶ “...*por vir aho fim que desejaua, estão em Torres vedras communicou este negocio com dom Aluaro seu primo, ho qual se lhe offereço pera ho nelle servir...*” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 46.

⁹⁷ At the siege of Málaga, in 1487, Álvaro and his wife only narrowly escaped an assassination attempt by a Muslim who apparently mistook them for Fernando and Isabel. Diego de Valera, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1922), 258–9 and L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago, 1990), 298–9. On his stay in Castile: A. Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*

No evidence exists concerning the precise nature of the instructions Manuel gave to his representative but a marriage contract was finally drawn up in November 1496. Fortunately, a version of the marriage contract, dated 30 November, has been preserved in the Portuguese archives of the *Torre do Tombo*. According to this precious document, the chief negotiators assembled at Burgos were Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo and Álvaro de Portugal, acting on behalf of their respective rulers. The twelve clauses of the marriage contract dealt with a number of different considerations:

1. Manuel and the princess would be officially engaged according to the precepts of the Catholic Church within nine days. Isabel and Fernando had already taken care to obtain a papal bull permitting the couple to wed even though they were related to each other within the degrees of consanguinity forbidden by the Church.
2. Manuel would have to ratify the contract and return a signed and sealed copy of it to Isabel and Fernando within forty days.
3. The marriage would take place within six months at an unspecified place on the border between Portugal and Castile.
4. Isabel and Fernando pledged to hand over to Manuel the same dowry “as it had been agreed with the Prince [Afonso] of Portugal” (“*tanto como se assento de le dar con el príncipe de Portugal*”). The sum was to amount to a total of 70,333.33 *doblas*, including both a dowry of 53,333.33 *doblas* plus a further payment of 17,000 *doblas* which the King would hand over to the princess as an *arras* (this was an endowment to support herself). Payment of the dowry was to be made in three instalments which were to be received by the Portuguese at the end of each following year.
5. Manuel and his heirs were bound to return the dowry to the princess and her heirs within two years in the event that the marriage was dissolved.
6. The sum of 17,000 *doblas* that had been granted to Princess Isabel as her security would be returned in full in the event that Manuel should die.

(Coimbra, 1953), 10, 16. On the close ties of Álvaro de Portugal to both the Castilian and Portuguese courts both before and after 1497 see I. S. León-Borja, “Los Portugueses y el nacimiento de la casa de contratación Sevillana el año de 1503”, *O tempo histórico de D. João II nos 550 anos do seu nascimento. Actas*. (Lisbon, 2005), 285–324; M. Fernández, P. Ostos and M. L. Pardo, *El tumbo de los Reyes Católicos del concejo de Sevilla* (Madrid, 1998), 7, 174–7 and 351–4, docs. IV–257 and V–55.

7. Manuel was to confer upon his bride lordship over the towns of Viseu and Montemor-o-Novo, including the income that the Crown derived in them from all rents and justice (civil and criminal, both high and low), so that she could support herself and her household.
8. Isabel and Fernando engaged themselves to furnish their daughter's household in clothes.
9. Manuel would grant his wife, for her maintenance, the income from the *portazgo* tax levied on merchandise brought for sale into Lisbon. It was also agreed that, when the dowager queen of Portugal (Leonor, the widow of João II) passed away, Princess Isabel would also receive as part of her estate the towns of Alenquer, Óbidos, Sintra and villages of Aldeia Gallega and Aldeia Gavinha.
10. The princess was to be treated like a native Portuguese woman and enjoy all the privileges and honours traditionally due to the queens of Portugal.
11. Both parties agreed that, if Manuel were to die prematurely, the princess would be allowed to leave his realm without having to secure prior permission to do so from his successor.
12. Finally, both parties agreed to recognise the continued validity of all previous peace treaties between Castile and Portugal dating back to the reigns of Afonso V and João II.⁹⁸

Most of the capitulations of the agreement focused on the trivia surrounding a royal marriage: setting out the rights of the princess as Queen of Portugal, the provisions for her maintenance in Portugal and her fate in the event of the dissolution of the marriage. The two outstanding clauses of this contract were the fourth and twelfth ones. The latter, by explicitly reaffirming the treaties of Alcáçovas and Tordesillas, maintained the *status quo ante* in diplomatic relations between Portugal and Castile both in the Iberian Peninsula and overseas. The marriage contract of 30 November 1496 thus has to be seen not only as a dynastic alliance but also as an official renewal of peaceful relations between both Crowns.

⁹⁸ A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 17, maço 5*, doc. 15; A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 3, 1–8, doc. 467; *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 7, 131–8, doc. 4167.

It is the fourth clause of the marriage contract that deserves to be examined with particular attention. The negotiation of a suitable dowry was an ordinary component of any dynastic alliance but the one promised here clearly also brought to an end the controversy surrounding the dowry promised to the Portuguese as part of the earlier marriage between Princess Isabel and Prince Afonso of Portugal in 1491. This dowry had never been paid in full following the death of Prince Afonso. The clause seemingly confirms Zurita's claim that Manuel insisted on receiving the same dowry as that promised to Prince Afonso, whichever Spanish princess he married. Furthermore, as we have seen above, Philippe de Commines also makes a passing and enigmatic reference to the fact that Isabel and Fernando were eager to "set at rest the issue of the dowry." This raises an important question: why was the dowry so important to Manuel?

According to the stipulations of the treaty of Alcáçovas in 1479, the original dowry agreed for the matrimony between Prince Afonso and Princess Isabel had amounted to the sum of 106,666.66 *doblas de oro*, including 17,777.66 *doblas* that were to be handed over to Princess Isabel as her security.⁹⁹ Portuguese and Spanish chroniclers do not reveal how the premature death of Afonso affected this pact but the veil of darkness is fortunately lifted by one of the last surviving documents to have been issued by the chancery of João II.¹⁰⁰ This document is an official receipt made out in the name of Manuel's predecessor for the *second* instalment of the dowry on 18 December 1492. In this receipt, João II states that he had not received any instalments of the promised dowry at the time of the death of Prince Afonso. Notwithstanding this, an agreement with Isabel and Fernando had been reached in which they had agreed to continue paying João II only half the promised dowry or 53,333.33 *doblas de oro*. The receipt specifies that the second instalment of that sum was conveyed to Portugal by their chaplain, a canon of Seville named Francisco "de Samtilhana" [Santillaña?].¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 1, 327–352, doc. 167.

¹⁰⁰ On the return of Princess Isabel to Castile in 1491 see Rui de Pina, *Crónica de D. João II*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque (Lisbon, 1989), 110–111; Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1962), 229; J. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. A. Canellas López (Zaragoza, 1977), 8, 594.

¹⁰¹ Two copies of this document exist, one unpublished copy is preserved in the *Torre do Tombo* and the other, published by L. Suárez Fernández, is in Spain. Parts of both

By 1492 it is thus apparent that the Portuguese Crown had received a total of 35,555.5 *doblas de oro*. There is no documentary evidence to suggest that Isabel and Fernando ever paid the third and final instalment and this non-payment is probably connected to the deterioration of their relations with João II after 1492. A lack of sources means that the position adopted by Isabel and Fernando towards the dowry during the marriage negotiations in 1496 is unknown. The most likely hypothesis is that Isabel and Fernando offered Manuel a lower dowry than that originally promised for the wedding of Princess Isabel to Prince Afonso. It was clearly Manuel's intention, however, to recover the *entirety* of the dowry originally promised in 1479. This was not just a mere point of honour as such a large dowry would help compensate the Portuguese King's treasury for the financial losses suffered by the reparations given to the Braganças and the financial cost of the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal. In the wedding contract of November 1496, the Portuguese King had thus been able to wring the concession from Isabel and Fernando that the *whole* 106,666.66 *doblas de oro* promised in 1479 would be handed over to him.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the marriage contract is what it does *not* mention. Contrary to the assertions made in a number of historical works, the marriage contract does not mention the expulsion of either the Jews or the heretics (*conversos*) as a precondition of the marriage.¹⁰² It seems that Fernando and Isabel, as they were later to claim, received a separate promise from Manuel to expel the Jews. This promise was either an oral one or was made in a separate document that has not been found or no longer extant. The surviving narrative evidence provides little helpful information. The Spanish chronicles of Bernáldez and Santa Cruz do not draw a link between the marriage negotiations and the decision to expel the Jews from Portugal, which they barely refer

documents are illegible though in different places and thus they complement each other. A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 7, fols. 134v–5. A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 408–411, doc. 458. Although they dated it correctly, in the heading they provide, A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández transcribed the date of the document as 1493.

¹⁰² For the frequently repeated erroneous statement that the marriage contract of 30 November 1496 contained a clause promising the expulsion of all Jews from Portugal see A. Losa, "Le statut légal des maures et des juifs portugais pendant les XII^e–XV^e siècles", *Medievalia. Textos e Estudos*, 5–6 (1994), 307; F. Portugal, "O problema judaico no reinado de D. Manuel", offprint of *Armas e Troféus*, 3, (1975), 7.

to at all in any event.¹⁰³ Almost as little information is provided by the Portuguese chroniclers Damião de Góis and Jerónimo Osório. Damião de Góis states that Fernando and Isabel sent “letters” to Manuel requesting that he expel the Jews but does not give any indication of *when* the Portuguese monarch received these letters. In his chronicle, the decision to expel the Jews is discussed in chapter 18 whilst the marriage negotiations are treated separately in chapter 19 and no explicit connection is made between these two events.¹⁰⁴

The most plausible date at which Manuel decided to expel the Jews from Portugal, and communicated this concession to his prospective in-laws, was at some point during the months of September and October 1496, when he sent new instructions to Álvaro de Portugal. In a critique of Damião de Góis’s chronicle, written in the 1560s, Álvaro de Portugal’s grandson Francisco de Melo claims that he still possessed letters from Manuel, “written by his own hand”, to Álvaro da Silva confirming that “everything that was done concerning the Jews and Muslims was linked to the wedding agreement and I do not know how he, Damião de Góis, was able to write [about the marriage] without mentioning this, for indeed it was the principal [issue].”¹⁰⁵ The only clear link between the marriage negotiations and the expulsion made by a contemporary witness comes from outside the Peninsula. In his summary of a letter sent by the Venetian ambassador from Burgos, Marino Sanuto straightforwardly records in his diary the importance of the Jewish question:

The King and Queen of Spain refused to promise or hand over their daughter to the King of Portugal if he did not first of all expel all the Jews from his realm.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. M. Gómez-Moreno and Juan de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1962), 503; Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Seville, 1951), 2, 85.

¹⁰⁴ “*Depois que hos Reis de Castella lançaram os Iudeus fora de seus Regnos, & senhorios, quomo atras fico dito, elrei dom Emanuel requerido per cartas dos mesmos Reis determinou fazer o mesmo...*” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 38; Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis* (Lisbon, 1571), 18.

¹⁰⁵ Francisco de Melo, “*Critica contemporanea da ‘Chronica de D. Manuel’*”, ed. Edgar Prestage, *AHP*, 9 (1914), 345–378.

¹⁰⁶ “...*et questo per andar a compagnar sua fiola dompna Ysabella che havia maridata nel re don Hemanuel di Portogallo, la qual alias fue maridata nel principe figlio che fu dil re Johanne, che morite, como ho scripto per avanti. Et è da saper, che esso re et regina di Spagna mai volse ni dar ni prometer sua fiola per moglie a ditto re di Portogallo, se prima con effecto non havesse discaziato li zudei di tutto el suo reame. Et cussi fo facto, sichè zudei ebno istis temporibus un’ altra persecutione di esser scaziati di Spagna. Et cussi conveneno partirsi, et andono altrove. Di li qual ebrei, di sotto alcuna cosa voglio scriver di la persecutione lhorò, et la sua opinione dil vegnir dil Messia di brieve.*” Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii* (Venice, 1879), 1, col. 646.

Somewhat later, the Portuguese poet and humanist Diogo Pires (1517–1599?), himself of Jewish ancestry, in a letter addressed to an Italian correspondent in 1547 clearly points to the importance of the Jewish question in the wedding negotiations though he makes a mistake concerning the dowry:

It is a fact that when Manuel (...) brilliantly negotiated his wedding to Isabel, the daughter of King Fernando, who brought so many kingdoms as her dowry, he was not able to do it without having to first extirpate out of Portugal the very name of Jew.¹⁰⁷

Little over a week later after the conclusion of the marriage contract, on 5 December, Peter Martyr wrote to the Archbishop of Braga concerning the princess's reluctance:

Her parents are attempting to persuade her [to marry Manuel] and are begging her to procreate and present them with the grandchildren they desire so much. The resolution of this woman in her refusal to remarry has been surprising. Such is her chastity as a widow that, since the death of her first husband, she has not dined at table, nor has she consumed any exquisite foods. By fasting and vigils she has mortified herself so much that she has become as gaunt as a dry tree trunk. She blushes and becomes nervous whenever anyone talks about matrimony. Nonetheless, I have heard that she may yet yield to her parent's wishes. According to certain rumours, she may be the future wife of your King Manuel. In this manner you would have a safeguard against violent contingencies from outside.¹⁰⁸

From Peter Martyr's letter, it is obvious that it was some days before the news of the marriage agreement was made public though rumours of it were circulating amongst the courtiers. The reference made by Peter Martyr to "violent contingencies from outside" is enigmatic. The most likely explanation may be that it is a reference to the possible claim to

¹⁰⁷ "Enimuero cum Emanuel pater Elisabethae, Ferdinandi regis filiae, quae secum tam multa regna dotalia trahebat, flagrantissime nuptias ambiret, non alia ratione id obtinere potuit nisi prius Iudacium omne nomen ex Lusitania quoquomodo tolleretur." C. A. André, *Um judeu no desterro. Diogo Pires e a memória de Portugal* (Coimbra, 1992), 159.

¹⁰⁸ "Sobolem procreet, nepotes ipsis debitos praestet, parentes suadent, orant, obsecrant. Mira fuit hujus foeminae, in abjicendis secundis nuptiis, constantia. Tanta est ejus modestia, tanta vidualis castitas, ut nec mensa post mariti mortem comederit, nec lauti quicquam degustaverit. Jejuniis sese vigiliisque ita maceravit, ut sicco stipite siccor sit effecta. Suffulta rubore perturbatur, quandocunque de jugali talamo sermo intexitur. Parentum tamen aliquando precibus, veluti olfacimus, inflectetur. Viget fama, futuram vestir Regis Emmanuelis uxorem. Ita & vos ab exterorum quacunque emersura rabie tuti vivetis..." Petri Anglerii Martyris, *Opus Epistolarum* (Amsterdam, 1670), 97, letter 171; *Epistolario*, ed. J. López de Toro, *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1953), 9, 323–4, doc. 171.

the throne by Emperor Maximilian and his son Philip I. In spite of the princess's refusal to remarry, on 8 December Isabel and Fernando sent a letter to Manuel, whom they now referred to "our dear and beloved son", promising to deliver his bride over to him by May of the following year.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

The manner in which modern historians have analysed the marriage of Manuel to Princess Isabel is a prime example of the dangers of writing history with the benefit of hindsight. Most historians state categorically that the marriage laid bare the ambition on Manuel's part of one day ruling over the entire the Iberian Peninsula. As we have seen above, as early as 1547 Diogo Pires claimed, entirely wrongly, that Princess Isabel "brought so many kingdoms as her dowry." The fact that seems to have been entirely neglected by historians is that Prince Juan died on 4 October 1497, almost a year *after* the marriage negotiations actually took place. Moreover, Prince Juan's wife Princess Margaret was pregnant at the death of her husband and did not have her miscarriage until 8 December 1497. Following this chain of events, Manuel and his wife did, for a brief while, stand poised to inherit the thrones of Castile and Aragon. Manuel and Isabel did travel to Castile and Aragon and were recognised as the legitimate heirs to those thrones.¹¹⁰ The prospect of Iberian unity was to be only a fleeting one. It came to a crashing end with the death of Princess Isabel in childbirth in 1498 and of their son Miguel in 1500. Many historians continue to be attracted by this great "what if" of history and to claim that Manuel entertained a project of Iberian unity that dictated the direction of his foreign policy from the very start of his reign. Unless Manuel possessed the powers of a clairvoyant he could never have guessed in 1496 that an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances would nearly lead him to become the ruler of practically all of the Iberian Peninsula!

A detailed examination of the first year of the reign of Manuel I presents a clear picture of the conditions surrounding the accession and

¹⁰⁹ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 3, 8–9, doc. 468.

¹¹⁰ Isabel M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, *Cooperação e conflicto. Portugal, Castela e Aragão* (Lisbon, 2002), 15–60.

paints a very different portrait of the ambitions of the Portuguese King. Duke Manuel of Viseu became King Manuel I of Portugal amid rising tension between Portugal and Castile and uncertainty over the succession. During the period of little over a year that spans from his accession to the negotiation of the marriage contract in Burgos, however, Manuel had proved himself to be a capable ruler and shrewd diplomat. Domestic political harmony was restored to Portugal and the King had announced to his subjects, at the parliament held at Montemor-o-Novo, that the key projects of his reign would be renewed overseas expansion. Of course Manuel knew that none of this could be accomplished without first reaching a long-lasting settlement with his powerful Castilian neighbours which would assure the King of peace at home and give him the freedom to devote his attention and resources towards overseas expansion and war against the infidel. Such a settlement could only be secured by the conclusion of a marriage alliance with the Castilian court and the expulsion of the Jews was the price Manuel paid to secure this alliance.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE “GENERAL CONVERSION” OF THE JEWS AND RENEWAL OF THE “CONVERSO PROBLEM”

The crucial need to forge a long-lasting alliance with the rulers of Castile and Aragon forced Manuel to give in to pressure from his neighbours and order the expulsion of the Jews from his realm in December 1496. The following year, however, thousands of Jews residing in Portugal were not expelled but forced to accept baptism and only a handful of Jews were actually allowed to leave the realm. Many aspects of the terrible events that befell the Jews of Portugal in 1497, even their chronology, remain both confused and obscure. The aim of this chapter is to provide a coherent reconstruction of these tragic events. It will examine the process by which this expulsion turned into a brutal mass conversion and will delve into the fate of Jewish communal property such as synagogues. The final section of the present chapter will also examine how the “*converso* problem”, which had surfaced and then abated during the reign of João II, suddenly re-emerged in the spring and summer of 1497 and threatened to upset the outcome of the marriage negotiations concluded in 1496.

The Decision

One of the first actions taken by Manuel after his accession was to free those Castilian Jews enslaved by João II. This deed is mentioned by Damião de Góis in his biography of Manuel and confirmed in the testimony given to the inquisitors by an eyewitness decades later.¹ Damião de Góis states that Manuel was moved by his Christian sensibilities to

¹ “E mais que algũs dos judeus que nom pagaran os tomaran os filhos e (...) os pays catiuaran e depois viria elRey dom Manuel e que forrara aos pais e as mays.” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa*, processo n° 12560.

liberate the slaves and that he turned down a considerable sum of money offered to him in thanks by both the enslaved Jews and the Portuguese Jewish communities. Apart from this brief description, however, nothing else is known about these manumitted Jews.²

It will forever remain a mystery at what moment of 1496 Manuel decided to expel the Jews. As Tavares had pointed out, the new King confirmed the official positions held by many Christian and Jewish officials in the *comunas* and even named new holders to other offices until the middle of May 1496. Some of these privileges clearly indicate that the King and his officials were not yet considering the expulsion of the Jews when they were granted. By way of illustration, on 18 April, Lourenço Rodrigues was confirmed in his position as public notary of the Jewish *comuna* of Moura and, on 12 May, João de Monção was similarly confirmed in his office as public notary of the Jews of Arronches and scrivener of law suits between Christians and Jews.³ After that month, however, the flow of confirmations and appointments came to an abrupt halt.⁴ It is tempting to see in this sudden documentary silence an ominous sign that the King and his council were already considering the expulsion. Nonetheless, a far less sinister reason for the absence of documents in the royal registers mentioning Jews after May 1496 might be linked to the haphazard survival of the royal registers from the reign of King Manuel I. Of the original 71 registers of documents produced by the Manueline chancery, which are known to have existed in the early sixteenth century, only 47 survive and thus many documents from the second half of 1496 might have been lost.⁵ Only two extant documents issued between May and December 1496 mention Jews at all. On 22 August 1496 the royal chancery confirmed a contract passed between a Jewess named Cimfa and the town council

² "Mas elrei dō Emanuel, q̄ em humanidade, liberalidade, clemência, & virtude a ninhum Rei christão foi inferior, tanto que regnou libertou logo estes Iudeus captiuos, & lhes deu poder pera de suas pessoas disporê às suas vôtades, sem delles nê das cōmunas dos Iudeus naturaes do regno, querer aceptor hũ grãde serviço, q̄ lhe por esta tam assinada merçe quiserão fazer..." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 24.

³ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 33, fols. 73v–74 and bk. 34, fol. 26.

⁴ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Judaísmo e Inquisição: Estudos* (Lisbon, 1987), 29–32.

⁵ F. Portugal, "A Chancelaria de D. Manuel", offprint of *Ethnos*, 6 (1969), 3–12.

of Santarém by which Cimfa promised to furnish 400 beds—together with the necessary linen—for a period of ten years to visiting courtiers and Crown officials staying in the town.⁶ Obviously neither the town council nor the Jewess herself suspected that the King might have been planning to expel the Jews from Portugal. The only other surviving document is a royal licence to practice medicine in Portugal, delivered on 11 November to a Jewish physician.⁷

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the balance of evidence points to Manuel having decided to order the expulsion of the Jews in August or September 1496. The King did not wish to embark upon such a major course of action without first consulting his advisers and requesting their opinions on the matter in the royal council. Damião de Góis gives us only a brief account of the arguments that were put forward by proponents and opponents of the expulsion. Opponents of the expulsion brought forth a battery of spiritual and material arguments. To start with, they argued that the Pope himself allowed Jews to reside in his territories and that they continued to be tolerated in all the provinces and republics of Italy as well as by the rulers of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and all of Germany.⁸ Secondly, they reasoned that if the Jews emigrated to Islamic North Africa then all hope of converting them to Christianity would be lost forever. Furthermore, an expulsion would have considerably negative consequences for Portugal, and the rest of Christendom, since the Jews would take precious information away with them that might assist the Muslims in their fight against the Portuguese. It was also pointed out that many of them were well known for their skill in the manufacture of weapons.⁹ Such fears were

⁶ A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 15, maço 6*, doc. 14; *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 4, 189–194, doc. 3147.

⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 40, fol. 104v.

⁸ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 38–40. In fact Jews were not tolerated “in all of Germany” and had been banished from numerous German towns and principalities including Vienna (1421), Cologne (1424), Bavaria (1427), Speyer (1435), Mainz (1438), Würzburg (1488), Mecklenburg and Pomerania (1492), Halle and Magdeburg (1493). See A. Herzig, “Die Juden in Deutschland zur Zeit Reuchlin”, *Reuchlin und die Juden* (Hamburg, 1993), 11–20.

⁹ “... e q̄ nam tão sòmente leuauam consigo da terra muitos haueres, e riquezas, mas ainda ho que era mais de estimar, leuauam sotis, e dilicados spiritos, com que saberiam dar ahos mouros hos auisos que lhe neçessarios fossem contra nós, e sobre tudo lhes insinariam seus offiços mecanicos, em que erã muitos destros, principalmente no fazer das armas, do que se poderia seguir muito dâno, trabalhos, e perdas, assi de gente, quomo de bês a toda Christandade.” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 38–9.

certainly justified. As we have seen in chapter one, many Portuguese Jews were indeed proficient in metalwork and the production of armour and firearms. Later in the sixteenth century numerous Sephardic Jews found ready employment in the foundries and arsenals of the Ottoman sultans.¹⁰

In the face of these arguments, those in favour of expulsion pointed out that Jews had been expelled from the kingdoms of France, England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden “and many other regions close to these.” To this they then added that, in view of the fact that even Castile and Aragon had expelled their Jewish population four years earlier, the continued presence of Jews in the realm would do damage to Portuguese prestige in Christendom and to its interests. It is difficult to know how accurately Damião de Góis reported the arguments put forward in the debate. No Jewish communities, for instance, are ever known to have existed in the last four kingdoms that were allegedly mentioned by those in favour of the expulsion. Above all, it is particularly frustrating that Damião de Góis does not provide the names of those councillors who supported the expulsion and those who did not.¹¹

Another source for the debate is Amador Arrais, the Carmelite Bishop of Portalegre between 1582 and 1596, who provides a succinct description of the discussion surrounding the expulsion of the Jews in his own work: a fictional dialogue on various topics written in 1589. The Bishop, whose sympathy was clearly with the partisans of the expulsion, provides a somewhat different list of the arguments put forward

¹⁰ Elijah Capsali also refers to Jews working in the Ottoman weapons industry, see G. Agoston, *Guns for the Sultan. Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge, 2005), 45.

¹¹ “... outros repugnaram dizêdo que bem era verdade ho que diziam, mas que hos reis de França, Inglaterra, Escoçia, Dinamarca, Noroega, & Sueçia, cõ muitas outras prouinçias vizinhas a estas, & todo ho estado de Flandres, & Borgonha nam lançaram os Iudeus dentre sim muitos annos hauia sem pera ho fazerem terem boas causas, & de receber, & q̃ ho mesmo se deuia cuidar dos Reis de Castella, ho que abastaria pera hauerê de lançar esta naçam fora do regno, quanto mais q̃ nã parecia bõ cõselho estãdo estes regnos çercados dos de Castella, & hos de Castella dos de França permittirê se nelles Iudeus, sêdo lâçados das terras de taes vizinhos, & tam poderosos hos quaes poderiam tomar a mal parecemos q̃ tinhamos milhor conselho em deixar viuer esta gēte entre nos...” Damião de Góis, *Crônica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 38–9. Jews first settled in the Scandinavian kingdoms in the seventeenth century when Sephardic Jews from northern Germany were permitted to enter them. Similarly, there were no known Jewish communities in medieval Scotland. G. Zürn, “Les séfarades en Allemagne et en Scandinavie”, *Les juifs d’Espagne. Histoire d’une diaspora 1492–1992* (Lonrai, 1998), 242–6.

by those in favour of the expulsion. These “prudent men”, as the Bishop put it, argued the following five points:

1. The errors of the Jews jeopardised the faith of simple Christian men and “sowed errors amongst the ignorant” (“*semeavan erros entre os rusticos.*”)
2. They blasphemed against the name of Christ.
3. No one could trust the enemies of Christ.
4. It was not practical to have “enemies at home” (“*inimigos domesticos*”) in addition to those which Portugal had always faced on its Moroccan frontier.
5. It was eminently preferable that the Jews and their money leave the kingdom “since they had consumed the whole kingdom with their usury.”

Amador Arrais does not mention the opinions that the opponents of the expulsion presented to the King and the arguments he lists are solely religious ones. His blatant bias, and insistence on the fact that the King acted with religious motives in mind, distorted his account and thus his version must be treated with suspicion.¹²

The Edict of Expulsion

The exact date on which Manuel decreed the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal remains open to question as no original version of the expulsion decree has survived.¹³ Abraham Zacuto states that the expulsion edict was issued at the town of “פריזמוגה”, near Santarém, on “Sunday 24 December, Hanukkah 29 Kislev” and this date is occasionally found in modern works.¹⁴ Both the date and place specified by Zacuto are problematic. Kayserling has translated פריזמוגה as “Presmona” but no locality with that name exists in Portugal. It is more likely, as suggested

¹² Frei Amador Arrais, *Diálogos*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto, 1974), 113.

¹³ The same is also the case for Navarre. See B. G. Gampel, *The last Jews on Iberian soil: Navarrese Jewry, 1479–1498* (Berkeley, 1989), 128–9.

¹⁴ A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin* (London, 1857), 227:

”כ”ד לדיווימרי יום ראשון בב”ט לכסליו בחנוכה בפדיזמוגה אצל שטרין גזר הגירוש בפורטגאל עדי”א.”

by Loeb, that this word was a construct comprising פּרִיז, possibly a word for village sometimes found in arabo-hebrew texts or a clumsy Hebrew transliteration of the Portuguese *porto* (port), and מוּגָה, a transliteration of Muge, a village on the banks of the Tejo situated near Santarém. The second of these two hypotheses is the most likely as there is indeed evidence that Muge was—and is still—sometimes known as *Porto de Muge* due to its fluvial fishing industry.¹⁵ Concerning the date itself, 29 Kislev 5257 does not coincide with 24 December 1496, which was not a Sunday, but rather with Sunday 4 December in the Christian (Julian) Calendar. For his part Damião de Góis gives the place as the village of Muge and states that the decision was made public during a sermon (*pregaçam*) but does not provide a specific day in the month of December.¹⁶ As will be made clear below, documents preserved in Portuguese archives confirm that the actual date upon which the edict was made public was before 5 December and that the place of issue was almost certainly the village of Muge, near Santarém.¹⁷ The most likely explanation, therefore, is that the expulsion was first made public in a sermon delivered at mass on Sunday 4 December 1496 when the King and his entourage were staying in Muge. According to the anonymous author of the *Ajuda* codex, Manuel ordered the sermon announcing the expulsion to be prepared by a bishop the previous month.¹⁸

Unfortunately, no contemporary versions of either the sermon or the expulsion edict have survived. Versions of the edict were first printed in

For examples of the adoption of this date see M. Kayserling, *História dos Judeus em Portugal* (São Paulo, 1971), 112 and H. Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1967), 4, 374.

¹⁵ I. Loeb, "La date de l'édit d'expulsion des juifs du Portugal", *REJ*, 3 (1881), 285–7. S. Schwarzfuchs, "La Hispania Judaica d'Adolphe Neubauer", *Exile and Diaspora* (Jerusalem, 1991), 262. On the existence of the placename Porto de Muge: A. Soares D'Azevedo Barbosa de Pinho Leal, *Portugal antigo e moderno* (Lisbon, 1875), 5, 584.

¹⁶ "E loguo se assinou tẽpo certo pera ha notificaçam deste negoçio, ho qual foi declarado, & publicado, estando elRei ainda em Muja, no mes de Dezẽbro de M.cccc.xcvj, em hũa pregaçam q̄ se sobre isso fez..." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 39.

¹⁷ The town of Muge is not, as stated by Haim Beinart, "in northern Portugal, near the border with Galicia", *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 43. There was a royal residence in Muge since at least the start of the fourteenth century.

¹⁸ "...depois neste ano de Novembro [1]496 estando elRey em muja mandou fazer huũ sermão per o bispo [?]..." The author has written the name of the bishop who prepared the sermon but his writing is extremely cursive and I have not been able to identify the name. B.A., codex 51-V-69, fol. 231v.

the compilations of ordinances issued by Manuel that were published in the first half of the sixteenth century. The first printed edition of the edict, by the printer Valentim Fernandes, dates only from 1513. This edition, as well as the second edition which was printed by João Pedro in 1514, only refers to the expulsion of the Jews and not to that of the Muslims; a strange omission that deserves close attention and will be discussed further in the next chapter. Only in the third edition, printed in 1521 by Jacob Cronberguer in Lisbon as title 41 of the second book of the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, does there appear a copy of the expulsion edict referring to *both* minorities.¹⁹ Since this document is of such particular interest to this work, it is worth quoting the third edition of it in full:

Considering that every faithful Christian, above all other things, is required to act in a way that is of benefit and service to Our Lord, for the aggrandisement of his Holy Faith, not only by setting aside the prospect of material gains and losses of this world but also offering their own lives, it is all the more important that Kings should do this since through Our Lord Jesus Christ they exist, rule, and receive greater benefices than any other persons in this world. We are convinced that the Jews, obstinate in their hatred of the Holy Catholic Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ who redeemed us by his death, have committed and continue to commit against him great wrongs and blasphemies in these Our realms. As sons of wickedness, they do not do this only amongst themselves but, with their hardened hearts, they also plunge Our kingdoms into a greater [divine] condemnation and induce many Christians to leave the one true path that is the Holy Catholic Faith. For these, and other great and necessary reasons that are well-known and manifest to all Christians, after mature deliberation with the members of Our council and legal experts [*leterados*], we have determined and command that this Our law and resolution should be published, that, when the whole month of October of the year of the birth of Our Lord of one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven has ended, all the Jews and free Muslims residing within Our realms, whatever their age, must leave them on pain of death and of losing all their property in favour of those who would accuse them. Any person who hides a Jew or Muslim after the aforesaid time should lose

¹⁹ Compare *Ordenações Manuelinas*, facsimile of the 1512–3 edition (Lisbon, 2002), bk. II, tit. 48, fols. 63v–64 and *Ordenações Manuelinas* (1521 edition), bk. II, tit. 41. On the different editions of the *Ordenações Manuelinas* see J. José Alves Dias, “A primeira impressão das *Ordenações Manuelinas*, por Valentim Fernandes”, *Portugal-Alemanha-África* (Lisbon, 1996), 31–42.

all the property and goods he [or she] possesses. Moreover, We request, require and command for Our blessing, and on pain of a royal curse on Our successors that no Jew or free Muslim should ever be allowed at any future date to reside or stay within these Our realms and lordships for any cause or reason whatsoever. Our will is that the aforesaid Jews and Muslims should leave freely with all their property and We order that any money they are owed is to be paid to them and We shall provide them with ships to aid their departure. With regard to all the rents and rights over the Jewish and Muslim communities [*judiarias e mourarias*] which We have granted to others, their beneficiaries should come forward because it is Our will to compensate them.²⁰

In comparison with the expulsion edicts promulgated in Castile and Aragon in 1492, the Portuguese edict was a relatively short document. The edicts promulgated by Isabel and Fernando throughout Castile and Aragon in 1492 had extensively justified the expulsion of the Jews by emphasising the role they supposedly played in the continued judaizing of *conversos* but the Portuguese edict does not use this claim.²¹ The edict begins with a brief reference to the adverse material impact that the expulsion would have on the Crown finances and the Portuguese economy. It swiftly moves on to describe the pernicious impact that the presence of Jews had on *all* Christians (not just *conversos*) in the realm. The King presented himself as a Christian monarch simply concerned for the spiritual welfare of his Christian subjects. To this official justification, the edict simply adds that the King was also motivated by "other great and necessary reasons" without specifying their nature. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the edict was more concerned with setting out the practicalities of the expulsion rather than with justifying it. It neatly set out the penalties that anyone who broke the law would face and sought to reassure those who held rents from Jews or Muslims that they would be adequately compensated. It is worth noting that Elijah Capsali, usually a seemingly accurate source of information,

²⁰ *Ordenações Manuelinas*, bk. II, tit. 41. For modern publications of the edict see E. Lipiner, *O tempo dos judeus segundo as ordenações do reino* (São Paulo, 1982), 243–4. For a French translation of the edict see B. Leroy, *Les édits d'expulsion des Juifs 1394–1492–1496–1501* (Biarritz, 1998), 59–63 and for a different English translation see D. Raphael (ed.), *The Expulsion 1492 Chronicles* (North Hollywood, 1992), 202–3.

²¹ For the Castilian and Aragonese expulsion edicts see R. Conde y Delgado de Molina, *La expulsión de los judíos de la corona de Aragón. Documentos para su estudio* (Zaragoza, 1991), 41–4 and H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 33–54.

is for once totally mistaken by firstly claiming that the expulsion edict was issued “one day in March” and then that the Portuguese Jews were only granted a delay of three months.²²

On 5 December 1496, the day after the expulsion was made public, the King also sent writs (*alvarás*), presumably along with copies of the edict, to the municipal authorities of each town ordering them to ensure that no one would take advantage of the edict to assault or rob the Jews. Three copies of this writ have survived and are preserved in the municipal archives of Lisbon and Porto and the district archives of Évora. The writs sent to the town councils of these three towns are identical, brief and to the point:

To all the Judges, aldermen, councillors and good men [of the town]. We, the King, send you Our greetings and inform you that for the service of God and the benefit of Ourselves and Our realms We, together with Our [royal] council and legal experts, have ordered that all the Jews and Jewesses residing in Our realms should leave them by a certain time, as We have declared in the more comprehensive edict that We have issued. Furthermore, We hold it as right that they should be able to take away with them all their property. If by chance, within this time period, some ignorant and malicious men feel free to injure [the Jews] without provocation and in the belief that We will not punish them severely, We hereby notify you that it is Our wish that [the Jews] should be protected and treated honourably in both deeds and words as they were until now. For this reason, We order you to diligently have it proclaimed throughout the towns and villages of this district that no one should be as bold as to harass [the Jews] without reason and that you must take particular care to ensure that Our orders are respected so that the aforesaid Jews be better treated than they have until now. Moreover, you must ensure that those who act in defiance of this ordinance be punished according to the gravity of their transgression and guilt.²³

²² E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 233:

”ויהי היום בחדש מרט”י מר כלענה, צוה ויעבירו קול בכל מלכותו וגם במכתב לאמר שעד ג’ חדשים יגורשו היהודים מארצו וכל אשר לא ילך בזמן הנ”ל יאסרהו המלך בנחושותים ויתנהו בבית הכלא מקום אשר אסירי המלך אסורים, ויהיה שם עד יום מותו.”

²³ “*Juizes vareadores procurador e homeens boons Nos el Rey vos enujamos mujto Saudar fazemosvos saber que sintindo asy por serujço de deus e Noso e bem de nossos Regnos Com os do nosso consselho e letrados hordenamos que a hum tempo certo sse fossem dos ditos nossos Regnos todollos judeos e judias que nelles estam ssegundo majs compridamente he declarado na Carta patente que disse mamdamos pasar E ouuemos por bem que podessem consigo leuar todo o sseu E porque pella ventura dentro neste meo tempo alguuns ynorantes E asy por outras maliçias folgaram de lhe serem feytos alguuns [erros?] ssem rrazoes*

Little is known about the practicalities of the promulgation of the edict throughout Portugal. In Porto, a note inscribed on the cover of the writ issued on 5 December ordering protection of the Jews informs us that the municipal authorities acknowledged receipt of it on 15 December and forthwith sent a municipal official with witnesses to inform the chief rabbi of the town.²⁴ A brief note in a municipal register records the fact that the messenger who brought the edict to Porto received the sum of 1,500 *reais* from the town council. Whether the messenger received this sum as a reward to celebrate the momentous decision or as compensation to cover his expenses is not made clear.²⁵

The reaction of the Jews to the terrible news is not recorded in any detail. Münzer wrote that as early as 1494 the Jews of Lisbon had greatly feared expulsion. Nevertheless, the stone synagogue lintel discovered at Gouveia and dated only a few months prior to the edict—it was dated 5257, which started on 9 September 1496—indicates that at least some Jews believed their position to be secure enough for it to be worth their while to invest communal money in such a durable adornment for their house of worship. Clearly the edict must have come as a shock to some Jews. Elijah Capsali writes that news of the expulsion provoked widespread dismay:

pareçendolhes que pella ventura nom tornaremos a ello taaom asperamente Como sse os nom mamdasemos hir vos notificamos que nossa vontade he de elles agora sserem mais seguros homrrados bem trautados asy de feyto como de palavra do que ate aquy eram. Pello quall vos mamdamos que logo e Com mujta deligençia o façaaes asy aprugoar de nossa parte nas villas e logares dessa Comarqua que nenhuma pessoa de quall quer estado e condiçom que for nam seja tam ousado que lhe faça nojo nem ssem rrazão alguuma tomando vos desto grande e espiçiall cuidado pera sse Comprir esto que asy mamdamos Em maneira que os ditos Judeos ssejam mjlor tratados do que ate aquy foram como dito he. E quem o contrairo disto fezer o mamday logo castigar ssegundo for a Calidade de sseu erro e culpa..." A de Magalhães Basto, *Livro antigo de cartas e provisões dos senhores reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do arquivo municipal do Porto* (Porto, 1940), 92–5, doc. 60. For the identical documents sent to Évora and Lisbon: Durval Pires de Lima, *Documentos do Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1959), 4, 24, doc. 12 and A.D.E., *Livro 3º de Originais da Câmara de Évora*, fol. 133.

²⁴ "...aos xb dias de dezembro de IRbj prouycada a porta do paco do conçelho perante Rui de babo Jujz e aluaro Rodrjguez vereador e outros muitos cydadaaons he pouoo mandou que sse compryse e mandou loguo a ffernando afonso porteiro que deytase pregom per a dicta cjdade segundo sse na [carta] contem he machoso a Raby pedyo huum estromento e o dicto Jujz lho mandou dar testemunhas Joam de payua e egas Vaaz cydadaaas e a afonso ffernandez e outros muitos. Jeruas garces tabeliam escrepviy." Basto, A de Magalhães, *Livro antigo de cartas e provisões dos senhores reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do arquivo municipal do Porto* (Porto, 1940), 95, n. 2.

²⁵ A.H.M.P., *Cofre dos Bens do Concelho*, bk. 2, fol. 157v.

The people learnt of this terrible news and started to mourn. A wind of terror swept the Hebrews and particularly those Jews who had come from Castile who lamented: "We have fled from the lion only to fall into the jaws of the bear."²⁶

Joseph ha-Cohen only states that "the community of Lisbon remained bewildered. The Jews were saddened and resolved in their heart to serve Jehovah, lord of their fathers."²⁷ A contrary reaction is recorded by Damião de Góis, according to whom many dispirited Jews, both natives of Portugal and refugees from Castile, accepted baptism soon after the proclamation of the edict.²⁸

On 15 December 1496, the King issued another ordinance stipulating that Jews who converted to Christianity would be entitled to purchase any goods they had sold at the same price irrespective of any clauses and conditions in the sales contract. The same document also specified that Jews were not to hold any more collective prayers or deliver sermons in their synagogues or any other place. Any person who contravened this order would lose his property and receive a public flogging. To ensure its enforcement, the judges of all the towns where Jews lived were notified of this decree and tasked with putting it into effect.²⁹ Gonçalo Caeiro, scrivener of the town council of Loulé, not only recorded the receipt of this edict by the council but also recorded the reaction of the chief rabbi of that town when he was officially notified of the new edict:

I, the secretary, was ordered to write the decree down in the municipal book and notify the town judge of it. And I, in accordance with the

²⁶ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Bena-yahu, 1, 233:

”וישמע העם את הדבר הרע הזה ויתאבלו ותהי חרדה גדולה במחנה העברי ובפרט ליהודי אשר באו מגרוש ספרד כי אמרו: נסנו מהארי ופגענו הדוב.”

²⁷ Joseph Ha-Cohen, *‘Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. K. Almladh (Uppsala, 1981), סד:

”... והעיר לישבונה נבוכה: ויתעצבו היהודים מאד. ויתנו לב ללכת לעבוד את ה' אלהי אבותם.”

See *‘Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. and tr. H. S. May (The Hague, 1971), 70 and *‘Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. and tr. P. León Tello (Barcelona, 1989), 124. H. May translates נבוכה as “destroyed” but I believe that the translation “bewildered”, given by P. León Tello in his Spanish translation, is more accurate.

²⁸ “*Mvitos dos Iudeus naturales do Regno, & dos que entraram de Castella tomaram ha aguoa do baptismo...*” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 41.

²⁹ “*Outrosy auemos por bem e mandamos que da pobriçam desta nosa carta em diante nom aja mais pregaçam alguua antre os judeus em suas sinogas nem outra parte pelo quall vos mandamos que isso mesmo ha façaes notificar aos juizes da cada lugar onde ouer judeus que lho nom consentam e lhe mandem e digam da nossa parte que nam preguem nem façam nenhuum auto de pregaçam.*” L. Miguel Duarte, “Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV”, 227–9.

decree, informed the noble judge João of Aragon. When he had read it, in accordance with the order of the King, he ordered me to show it to the rabbi and the Jews of the *comuna* and *judiaria* of the town. I then proceeded to the synagogue and there I found Rabbi Joseph Alfull and the councillors of the *comuna* as well as many other Jews who had been called there by him. To these, I read out the King's decree. As soon as I had read out the order of the King, the rabbi took it, kissed it and put it on his head.³⁰

The rabbi's reaction to what was yet another piece of appalling news for Portuguese Jews may puzzle many modern observers. It is tempting to suppose that Rabbi Alfull might have been in the grips of messianic expectation and fervour. The parallels many Jews saw between their desperate situation and the biblical exodus from Egypt induced many to expect a miraculous intervention by God. Nonetheless, the more prosaic truth in this case seems to be that his behaviour was part of a common ritual in the Iberian Peninsula in which the recipients of royal decrees indicated their submission to the Crown by kissing the decrees and placing them over their heads.³¹

*The First Steps towards a Forced Conversion?
The Limitation of the Number of Embarkation Points*

It has been accepted by scholars that Manuel never seriously intended to allow the Jews to depart and that, from the beginning, he put into

³⁰ "A quall carta do dicto senhor asy apresentada como dicto he o sobre [dicto] requereo a mim escrepuam que a treladasse no livro da camara e a notificasse ao juiz. E eu escrepuam em comprimento da dicta carta a notifiquei loguo a Joham d'Arragam figalgo juiz e visto per elle obedecendo a carta do dicto senhor Rei mandou a mim escrepuam que ha notificasse ao harabi e judeus da dicta cum[un]a e judaria da dicta villa. E eu escrepuam me fui loguo a sinoga dos judeus e achei hii Joce Alfull arabi e vereadores e procuradores da dicta cum[un]a e muitos outros judeus que pera ello foram chamados aos quaaees eu escrepuam notifiquei a carta do dicto senhor e tanto que leuda e pubricada foi o dicto arabi a tomou e beijou e pos na cabeça e requereo ha mim tabaliam que lhe passasse huum estormento com todo porquanto se esperaua a comu[n]a d'ajudar. Gonçalo Caiero escrepuam da camara esto escrepui." L. Miguel Duarte, "Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV", 229.

³¹ For example Hernán Cortés, in his fifth letter from Mexico to Charles V, refers to such a ritual: "When [the judge of inquiry] presented his credentials to us we took and kissed them and held them over our heads as letters from our king and rightful lord..." Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico* (London, 1986), 436.

action a Machiavellian plan to force all his Jewish subjects to convert.³² All the narrative sources agree that Manuel changed his mind when the majority of the Jews preferred to leave rather than convert. Samuel Usque, for instance, remarks that when the King realised that the Jews were resolved to leave his realm he decided to lure them to Lisbon with false promises of providing them with shipping.³³ Likewise Elijah Capsali states that Manuel, after having received a large sum of money from the Jews, issued documents permitting them to leave but then suddenly changed his mind and sent letters to all the ports prohibiting their embarkation.³⁴ Christian and Jewish authors offer differing accounts of what motivated the King to abruptly change his mind. Damião de Góis and Jerónimo Osório maintain that the King was moved by pious concern for the souls of the Jews. In contrast to this, Rabbi Gedalya ibn Yahya certainly believed that material interests underpinned the King's change of heart:

When the King heard of their intention to depart, he feared that the kingdom would remain like an empty fishing net, for the Jews were extremely numerous, and they possessed most of the kingdom's wealth.³⁵

It is indeed difficult to believe that such a consideration did not weigh on the King's mind. If the Jews were allowed to leave, the Crown would not only have to compensate the beneficiaries of rents and taxes paid

³² This view is that adopted by H. P. Salomon in *Portrait of a New Christian: Fernão Álvares Melo 1569–1632*, (Paris 1982), 15 and Y. H. Yerushalmi in S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, 1, 22–3.

³³ "... e puseronse aponto de sayrse, mas entêdida que teue Elrey a resolução dos judeos: e quanto pouco mostrauão estimar o desterro em lugar da troca de sua ley, começou dar a entender sua maa tenção, mandando que todos os que no reino auia se recolhesem a lixboa com fama que aly lhes queria dar embarcação." S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, 2, fols. 202v–203.

³⁴ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 233:

"ויצו עוד לבלתי ישכיר איש אניה ללך לו זולתי שיהיה לו רשות מהמלך ויתן לו חותמת המלכות [למען ילכו]."
 ויעשו כן בני ישראל ושמו להם ראש אחד ועלו מן הארץ ופרעו הון רב לקחת חותמת המלכות למען ילכו לדרכם.
 "ואחרי אשר נכתבו הכתבי' ונחתמו החליף את דבורו" המלך ויצו לסופרי' וישנו את טעמם וכתבו כתבי' שניים לבלתי יסעום הספנים."

³⁵ A David, "The Spanish expulsion and the Portuguese persecution through the eyes of the historian R. Gedalya ibn Yahya", *Sefarad*, 56 (1996), 56. The translation from Hebrew is that of A. David.

by the Jews but the economy of the realm would also stand to suffer substantial harm from the loss of such industrious subjects.

Whether or not Manuel actually intended to force all the Jews to convert from the very start in December 1496 or later cannot be established with any degree of certainty. The documentary evidence is itself ambiguous. It is true that on 31 December 1496 the King sent a writ to the town council of Porto ordering that no Jews be allowed to leave Portugal on ships without a special royal licence. Jews and Muslims attempting to leave without a licence, and the ship captains who helped them, would lose their property.³⁶ An identical writ was sent to the port of Buarcos (west of Coimbra) on 2 January 1497 and presumably also to other ports throughout the realm.³⁷ Nevertheless, there is also evidence that, in the first couple of months following the issue of the expulsion edict, Manuel was attempting to organise the transport of Jews from Portugal on board ships specially chartered by the Crown. This is at least what can be gathered from a note made in the margin of the minutes of the municipal council of Silves and dated 21 January 1497. The note records that the King had ordered the forced requisition of ships to ferry Jews and Muslims out of the kingdom and the councillors of Silves had received a letter from the councillors of the neighbouring town of Faro concerning this very matter. The men of Faro were worried about the adverse effects that such a requisition would have upon the exportation of dried fruit and were attempting to convince all the towns of the Algarve to unite and send a common letter of grievance to the King. Whether the disgruntled town councillors of the Algarve took their complaints to the King, and if so what his reaction was, is unfortunately not known.³⁸ According to Imanuel

³⁶ A de Magalhães Basto, *Livro antigo de cartas e provisões dos senhores reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do arquivo municipal do Porto* (Porto, 1940), 107–8, doc. 69.

³⁷ A. B. Salgado and A. M. Salgado, *Registros dos reinados de D. João II e de D. Manuel I* (Lisbon, 1996), 377.

³⁸ "Os do concedlho de Faro escrevem aos homens do concelho de Silves, considerando que a mudança que ora o rei fez com os judeus e os mouros em os mandar para fora do reino, por a qual razão é de força o rei dar lugar aos ditos judeus de fretar todos os navios deste reino de Portugal e de fora dele, o que certamente os prejudicará muito, perdendo suas embarcações, não tendo em que mandar as sua frutas a nenhuma parte. Assim, determinaram notificar os de Silves e dizer o seu parecer que todos os concelhos do Algarve escreverem juntamente ao rei que não dê lugar aos judeus para que fretassem os navios deste reino de Portugal, somente houvessem sua embarcação de fora do reino; solicitam que olhem bem esto que vai mais longe do que vos podera parecer e que escutem, para

Aboab, the three ports that were officially earmarked for the embarkation of the Jews were Porto, Lisbon and Setúbal but Damião de Góis lists the ports of Porto, Lisbon and “the Algarve.”³⁹ In the nineteenth century, the Spanish historian Amador de los Ríos states that the ports designated were those of Viana do Castelo, Porto and Setúbal. The last of these alternatives, unsupported by any contemporary evidence, appears to be quite an unlikely choice.⁴⁰ Most narrative sources agree that the King later limited the number of ports to Lisbon alone though the date of this change is unknown. De Góis and the Jewish sources, however, agree that the change occurred after the Jewish children were taken from their parents which, as we shall see below, would be at some point after Easter 1497.⁴¹

The Confiscation and Redistribution of Jewish Communal Property

Soon after the edict of expulsion had been published in December 1496, a number of Jews attempted to sell their property. On 25 January 1497 a merchant named Abraham Palaçano and his wife Cinfãa sold property in the *judiaria grande* of Lisbon to Isabel da Sousa, lady-in-waiting of the Princess Isabel (widow of Afonso V), for 150,000 *reais brancos*.⁴² The same also occurred in Évora, where a number of Jews negotiated the termination of leases they held from the Cathedral chapter in the first months of 1497 “because of the decision of Our Lord the King to order the Jews to leave his realms.”⁴³ That such hurried sales were not uncom-

melhor se informar, João Vaz Ronbom que esteve lá com eles a praticar negócio, e que mandem a resposta do seu parecer.” Academia das Ciências, Série Azul, códice 403, fols. 366v–367v.

³⁹ I. Aboab, *Nomologia o Discursos Legales* (Amsterdam, 1629), 320.

⁴⁰ J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1960), 743.

⁴¹ “*Em quanto se estas execuções fazião, nam deixaua elrei de ciudar no q̄ conuinha à saude das almas desta gente, pelo que mouido de piedade dissimulaua cõ elles, sem lhes mandar dar embarçaçam, & de tres portos de seu Regno que lhe pera isto tinha assina-dos, lhes vedou hos dous, & mandou que todos se viessem embarcar a Lisboa, dandolhes hos estaos pera se nelles agasalharem...*” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 42.

⁴² A.N.T.T., *Colegiada de Sta Cruz do Castelo (de Lisboa)*, *Cartolario* n° 1, fols. 19v–21.

⁴³ “...e por rrespeyto de elrey, nosso senhor, mandar os judeus fora de seus rreynos...” M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV* (Lisbon, 1982), 1, 489 and 505, n. 37.

mon is suggested by the very fact that Manuel promulgated an ordinance on 15 December ordering that any property sold by a Jew who later converted to Christianity should be returned to its previous owner in exchange for the price at which it had originally been sold.⁴⁴

Hundreds of documents attest to the fact that similar legislation in Castile and Aragon provoked a flood of litigation as converted Jews, returning from exile, attempted to buy back their erstwhile property from buyers who were often reluctant to sell it. An absence of similar documents in Portuguese archives suggests that it was not the case in that kingdom.⁴⁵ The Jews of Évora who had sold their leases on properties owned by the cathedral chapter were able to reoccupy them after their conversion seemingly without much trouble, though some preferred to live in Lisbon.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, at least a few of those who had already sold their property probably struggled to regain possession of it. A rare and interesting case study is that of Cresente, a wealthy Jew of Santarém, who sold his extensive land holdings valued at 800,000 *reais*—which included houses, olive groves and vineyards—to the Count of Penela in 1497 for 400,000 *reais* of which in fact he only received 180,000 *reais*. After Cresente had converted, and changed his name to João Álvares de Santarém, he returned to claim back his lands “by reason and in virtue of the ordinance of the Lord King according to which any Jew who converts must have his property he sold [before his conversion] returned to him.” Since both parties wished to avoid the great cost of lengthy litigation, the Count and Alvarez came to an agreement in May 1498. Alvarez was able to recover part of his property, but not all as some of it had been included by the Count into the estate entailed to his first son and heir.⁴⁷ It would be interesting to know whether this was a purely isolated case but the absence of similar cases precludes any firm conclusion. The high status of the Count of Penela and his

⁴⁴ L. Miguel Duarte, “Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV”, 227–9.

⁴⁵ On the often successful attempts of returning converts to buy back their property in Castile see chapter 4 (pages 329–412) in H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002).

⁴⁶ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 490 and *Judaísmo e Inquisição: Estudos* (Lisbon, 1987), 53.

⁴⁷ “...por Rezam e virtude da hordenaçam que ho dicto Senhor Rey fez sobre que qualquer Judeu que fazenda tevesse vendida e se tornara cristão que lhe fosse tornada.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 31 fols. 106v–107v and 111–2; *Leitura Nova, Estremadura*, bk. 1, fols. 221–223. The entailment was described as a *morgado*.

closeness to the King might account for his willingness to prevaricate and contravene a royal ordinance.

Since, as we shall see below, the vast majority of Jews in Portugal were forcibly converted and never left the kingdom, there were no large-scale sales of private property as in Castile or Aragon. Those Jews who had sold their property were in fact permitted by the royal ordinance issued on 15 December 1496 to buy it back at its original price.⁴⁸ After 1497, the old Jewish quarters of various towns were simply renamed “new town” (*vila nova*) or, for the smaller ones “new street” (*rua nova*, see plate 2). In Lisbon and Porto, many new Christians returned to their houses in the old Jewish quarters of those towns.⁴⁹

The fate of Jewish communal property, however, was completely different. Since the Jews were considered to be under the direct authority of the King, quite literally “his Jews”, the Crown considered itself to be the rightful owner of all communal Jewish property, both buildings and religious objects. Manuel, just like Isabel and Fernando in 1492, ordered the confiscation of all synagogues, religious schools and any other building or property that had been communally owned by Jewish *comunas* in Portugal. The date at which the edict of confiscation was issued is not known but certainly occurred before 25 January 1497, when Manuel granted “some houses” that belonged to the Great Synagogue of Lisbon to his drummer.⁵⁰ The receipt given to Gonçalo Velho, the royal official in charge of collecting the confiscated property, reveals that the total value of the buildings and goods belonging to synagogues and mosques of the entire realm confiscated in 1497 amounted to 1,234,657 *reais* in cash, 511 marks and 6 ounces of silver and various other assorted textiles. This receipt does not provide a detailed breakdown of the value of buildings and chattels confiscated by the Crown in 1497. Only two receipts providing detailed regional totals have survived. João Andrade, the official in charge of confiscating the property of the synagogues and mosques of the district of Beja, seized goods and buildings worth 171,648 *reais*,

⁴⁸ L. Miguel Duarte, “Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV”, 227–9.

⁴⁹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 490–1 and “O édito de expulsão e a diáspora dos cristãos novos: o exemplo do bispado do Porto”, *Movimientos migratorios y expulsiones en la diáspora occidental* (Pamplona, 2000), 177–183.

⁵⁰ On the confiscation of Jewish communal property in Castile and Aragon see “The fate of Jewish communal property”, chapter 3 (pages 55–117) in H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002). On the grant made at Estremoz on 25 January 1497 see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 31, fol. 22v, published in F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida judaica”, *AHP*, 2, Lisbon (1904) 196–7, doc. “e”.



Plate 2. "Rua do Dr. Joaquim Jacinto. Antiga Judiaria, depois Rua Nova."
This modern street sign in Tomar still bears witness to the effects of the forced conversion of 1497.

34 marks, 5 ounces and 5 eights of silver as well as numerous other brocade and silk clothes whilst Francisco de Machedo collected 44,672 *reais* from the sale of property that belonged to the Jewish and Muslim *comunas* in the districts of Alenquer and Sintra.⁵¹ Lastly, we learn from a document of 1501 that a knight named João de Óbidos received a payment of eleven silver marks "from the synagogues" from the royal tax collectors.⁵² The author of the Genizah fragments states that the ceremonial garments and objects removed from the synagogues were put on display in a special celebratory mass organised by Manuel:

[Manuel] seized all the objects in the synagogues, all the crowns and other adornments, worth 2,000 shekels of gold and silver in total. He used them to celebrate a great ceremony in the house of the dead man [i.e. a Christian church]...⁵³

⁵¹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 1, 488–9.

⁵² "... de prata das esnogas..." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 45, fol. 124v.

⁵³ I. Tishby, "Genizah fragments of a messianic-mystical text on the expulsion from Spain and Portugal" [Hebrew], *Zion*, 49 (1984), 30–1, doc. 82:

"ולקח כל כלי הבתי כנסיות עטרות וכדומה כמות משנים אלפים משקלי זהב וכסף ועשה מהם כלי לביתו לעשות עבודה גדולה לבית איש מת להשתחוות לזהב וכסף..."

In at least one instance, the confiscation of property held in common by Jews met with resistance of a kind. Diogo de Sam Paio, a nobleman of the royal household and governor of the north-eastern province *Trás-os-Montes*, was granted a royal pardon in March 1498 for not having published the royal edict in due form. The pardon reads as follows:

In the year that has elapsed, 1497, before the Jews became Christians, We ordered him to have an ordinance of Ours [publicly] proclaimed by which We ordered him to take possession of all the synagogues and their ornaments [in the province] as soon as it was published. This he did not do, for he had made a pact with the [Jewish] *comuna* of Chaves and received a silver cup in return for not having the edict proclaimed publicly.⁵⁴

What did the Jews of Chaves hope to achieve by bribing the governor and postponing the publication of the edict of confiscation? Surely they must have known that would only delay the inevitable. It is possible—though difficult to believe—that the Jews of Chaves might have been desperately hoping that the edict would be revoked. The most likely motive, however, is that they probably wished to delay the public proclamation of the edict until they could hide books and other objects of religious significance such as Torah scrolls.

The problems raised by the confiscation of communal property also affected Jews insofar as many individuals had made charitable donations of houses to help endow their synagogues and religious confraternities and now saw their donations become Crown property. Attempts by Jews to reclaim such property must have been quite frequent. Of course those Jews who were able to successfully regain possession of their property before it was confiscated by the Crown have not left any trace in the documentary evidence, but a number of confiscations in the decade after 1497 indicate that such attempts were relatively frequent. In Sintra, a house that had once been granted by a Jew to the synagogue of the town, so that the revenue from its rent could be used to pay for special prayers to commemorate the death of his son, was granted in 1503 to a certain Lopo Gonçaves. The document, recording the grant

⁵⁴ “... e asy no anno pasado de lRbij amtes que hos judeus fosse christãos, nos mandamos pasar huñ noso mandado per que mandamos a ele, contador, que tomase loguo pose das synogas e ornamentos deles tamto que lhe o dicto mandado fosse pobricado, e que ele ho nom comprira, porquamto a cumuna de Chaves fezera com elle partido que lhe dariam huña taça de prata por lho loguo nom pubricar.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 37, fols. 13–13v.

to Lopo Gonçalves, indicates that the house had been confiscated from its previous owners since in 1497 the widow of the then deceased donor and one of his sons had illegally retaken possession of the house despite the fact that it was part of the goods and property confiscated by the Crown as communal Jewish property.⁵⁵

Documents recording a number of similar cases from the town of Santarém have fortunately survived. The upper floors of some houses had been granted to the synagogue of Santarém by a Jew named Samaya Adida. After 1497, these had been taken over by various individuals who were not paying any rent to the Crown. When this usurpation of Crown rights was uncovered, the properties were forthwith confiscated and granted to André Lopes of Santarém.⁵⁶ The same occurred to some houses belonging to Judas Caprão of Santarém and sold by him for 25,000 *reais*. When, a decade later (in 1507), it was discovered by Crown officials that, prior to the forced conversion, these houses had once been owned by the synagogue of Santarém they were seized.⁵⁷ The confiscation of other communal Jewish buildings in Santarém is recorded in various other grants made by the Crown in the early sixteenth century. The building that had served as the Jewish slaughter house (*carniçaria*) of the *comuna* of Santarém was granted to Mestre Jorge, tailor of the Duke of Coimbra.⁵⁸ Lastly, the official grant in 1517 of some dilapidated buildings to João Fernandes d'Españha, tax collector in the town, specifies that these buildings had once been part of the endowment of a Jewish religious confraternity.⁵⁹ Similar seizures by the Crown of houses that had belonged to synagogues occurred in Gaia (a suburb of Porto) and Azambuja.⁶⁰

The fate of the various synagogues and schools across Portugal varied. In Lisbon the synagogues of the *judiarias* were all granted to the Hospital of All Saints (*Todos-os-Santos*). On 20 December 1497, the King authorised Estevão Martinz, school master of the Cathedral of Lisbon and official purveyor to the building works of the Hospital of

⁵⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 19, fol. 2v; F. de Sousa Viterbo, "Occorências da vida judaica", *AHP*, 2, (1904), 195–6, doc. d.

⁵⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 21, fol. 20.

⁵⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 8, fol. 62.

⁵⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 13, fols. 36v–37.

⁵⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 10, fol. 58v.

⁶⁰ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fol. 129 (Gaia), bk. 38, fol. 86v (Azambuja).

All Saints, to seize “all the property and chattels of all the synagogues and mosques in that town, as well as any other things that do not belong to anyone in particular such as the buildings of prisons and other similar buildings that were held commonly [by the Jewish and Muslim *comunas* of Lisbon].”⁶¹ The King ordered Estevão Martinz to sell the chattels at public auction to the highest bidder for cash and then hand over the proceeds of the sales to Fernão Gomes, the official in charge of receiving money for the building works of the hospital. The confiscated buildings were to be rented out and the proceeds gathered from the rents were also to be used to finance the building works. The building of the Great Synagogue of Lisbon reverted to the Crown and was granted in May 1505 to the Order of Christ in exchange for the chapel of *Nossa Senhora de Belém*.⁶² Ultimately the Great Synagogue was turned into the Church of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, which was destroyed by the earthquake of 1755 (see plate 3). The former function of the church lived on in popular memory. On 28 December 1540, for instance, the convert Simão Vaz was denounced to the Inquisition because he had reminisced in a casual conversation about the time in his childhood when he was still a Jew and had gone with his father to the church of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* to give alms and bread to other Jews.⁶³ The smaller synagogues of the other *judiarias* of Lisbon (*Alfama* and *Nova*) were simply turned into private dwellings. Whereas the tombstones of the Jewish cemetery were granted in May 1497 to

⁶¹ “Nos el Rey mandamos a vos Esteuão Martinz mestre escolla em a see desta Cidade de lixbo^a Provedor do hospittal de todos os sanctos que tomeis logo posse por parte do ditto hospittal de todoLos bensassi moues como de Rays de todallas esnogas E mesquittas dos Mouros em esta cidade, E de quais quer outras couzas que estem Vagos que fosse da Comuna desta Cidade assy da mouraria que não pertence a nenhuma pessoa em singular assi como casas de cadeas E outras couzas semelhantes que ertão comum E os bens moveis fareis Vender em pregão a quem por elle mais der...” A. Mestrinho Salgado, “O Hospital de Todos-os-Santos e os bens confiscados aos mouros, judeus e cristãos-novos”, *História e Filosofia*, 4 (1986), 658–9, doc. 2.

⁶² A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 15, maço 15*, doc. 12, published in E. Lipiner, *Two Portuguese exiles in Castile: Dom David Negro and Dom Isaac Abravanel* (Jerusalem, 1997), 153–5; “...nẽ foi menos liberal elrei dom Emanuel na grãdeza destes edefiçios, que no serviço do culto divino, porque ahos Freires que tinham a cargo esta capella de Bethlem, que dali mudou per liçça do Papa, à igreja de nossa Senhora da Conçepçam em Lisboa, que fora Synagoga dos Iudeus.” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1 (chapter 53), 126.

⁶³ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 1 de denúncias*, fols. 68–68v. For further details on the former great synagogue see appendix II (pages 148–152) in E Lipiner, *Two Portuguese exiles in Castile: Dom David Negro and Dom Isaac Abravanel* (Jerusalem, 1997).



Plate 3. The church of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* in Lisbon (number 82).
Situating in the old *Judaiaria Grande* of Lisbon, its site was once that of the Great Synagogue.
(*Urbium praeceptuarum mundi theatrum quintum. Georgium Braunio Agrippinate. AD 1593*)

the Royal Hospital of All Saints, the physical area itself was granted to the municipal authorities to be used as pasture.⁶⁴

Synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in the other towns of the realm received a similar treatment:

- In Évora, the Great Synagogue was granted by Manuel to Diogo Ortiz, the Bishop of Tangier, together with all of its dependent property whilst the building of the Jewish school (the “*Midias velho*”, in fact the *Beth ha-Midrash*) was granted to Dom Carlos Henriques.⁶⁵ The building of the synagogue itself was demolished not long afterwards, possibly following disturbances involving New Christians.⁶⁶ The Jewish cemetery, as well as the Muslim one, had apparently been bought by private individuals in circumstances that are unclear. The King, however, in December 1498 ordered the municipal council to buy it back at its original price, plus an added ten percent, before the end of May 1499.⁶⁷
- In Coimbra, the cemetery of the Jewish community and its tombstones were granted on 8 July 1497 to two neophyte brothers named João Lopes and Afonso Lopes in exchange for the payment of 5,000 *reais*.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 5, fols. 35–36v, *Leitura Nova, Estremadura*, bk. 1, fols. 252v–255 and bk. 2, fols. 222–223v.

A. Mestrinho Salgado, “O Hospital de Todos-os-Santos e os bens confiscados aos mouros, judeus e cristãos-novos”, *História e Filosofia*, 4 (1986), 663, doc. 8.

⁶⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 28, fol. 116v; *Leitura Nova, Odiana*, bk. 1, fol. 256.

⁶⁶ J. Lúcio de Azevedo mentions a riot between New and Old Christians of Évora that took place in April 1505 and resulted in the demolition of the synagogue but does not cite his source. Archaeological excavations, however, have proven that the building of the Great Synagogue was indeed destroyed by fire. J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos novos portugueses* (Lisbon, 1921), 59 and C. Ballesteros, “A judiaria e a sinagoga medieval de Évora (1ª campanha de escavação)”, *Os Judeus Sefarditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos* (Lisboa, 2004), 191–218.

⁶⁷ “Item no que dizees dos adros dos que fforom Judeus e assy dos mouros Avemos por bem que pagando a cidade aaquelles que os Compraram o dinheiro que lhes Custarom e mais em cima o dizimo ssejam tornados aa dita cidade Com obrigaçam que seu dinheirro assy da compra como do dizimo que mais lhe há de sseer dado lhe sseja paguo atee per todo o mês de mayo do anno que vem de lRix E Assy mandamos per este Capitollo a todas nossa Justiças que o façam Conprir porque por allguma rrezam que ha cidade nisso teem e tambem por ser pera proueito geerall e comum asy o avemos por bem.” A.D.E., *Livro 3º dos Originais da Câmara*, fol. 84v.

⁶⁸ S. A. Gomes, *A comunidade judaica de Coimba Medieval* (Coimbra, 2003), 92–5, doc. 20.

- In Silves, the synagogue was granted to Fernão de Moraes on 2 March 1498.⁶⁹
- In Braga, an eighteenth century document indicates that the old synagogue of the *Judiaria Nova* of that town was at that time a private house.⁷⁰
- In Tomar, the synagogue was successively used as a prison, a hay loft and a warehouse.⁷¹
- In Montemor-o-novo, the synagogue was granted in May 1501 to Álvaro de Matos, a knight of the royal household. The recipient did not hold on to the synagogue for long since only three years later he sold the building, described as uninhabited and in disrepair, to the municipal council so that it could be turned into the municipal jail.⁷²

Of the many synagogues that once existed throughout medieval Portugal, including the Great Synagogue of Lisbon which had so impressed Münzer in 1494, practically no vestiges survive. In Lisbon and Évora the original buildings have disappeared without a trace although excavations in the latter town have yielded interesting information.⁷³ The lintels of the synagogue of Monchique in Porto (now preserved in the *Museu do Carmo* in Lisbon) and of the Great Synagogue of Lisbon (presently conserved in Tomar) are the only vestiges to have survived from those buildings. The only buildings of medieval synagogues to have survived into the present, more or less intact, are those of Castelo de Vide and Tomar. To these must be added a building in the street of São Miguel in Porto which has only recently been identified as one of its synagogues. Fittingly enough, the synagogue of Tomar has now become a small museum dedicated to the history of Portuguese Jewry.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 31, fol. 75v; *Leitura Nova, Odiana*, bk. 1, fol. 94.

⁷⁰ A. Losa, "Subsídios para o estudo dos judeus de Braga", *Actas do V volume dos actas do congresso histórico de Guimarães e sua colegiada* (Braga, 1982), 16–7.

⁷¹ J. M. Santos de Simões, *Tomar e a sua judiaria* (Tomar, 1943).

⁷² A. Banha de Andrade, "Os Judeus em Montemor-o-Novo", *Cadernos de História de Montemor-o-Novo*, 4 (1977), 27–8.

⁷³ C. Ballesteros and J. de Oliveira, "A judiaria e a sinagoga medieval de Évora (1ª campanha de escavação)", *Os Judeus Sefarditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos* (Lisboa, 2004), 191–218 and M. Da Graça Bachmann, "Na rota dos vestígios judaicos. A sinagoga grande de Évora", *Os Judeus Sefarditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos* (Lisboa, 2004), 219–229.

⁷⁴ C. Balesteros and J. de Oliveira, "A Judiaria e a sinagoga de Castelo de Vide", *Revista Ibn Maruán*, 3 (1993), 123–152; The building in Porto has been identified as a synagogue

It is doubtful that the Crown drew much profit from the confiscation of Jewish communal property. The flow of cash into the royal treasury that resulted from these confiscations was more than matched by the loss of the special taxes paid by Jews and the outlay resulting from the compensation granted to the holders of rents paid by Jewish communities. A report submitted by an official of the royal treasury in 1523 reveals that, a quarter of a century later, the Crown still paid out at least 1,958,602 *reais* in yearly rents to individuals who had lost revenues because of the “expulsion” of the Jews and Muslims.⁷⁵

The Confiscation of Hebrew Books

The first clear indication that the King intended to actively pressure the Jews into converting emerges when, at some unknown date, a decree was issued ordering the confiscation of all books owned by Jews. Although the date of this decree is not known, it is possible that it coincided with the royal instructions ordering the governors of the various provinces of Portugal to confiscate all Jewish communal property, as we have seen above.⁷⁶ This is certainly the impression conveyed by Capsali, who records that both events were concurrent:

At this time, King Manuel took possession of the synagogues and had them walled up after having all the books of the Jews deposited in them, where they are guarded by stout chains until this day.⁷⁷

This policy of confiscating all Hebrew books cannot have had any other aim than that of depriving any converted Jews remaining in Portugal of access to the rituals and tenets of their past faith through religious books. Isabel and Fernando had not issued any similar edict in 1492 and Fernando had even written to the inquisitors of Zaragoza ordering

because of the discovery behind a false wall in 2005 of a cupboard of that resembles the cupboards (“holy arks”) that contain Torah scrolls in synagogues. See the article “Descoberta antiga sinagoga do Porto”, *Tikvá. Boletim informativo da comunidade israelita de Lisboa*, 55 (Oct–Dec 2005), 22–3.

⁷⁵ A. Braamcamp Freire, “O livro das tenças del rei”, *AHP*, 2 (1904), 212–3.

⁷⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 37, fols. 13–13v.

⁷⁷ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelewitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Bena-yahu, 1, 238:

”בימים ההם צוה המלך ויקחו את כל הבתי כנסיות ויסגורום ויתן בתוכם כל ספרי היהודי ויהיו שם סגורים בדלתים ובריח עד היום הזה.”

them to allow Jews to leave with their copies of religious works such as the Talmud. Only in the Aragonese town of Ejea de los Cabaleros did officials of the Inquisition—acting on their own initiative—confiscate 260 Hebrew books.⁷⁸ One of those rabbis who lost their libraries in Portugal was Abraham Saba. The personal account he penned in his exegetical work remains an extremely poignant one:

[...] the crier went all about the country declaring that all the books and phylacteries must be brought to the Great Synagogue in Lisbon on pain of death. And they already took one Jew who loved his books and beat him severely with straps (...). As I listened, I stood trembling, walking on with trepidation and fright, and I dug into the middle of a large olive tree which had extensive roots in the ground, and there I hid these books which I had written.⁷⁹

There is abundant evidence that Rabbi Saba was not an exception in his efforts to conceal his books from Crown officials. Jews who were later found to have hidden Hebrew books suffered harsh penalties. One convert named Master Rodrigo was condemned to be publicly flogged and perpetually exiled to the islands of Cape Verde. Another neophyte, João Nogueira of Matosinhos, was more fortunate but still lost all his property and chattels.⁸⁰ Some of the denunciations made to the inquisitors of Lisbon after 1536 mention the illegal possession of Hebrew books by converts and their descendants and quite a few trial records of judaizing converts refer to the discovery of hidden Hebrew books in their homes.⁸¹ An informant of the Crown, who was operating amongst the converts in the 1520s, denounced a number of converts who possessed Hebrew books, including a tailor named Navarro who was accused of possessing a veritable library of books relating to Jewish religious festivals and prayers.⁸²

⁷⁸ H. Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Oxford, 2002), 232–3.

⁷⁹ M. Oron, "Autobiographical elements in the writings of kabbalists from the generation of the Expulsion", *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 108. Translation from Hebrew by M. Oron.

⁸⁰ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 45, fol. 123v and bk. 17, fol. 5v. The sentence of exile imposed upon Master Rodrigo was later commuted to exile first in the Azores and then to the border town of Mértola. He was eventually pardoned in consideration of the desperate straights to which his wife and children were reduced by his exile.

⁸¹ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 1 de denúncias*, fols. 50, 56–7 and 76–77v; See also E. Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé* (Lisbon, 1998), 180–201.

⁸² A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 2, maço 1*, doc. 36; *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 1, 103–124, doc. 184.

According to Jewish sources, the confiscated books were gathered in the synagogues and locked up in them. At least a handful of these confiscated books were apparently secretly removed and later made their way to the Sephardic community at Saloniki in the Ottoman Empire, brought there after 1506 by New Christians from Portugal. A Hebrew document found in Turkey, consisting of a single page, describes how a Castilian rabbi named Levi ben Shem Tob deposited the manuscript of a polemic against philosophy (the *Sefer Ha-Emunot*), written by his father Shem Tob ben Shem Tob, in the Great Synagogue of Lisbon when Manuel ordered the surrender of all Hebrew books. The document presents the removal of this book and others from the synagogue as follows:

Some pious men interested by this book, which had been seized by the King (may his bones be crushed), and fascinated by the wisdom [of kabbalistic manuscripts] risked their lives to retrieve it, as well as the manuscripts of “the Faithful Shepherd” and “Amendment”, written by the learned Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai (may he rest in peace). They brought these books to this realm of Turkey, and by this pious deed they were saved from the King [of Portugal] and arrived in the said realm [of Turkey].⁸³

The four men who rescued these works and took them to Saloniki were identified as Rabbis Moshe Zaruko, Moshe Menda, Yitzhak of Barcelona and Shlomo ibn Verga (the author of the *Sefer Shebet Yehudah*).⁸⁴

The ultimate fate of the Hebrew books seized in 1497 remains unclear. The anonymous author of the document from Turkey categorically states that “no book was burnt.”⁸⁵ This statement is radically opposed to the claim made by Ibn Faradj that many of the books locked up in the Great Synagogue were destroyed in a public burning that took place in Lisbon some years later:

⁸³ M. Benayahu, “A new source concerning the Spanish refugees in Portugal and their move to Saloniki after the edict of 1506” [Hebrew], *Sefunot*, 11 (1971–7), 261:

”ואז החסידים המחפשים הספרים שהפקידים המלך י”ע כשראו אורו עלויו שמו נפשותם בכפם והוציאו לאור משפטו. והביאו זה הספר וספר רעיא מהימנא והתקונים מהמאור ר’ שמעון בן יוחי ע”ה לזה המלכות מלכות תוגרמה. ובזכות זה נצולו מיד המלך הפריץ.”

⁸⁴ M. Benayahu, “A new source concerning the Spanish refugees in Portugal and their move to Saloniki after the edict of 1506” [Hebrew], *Sefunot*, 11 (1971–7), 231–265.

⁸⁵ M. Benayahu, “A new source concerning the Spanish refugees in Portugal and their move to Saloniki after the edict of 1506” [Hebrew], *Sefunot*, 11 (1971–7), 261:

”ואז פחדו מלשרוף הספר הקדוש הזה כי מצות המלך היתה שלא ישרפו שום ספר...”

During this time books, numerous as sand on the sea-shore, were brought [to Lisbon] from all parts of the Kingdom and burnt by order of the King.⁸⁶

Ibn Faradj's account, as that of an eyewitness, cannot be easily dismissed. Nevertheless, there is irrefutable evidence that not all Hebrew books seized by the Crown were publicly incinerated. The Crown, always in search of funds, apparently attempted to derive a profit from the sale of some of these books. A convert from Évora, named Mestre António, made a deposition in 1498 in which he lamented the fact that the Crown was selling Hebrew books, including many originally from Castile, for 2,000 or 3,000 *cruzados* when he estimated their true value at "more than 100,000 *cruzados*."⁸⁷ Abraham Zacuto recalled seeing some of the books confiscated during the expulsion from Portugal on sale in Morocco.⁸⁸ It was the extraordinary fate of some of these books to end up as far away as India. Francisco Pinheiro, a nobleman sailing on the fleet of the first Portuguese viceroy in India, Francisco de Almeida, obtained royal permission in 1505 to sell a chest full of Hebrew books to the Jewish communities residing in Cochim (southern India). These books had been seized from synagogues in 1497 by his father, Martim Pinheiro, in his capacity as magistrate of the court (*corregedor da corte*).⁸⁹ On balance, it should be noted that Ibn Faradj does not state that *all* the books were burnt and for that reason it is arguable that whilst some books might have been burnt in a public ceremony, others were later sold by the Crown.

⁸⁶ A. Marx, "The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts", *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 101 and 105:

וּבְתוֹךְ זֶה הַזְּמַן שֶׁרָפוּ כָּל הַסְּפָרִים שֶׁהוּבְאוּ לְשֵׁם מַכַּל הַמַּלְכוּיּוֹת הַנוֹכְרִים בְּמֵאָמֶ' הַמֶּלֶךְ
אֲשֶׁר הֵם כְּחוֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל שֵׁפֶת הַיָּם.

⁸⁷ "Me foi ditto que Sua Alteza dava toda a liuraria de letra judaica por dois ou três mil cruzados, e porque eu sei quanta liuraria estaua aqui de Castela e a sua valor, sendo causa que determinasse de os vender para tirar cativos e em serviço de Deus, pois há antre judeus muitos liuros que renderiam mais de cem mil cruzados douro." A.N.T.T., *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, *maço* 241, doc. 54.

⁸⁸ A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin* (London, 1857), 220.

⁸⁹ A.N.T.T., *Gaveta* 20, *maço* 4, doc. 15, published in *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, A. da Silva Rego, 10, 359, doc. 5420.

The Seizure of the Children

The confiscation of all their Hebrew books constituted a hard blow for the Portuguese rabbis but the Portuguese King soon implemented a far more terrible policy that affected all Jews: the abduction of their children. Damião de Góis, following the information provided by the anonymous author of the codex of the *Ajuda* library, states that Manuel decided upon this drastic course of action between mid-December 1496 and mid-February 1497:

At this time, for reasons that moved him thus, the King ordered that on a certain day the sons and daughters of the Jews aged fourteen and below should be seized [from their parents] and distributed throughout the towns and villages of the kingdom where they would be brought up and indoctrinated in the faith of Our Saviour Jesus Christ at his own expense. The King and his council agreed to this course of action whilst they were in Estremoz and from there he went to Évora at the start of Lent, where it was declared that the day [of the seizure] would be Easter Sunday [26 March 1497].⁹⁰

The royal archivist further informs his readers that because it was feared that news of this drastic measure would leak out and that the Jews would attempt to hide or smuggle their children out of the realm. It was thus decided to bring the date of the abduction of the children forward to forestall any attempts by the Jews to hide their sons and daughters.

The seizure of the Jewish children thus took place in the month of March 1497. An anonymous annotation in the municipal charter of the town of Torres Novas indicates that on the eve of Palm Sunday, 19 March 1497, “the Jews were taken.” Clearly the author of this annotation must have been referring to the seizure of the Jewish *children* in that town.⁹¹ This date is apparently confirmed by two Jewish authors.

⁹⁰ “...no qual tempo elRei per causas que ho a isso moueram ordenou que em hum dia certo lhes tomassem a estes hos filhos, & filhas de idade de xiiij annos pera baixo & se distribuissem pelas villas, & lugares do regno, onde à sua propria custa mãadaua que hos criassem, & doctri nassem na fé de nosso saluador Iesu Christo, & isto concluiu elRei com seu côselho estâdo em Estremoz, & dalli se veo a Euora no começo da quaresma no anno de M.ccccxcvij, onde declarou que ho dia assinado fosse dia de Pascoela, & porque nos do conselho, nam houue tanto segredo, que se nam soubesse ho que açerqua disto estaua ordenado, & ho dia em que hauiã de ser, foi neçessario mandar elRei que esta execuçam se fizesse loguo per todo ho regno, antes que per modos, & meos que estes Iudeus poderiam ter, mandassem escondidamente hos filhos fora delle...” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 41; B.A., codex 51-V-69, fol. 232.

⁹¹ “Fforam tomados os judeus aa vespóra de Ramos aos xix dias de Março de lRij”, A.N.T.T., *Foral de Torres Novas, Núcleo Antigo*, nº 373, fol. 1.

The royal astrologer Abraham Zacuto, who was with the royal court in Évora at the time, gives this account:

In this year [5257/1497] there took place a forced conversion on a scale never before witnessed. On the eve of the Great Sabbath (*Shabbat ha-Gadol*) it was decreed that the male and female children [of the Jews] in Évora and all the kingdom of Portugal would be seized and there arose an unsurpassed clamour because of this. During Passover, they came and took all the children...⁹²

The same date is corroborated by Elijah Capsali:

On the 14 Nissan the King tightened his grip just like Nebuchadnezzar. (...) Who will ever reach such depths of perversity! On the night when [the Jews] looked for leavened bread [*ḥames*], the gentiles searched for the children even in the corners and recesses [of their houses] by the light of candles and torches. Then, on the first night of Passover, they came over and they robbed the Jews of their treasure. The children were taken away, never to be seen again by their parents.⁹³

In the year 5257, the first day of Passover, which begins on 15 Nisan of each year, coincided with Friday 17/ Saturday 18 March 1497 (Julian Calendar). The “Great Shabbat”, the Shabbat preceding the start of the Passover festival, that year took place on Friday 10/Saturday 11 March.⁹⁴ These Jewish sources thus entirely corroborate the statement of Damião de Góis that the date originally set by Manuel at Estremoz for the seizure of the children (Easter Sunday, 26 March) was brought forward by one week.

⁹² A. Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasin* (London, 1857), 227:

”והיה שמד גדול בשנה ההיא שלא היה מעולם, וערב שבת הגדול נגזר שיוציאו נערים ונערות מהכלל מאיבורא ובכל מלכות פורטגאל. והיתה צעקה גדולה באיבורא אל המלך שלא היתה כמוה, ובפסח באו ולקחו כל הילדים והילדות ונתפשטה הגזירה כי אפילו לזקנים מוציאים מן הכלל על כרחם.”

⁹³ E. Capsali, *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Bena-yahu, 1, 234:

”ובאור לארבעה עשר, הגביר ידו הצר, הדומה לנבוכדנאצר, ויהי המלצר, (...) מי יבא עד תכונותיו, ובליל בדיקת חמץ בחורין ובסדקיו, בדקו הנערים לחוטפם באור ובאבוקין, ובליל ראשון של פסח פסחו הגויים ויחטפו ממונם, בניהם יצאו ואינם.”

In this passage Capsali refers to the ritual practice of throwing out all leavened bread (*ḥames*) from Jewish homes prior to the celebration of Passover.

⁹⁴ The Jewish day starts at sunset (circa 6 PM). Many historians have erroneously dated the seizure of the children as taking place in April. See, for instance, M. Keyserling, *História dos Judeus em Portugal* (São Paulo, 1971), 114 and E. Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé* (Lisbon, 1998), 35.

Inquisition trial dossiers of the 1530s, 1540s and 1550s provide only limited testimony concerning the seizure from some of the victims themselves. The lengthy period of time that separated many of those arrested by the Inquisition from these tragic events—coupled with their usually young age at the time of their abduction—meant that many could no longer remember the places where they were baptised or, more usually, the names of their Godparents.⁹⁵ When Maria Caldeira, the King's seamstress, was asked by the inquisitors in 1537 to reveal the name of her father when he was a Jew, she claimed she could not remember it because she had only been seven when baptized in 1497.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, some remembered the name of the towns and churches in which they became Christians and even of their godparents. One convert remembered that he had been baptised in the Cathedral of Porto, his godparents had been a citizen of Porto and his wife. The same convert remembered that later on he had been confirmed by “the bishop who accompanied the Empress to Castile.”⁹⁷ Branca Dias, another “New Christian” arrested by the Inquisition of Coimbra, stated during her trial that she was taken from her Jewish parents in Porto at the age of only two and subsequently raised by the Christian couple who had acted as her godparents at her baptism.⁹⁸

Only four years previously, João II had set a clear precedent for Manuel by sending the children of many Castilian Jews to the island of São Tomé. Manuel and his advisers, however, appear to have searched for firmer theological arguments to justify such a drastic course of action. They apparently found those in respected ecclesiastical writings of the previous centuries. None other than the famous Scottish theologian Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308) had stated in his work that the forcible removal and baptism of non-Christian children was quite permissible.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ See, for instance, A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* n° 6858 (fols. 78–78v: the accused does not remember where his baptism took place or the names of his godparents) and *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo* n° 7777 (fol. 11v: the accused does not remember the names of his godparents).

⁹⁶ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo* n° 3910.

⁹⁷ “... e asy foy chrismado na mesma see por o bispo que foy com a emperatriz pera Castella...” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo* n° 881. The bishop in question would be Pedro da Costa, who became bishop of Porto in December 1507. In 1526 he escorted Princess Isabel, daughter of Manuel, to Castile where she married the Emperor Charles V. Cândido dos Santos, “Actividade episcopal de D. Pedro da Costa em Portugal e em Espanha (1507–1563)”, *Os reinos ibéricos na idade média* (Porto, 2003), 1, 305–314.

⁹⁸ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Coimbra, processo* n° 9169.

⁹⁹ J. Duns Scotus, *Sent. Dict.* IV.q. IX. Joannis Duns Scotus, “Quaestiones in Librum Quartum Sententiarum”, ed. A. Hiquæi, *Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1894), 6, 487–497.

In the fourteenth-century, the abduction of Jewish or Muslim children was also declared to be legitimate by Martin Pérez, the author of a popular penitential book, copies of which are known to have circulated in Portugal.¹⁰⁰ It appears certain that Manuel sought the opinion of his theologians prior to adopting this course of action. Bishop Amador Arrais, writing over ninety years later, stated in his *Diálogos* that Manuel, the royal council and his theological advisers had considered the opinions of Duns Scotus before deciding upon the seizure of the children.¹⁰¹ Another precedent that the King allegedly considered was that of the Visigothic King Sisebut (611–620), who had forced the Jews to convert or leave the Iberian Peninsula though it seems that his edict had never been fully implemented. Furthermore the fourth Church council held at Toledo in 633 under King Sisenand (631–636), had forbidden the return to Judaism of Jews already converted to Christianity but it did not sanction the removal of *Jewish* children from *Jewish* parents.¹⁰²

In spite of any theoretical justifications that were presented in the Royal Council and doubtless also to the wider Christian population, the King's action deeply shocked contemporary observers, both Christian and Jewish. Fernando Coutinho, the Bishop of Lamego and a member of the royal council, recalled the terrible scenes he witnessed:

I witnessed with my own eyes how Jews were dragged by the hair to the baptismal fonts; how a father, his head covered [by a prayer shawl] as a sign of his intense grief and with a broken heart, went to the baptismal font accompanied by his son, protesting and calling upon God as their witness that they wished to die according to the Law of Moses.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ On this work see M. Martins, "O livro das confissões de Martín Perez (séc. XIV)", *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, 6 (1950), 156–167 and "O Penitencial de Martim Pérez em Medievo-Português", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2 (1957), 57–110. A. García, F. Cantelar and B. Alonso, "El libro de las confesiones de Martín Pérez", *Revista española de derecho canónico*, 49 (1992), 77–129 and A. García y García, "El 'libro de las confesiones' de Martín Pérez en Portugal", *Os reinos ibéricos na idade média* (Porto, 2003), 1, 219–224.

¹⁰¹ Frei Amador Arrias, *Diálogos*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto, 1974), 117.

¹⁰² On these persecutions see Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 1, 19–21 and R. González-Salineró, *Las conversiones forzadas de los judíos en el reino visigodo* (Rome, 2000).

¹⁰³ "... et multos vidi per capillos adductos ad pillam et patrem filium adducentem co-
pergo capite cum capuchis in signum maximum tristitiam et doloris ad capillam baptismatis. Protestando et deum in testamento accipiendo, quod volebant mori in Lege Moysi..." B.A., *Symmicta Lusitana*, 31, fol. 76. Also cited in A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal: Tomo I*, 124. Herculano describes Fernando Coutinho as bishop of Silves in the Algarve. In 1496 Coutinho was in fact bishop of Lamego (and continued to be until 1502 when he became bishop of Silves).

The Bishop of Lamego further added that the measure did not enjoy unanimous support within the royal council. Members of the council warned the King that forced baptisms were not sanctioned by the Church and were therefore invalid. The King is supposed to have furiously answered his councillors that he did not care whether it was right or not but that it was his wish to forcibly convert the Jews and the councillors were accordingly to obey him without demur.¹⁰⁴ Neither Damião de Góis nor Jerónimo Osório could conceal their disapproval. De Góis records that some Christians were moved by sympathy for the plight of the Jews and helped hide Jewish children in their houses in spite of the fact that they risked punishment.¹⁰⁵ The dialogue written by Bishop Amador Arrais, in which his imaginary protagonists Aurelio and Antíoco debate the rightfulness of forced baptisms, reveals that, even ninety years after the forced removal of the children, a debate was still raging concerning the legitimacy of this draconian measure at least in theological and academic circles. Bishop Arrais further informs us that even in his day the policy of forcibly converting non-Christian children adopted by Manuel was defended against its detractors by his professor at the University of Coimbra: a certain Master Ledesma.¹⁰⁶

No surviving baptismal registers from fifteenth century Portugal exist and thus such a valuable source of information is sadly not available for study. An unexpected ray of light into this otherwise total obscurity is fortunately provided by a rare manuscript preserved in the municipal library of Porto. Written in the eighteenth century, it contains a copy of a genealogical list of the descendants of Jews converted in the northern

¹⁰⁴ *“Possunt habere characterem sed non sacramenti (...) Omnes litterati, et ego insipientior omnibus monstravi plurimas auctoritates et jura, quod non poterant cogi as suscipiendam christianitatem quae vult et petit libertatem et non violentiam, et licet ista non fuerit precisa, scilicet cum pugionibus in pectoral, satis dum violentia fuit.”* Bishop Coutinho reports that the King’s reply was: *“Dicendo, quod pro sua devotione hoc faciebat, et non curabat de juribus.”* B.A., *Symmicta Lusitana*, 31, fols. 78–79v.

¹⁰⁵ *“...ha qual lei forçou muitos dos christãos velhos mouerense tanto a piedade, & misericórdia dos bramidos, choros, & plantos que faziam hos paes, & mãis a quem forçadamente tomauan hos filhos, que elles mesmo hos escondiam em suas casas por lhos nam virem arrebatat dentras mãos, & lhos saluauão, cõ saberem que nisso faziam contra ha lei, & prematica de seu Rei, & senhor.”* Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 42; *“Fuit quidem hos nec ex lege, nec ex religione factum.”* Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis* (Lisbon, 1571), 20. Osório follows this curt statment by a series of exclamations denouncing the forced conversion.

¹⁰⁶ Frei Amador Arrais, *Diálogos*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto, 1974), 117.

town of Barcelos in 1497 but is also very informative in regards to the first generation of converts. Its anonymous author, who apparently had access to original documents that are no longer extant, carefully researched the genealogies and appears to be a reliable source. Indeed this manuscript contains a very detailed list of the Jewish children who were seized by the local magistrates, Afonso Machado and Rui Gonçalves, and baptised in that town by order of King Manuel. As such, this manuscript provides a rare and valuable illustration of how the seizure of the Jewish children affected the families of one Jewish community. The author gives the following list of hapless parents and children:

- Rabbi Master Tomás da Victoria lost his daughter Mazaltov (aged one), but she was handed back to her father when he himself converted to Christianity.
- Isaac da Rua and his wife Velida lost their son Jacob (aged eight), who was renamed Jorge Lopes and, at his mother's request, handed over to the merchant Bartolomeu Afonso.
- Santo (Shem Tob?) Fidalgo and his wife Oraboa lost their son Abraham (aged eight) and daughter Reina (aged two and a half). The children were given the names Gonçalo Dias and Gracia Dias and handed back to their father who converted and took the name Diogo Pires.
- Junca de Montesinhos and his wife Micol lost their daughter Gisser (nine years old), who was renamed Clara Afonso as well as their sons Abraham (aged seven) and Moses (aged two) who became António and Manuel respectively and were handed over to Rui Mandes.
- Rabbi Isaac and his wife Oraboa lost their son Hayim (aged six) and their two daughters: Vizaboa and Cerea (aged four and two). The children were given the Christian names Manuel Vaz, Grácia and Catarina. Catarina was handed over to Catarina Alves, wife of Afonso Vaz and the other two children to an unidentified Old Christian couple.
- Solomon Peso and his wife Mazeltov lost their son Juncão (aged three), who was renamed Henrique Gonçalves and handed over to Gonçalo Gonçalves.
- Mousen Montezinhos, a widower, lost his son Jacob (aged four), who was baptised, renamed Manuel and handed over to a certain João Pires.

- Estrela, widow of Jacob Montezinhos, lost her daughter Cinfana, aged four. The girl was handed over to a cobbler named Pedro Martino at her mother's request.
- Junca Bencatel, from Castile, and his wife Benvenida lost their daughter Velida (aged eight), who was given the Christian name Filipa de Sá.¹⁰⁷

This list appears to demonstrate that, in Barcelos at least, the abduction of the children had only a limited effect in pressuring parents into converting as this occurred in only two out of the nine cases listed. The fact that two Jewish mothers were apparently able to choose the Christians to whom their children were handed over is particularly interesting and intriguing.¹⁰⁸ Further instances of Jewish children seized and baptised can be found in early inquisitorial trial dossiers. Some elderly neophytes arrested decades later had actually been amongst the children taken from their parents and baptised in 1497. Águeda Rodrigues, arrested by the Inquisition as late as 1556, recalled that she had been baptised in Alvito after being seized from her parents. Another victim of the inquisitors remembered that he had been taken from his parents at the age of five. The expression that was commonly employed by all defendants was that they had been seized “when they took the children from the Jews.”¹⁰⁹

The abduction of the children served to put more than just emotional pressure upon their parents. Manuel also used an ancient law—dating back to the reign of Afonso II in the thirteenth century and confirmed by Afonso V in the fifteenth century—which had been instituted to protect Jewish converts to Christianity from being disinherited by their parents. This law stipulated that a convert who was an only child must

¹⁰⁷ *Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Manuscrito n° 227*, fols. 68–69, 75, 76v, 78–78v, 79v, 86–86v, 88–88v, 89v and 91v. A second version of this manuscript, slightly less detailed, has been edited and published by L. De Bivar Guerra in *Um caderno de cristãos-novos de Barcelos* (Braga, 1960). In the eighteenth century the Marquis de Pombal, chief minister of King José I (1750–1777), ordered all such works to be burnt but this one survived.

¹⁰⁸ The expressions used leave no room for doubt. *Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, manuscrito n° 227*, fol. 76v: “... a quem sua may Velida o mandou criar” and fol. 89v: “... a quem sua may a mandou entregar.”

¹⁰⁹ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo n° 8398* (fols. 5–5v: “... quando tomarão os meninos aos judeus”). For this expression see also *Inquisição de Évora, processo n° 5299*.

from the moment of baptism immediately receive two-thirds of his or her parents's property. If more than one child from the same family converted then the converts must share the two thirds they inherited between them.¹¹⁰ For the parents whose children were taken away and converted, this policy therefore also meant financial ruin as two thirds of their assets were taken from them and handed over to the children (or presumably to their guardians for safekeeping). That this did happen is confirmed by Isaac ibn Faradj who states that the children were "separated from their parents, whose fortunes were taken away from them and given to these same children."¹¹¹ Capsali also refers to this deliberate stratagem:

[Manuel] ordered that the possessions [of the Jews] should be seized in order to give them to the young captives. Thus these would inherit whilst their parents were still alive.¹¹²

According to certain sources, the first wave of abductions was soon followed by the seizure of older children and even of young adults. Samuel Usque recounts that the King, dissatisfied with the impact of the abduction of the younger children, ordered the seizure of all Jews younger than 25 years:

Observing that greater efforts were necessary to weaken [the faith of the Jews], the King sought the advice of his councillors and they agreed to order that all those [Jews] younger than twenty five years should be separated from the older ones.¹¹³

The anonymous codex of the Ajuda library also states that the older Jewish children were taken soon afterwards but puts their age at a maximum of 20 years.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *Ordenações Afonsinas*, bk. II, title 79; E. Lipiner, *O tempo dos judeus segundo as ordenações do reino* (São Paulo, 1982), 101–3.

¹¹¹ A. Marx, "The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts", *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 101 and 104: "...ולקחו הממוז מאביהם לבנים."

¹¹² E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 234:

"וכראות הבליעל כי נתאכזרו על בניהם ועל ילדיהם, צוה לקחת גם רכושם וכל קנייניהם, לתתם לבניהם אשר חטפו מהם, ובנים יורשים האבות מחייהם, ולא שתו לבם גם לזאת."

¹¹³ "*Vendo ElRey que moores forças eram necessarias pera os abalar, entrou em cōselho e acordarom apartar de entre os velhos os mancebos de atee vinte cinco años*" S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fol. 203.

¹¹⁴ B.A., codex 51-V-69, fol. 232.

Abraham Torrutiel claims that Manuel was urged to confiscate the synagogues and seize the children by a renegade Jew named Levi ben Sem Ra' but this remarkable scrap of information is not supported by any other Christian or Jewish narrative source and therefore open to scepticism.¹¹⁵ Attempts to identify this renegade have so far failed to provide a conclusive result. A Levi ben Sem Tob is mentioned in the contemporary document from Turkey mentioned above.¹¹⁶ This short document records the fact that a rabbi named Levi ben Sem Tob and his brothers converted to Christianity after fleeing from Spain to Portugal in 1492 and were granted important positions at the court which they used to harm the Jews. These were apparently the sons of Rabbi Shemtob ben Shemtob, the author of the *Sefer Ha'emunot*. It is also interesting to note that, according to the historian Baer, inquisitorial documents mention a rabbi with the exact same name residing in the Aragonese town of Zaragoza on 30 April 1492.¹¹⁷ Some modern historians have identified this renegade as a famous Portuguese convert to Christianity who took the name of Master António, the author of a polemical treatise against Judaism that was entitled *Ajuda da Fé*. Master António was the chief surgeon of João II and was not from Castile but rather a native of Tavira in the Algarve. He is known to have converted to Christianity in 1486. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Master António occupied a high office at Court, there is absolutely no evidence to link him with the renegade described by Torrutiel. Christian sources do not mention the active involvement of a convert in either the debate that preceded the expulsion or the seizure of the children.¹¹⁸

The Forced Conversion of the Adults

The seizure of all Jewish children no doubt led to the conversion of many desperate parents and Capsali claims that it triggered an “innumerable

¹¹⁵ Abraham ben Solomon Torrutiel, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. and tr. Y. Moreno Koch in *Dos crónicas hispanohebreas del siglo XV*, *Biblioteca nueva Sefarad*, 19 (Barcelona, 1992), 110–1.

¹¹⁶ M. Benayahu, “A new source concerning the Spanish refugees in Portugal and their move to Saloniki after the edict of 1506” [Hebrew], *Sefunot*, 11 (1971–7), 231–265.

¹¹⁷ Y. Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain* (Philadelphia, 1966), 2, 372.

¹¹⁸ On the conversion and identity of Master António: García de Resende, “Vida e feitos d'el rey Dom João Segundo”, *Livro das obras de Garcia de Resende* (Lisbon, 1994), 290; E. Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé* (Lisbon, 1998), 388–391.

number” of conversions.¹¹⁹ Many Jews, however, still refused to yield to even this terrible form of coercion. Over two months after the abduction of the children, Manuel offered less brutal enticements to those Jews still holding out. On 30 May the King granted generous privileges to “those Jews who have converted and those who will convert.” The aim of these privileges was clearly to entice those who still remained steadfast or presumably the childless. The King promised that no inquiry into the beliefs of the neophytes would be conducted for a period of twenty years. After this period any denunciations made against a convert for heretical beliefs would only be admissible in court if they concerned acts committed within the previous twenty days. Despite the prohibition on Hebrew books, New Christian physicians unable to read Latin would be allowed to keep any medical books in Hebrew. Finally, the King decreed that all crimes committed by Jews before their conversion would be pardoned.¹²⁰

After Manuel restricted the embarkation point to the port of Lisbon alone, thousands of Jews arrived in the city. At first they appear to have camped outside of the town walls but they were soon packed into the confined area of the *Estaus* palace. The anonymous author of the Genizah fragments, himself an eyewitness of these events, explicitly identifies the palace as “*os estaus*”, transliterating the Portuguese name into Hebrew (“...בלוש אישטאוש...”).¹²¹ This palace, which was situated north of the main square, later became the home of the Inquisition in Lisbon and is presently occupied by the nineteenth-century Maria II theatre. The *Estaus* palace had been built by the *Infante* Pedro in the 1440s and it was there that visiting ambassadors and foreign dignitaries were accommodated during their stays in Lisbon. This was certainly not the docks, as is sometimes found in secondary works.¹²² The building and its

¹¹⁹ E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelewitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 234:

”ויהי בלוקחם הגוים בני היהודים נשתמדו רבים לאין מספר כי לא יכלו לעמוד בזאת הגזירה כי כידוע שרחמי האב מרובין על הבן וכ.”

¹²⁰ A.N.T.T., *Gaveta* 15, *maço* 5, doc. 16; *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 4, 172–3, doc. 3127.

¹²¹ On the camp outside of Lisbon see A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 9, n. 41; I. Tishby, “Genizah fragments of a messianic-mystical text on the expulsion from Spain and Portugal” [Hebrew], *Zion*, 49 (1984), 28–9.

¹²² See, for instance, H. P. Salomon, *Portrait of a New Christian: Fernão Álvares Melo* (Paris, 1982), 15. Occasionally, the alternative spelling “*estaõs*” is used by modern scholars.

inner courtyard would nevertheless have been far too small to receive so many Jews. A map of Lisbon, produced in the late sixteenth century, clearly shows that the palace was augmented by an enclosed park or yard located to the north of it and extending to the main defensive wall of Lisbon (see Plate 4). This park may very well have been used as an exercising ground for the horses of visiting dignitaries, or even of the royal stables, as the name of palace seems to imply (it is certainly striking that in Portuguese *estaus* can also mean “stables”). It is most likely that it was in this sizeable area, upon which horses normally grazed and were exercised, that the hapless Jews were forced to gather. It is perhaps no coincidence that Samuel Usque chose a pastoral metaphor to refer to the Jews as packed into “a corral, like sheep.”¹²³

Damião de Góis reckoned the number of Jews in the *Estaus* at 20,000 but Abraham Saba states that 10,000 Jews were assembled in a courtyard and that “they were all pressured and enticed to change their faith, so that after four days, not 40 men and women remained.”¹²⁴ It is again impossible to verify these figures in the absence of any documentary evidence. Elijah Capsali states that the greater part of the Jewish population in the kingdom gathered in Lisbon:

All the [Jewish] communities of Portugal, both the closest and farthest from Lisbon, gathered together until the country [around the town] was full of them. The Jews begged the King saying unto him: “Grant us, O our King, your mercy and kindness and allow us to leave the country.”¹²⁵

Capsali does not attempt to estimate their numbers to support his claims but it is clear that the number of Jews assembled in Lisbon did not represent all of the Jewish population and maybe not even the majority.

We have, in the evidence given by the convert Jorge Manuel at his trial by the short lived inquisitorial tribunal of Tomar, a detailed eyewitness

¹²³ “... *mãdou [el-Rey] que os metesem em hūas grandes casas per nome os estaos, onde depois que os vio no curral como ovelhas ao degoleo aparelhadas...*” S. Usque, *Conso-laçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fol. 203.

¹²⁴ “... & mandou que todos se viessem embarcar a Lisboa, dandolhes hos estaos pera se nelles agasalharem, onde se ajuntaram mais de vinte mil almas...” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 42; A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 10 and 31, n. 50.

¹²⁵ E. Capsali *Seder Elyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 235:

“ויתקבצו כל קהלות פורטו גאל הקרובות והרחוקות ללישבו נא ותמלא הארץ אותם. ויתחננו לפני המלך: מלכנו חננו וחמול עלינו, שלחנו מעל הארץ.”



Plate 4. The *Estaus* palace in Lisbon.

Clearly visible is the enclosed park or yard situated behind the main building.
*(Urbium præcipuarum mundi theatrum quintum. Georgium Braunio
 Agrippinate. AD 1593)*

account of the forced conversion by Jorge Manuel, a convert of Castilian origin who had settled in Tomar in 1492 and lost his son of seven or eight months in 1497. The circumstances of his own conversion are recorded in the dossier of his trial:

A few days after they took his son, he went to Lisbon to take care of the property he had inherited from his father. Whilst he was in that town His Highness ordered that the Jews should become Christians and he was sent to the *Estaus* from where he went with others to the church of Santa Justa to be baptized.¹²⁶

The account presented by Jorge Manuel was probably typical of the forced conversions experienced by many Jews penned up in the *Estaus* palace. The church of Santa Justa was in effect situated very close to both

¹²⁶ “E dahi a poucos dias depois de lhe tomarem o dito seu filho, elle se foy a Lixboa a arrecadar a fazenda que lhe ficara de seu pai. E estando na dita çidade mandara o dito senhor [elRei] que os judeus se tornassem cristãos e asi forão metidos nos estaos donde elle Jorge Manuell sahira com outros e se fora a bautizar a Samta Justa omde foy bautizado.” A.N.T.T., *Ordem de Cristo, Convento de Tomar*, fols. 34–34v. The tribunal of Tomar was established in 1541 but ceased to function after 1547.

the *Estaus* and the *Judiaria Grande* and hence conveniently located for those officials tasked with enforcing the forced baptisms.

The poor sanitary conditions in the park of the *Estaus* palace, an open area without shelter, must have been very difficult for those assembled there. It is likely that Manuel and his advisers deliberately anticipated that the appalling conditions in the park would weaken their resolve and even took measures to further add to their misery. Samuel Usque and Joseph ha-Cohen both claim in their accounts that the King ordered that they should receive neither food nor drink for three days.¹²⁷ Another eyewitness account written by Isaac ibn Faradj confirms that of Jorge Manuel in almost all of its details. Ibn Faradj recalls that after the seizure of the children, those parents still holding out were converted by force as well:

When the time passed, and the Jews did not want to change their faith of their own free will, they were taken by force in all the King's provinces, and were beaten with sticks and straps, and carried to the churches. There they sprinkled water on them, and gave them Christian names, men and women alike.¹²⁸

A small point of interest in Ibn Faradj's account is his reference to the fact that the forced conversion took place "in all the King's provinces." Jewish and Christian narrative accounts of the forced conversion concentrate solely upon the fate of the thousands of Jews assembled in Lisbon and sometimes, as is the case with Elijah Capsali, even indicate that the vast majority, if not all, of the Jews in Portugal had gathered in Lisbon in the spring of 1497. In fact it appears that substantial numbers of Jews never went to Lisbon and were converted outside of that town. As we have seen, a sizeable part (possibly most?) of the Jewish community of the northern town of Barcelos was apparently still in the town in March 1497 when their children were taken and converted there. Other New

¹²⁷ "ElRey lhes mādou tirar o comer e beber por tres dias continuos, pera cō a angustia os tentar, o que elles tambem muy animosamete soportarom." S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fols. 203v–204; J. Ha-Cohen, *'Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. K. Almladh (Uppsala, 1981), סד:

"ויצו המלך לבלתי תת להם לחם ומים · ויצומו שלשת ימים · ולא אבו שמוע אליהם."

¹²⁸ A. Marx, "The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts", *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 101 and 104:

"ואחר שכלה הזמן ולא דצו היהודים להמר הדת ברצונם לוקחו בעל כרחם בכל מדינות המלך והכו אותם במקלות ורצועות והוליכום לטעיות ונתנו עליהם מים וקראו אותם פלו' פלו' שמות הגוים לאנשים ולנשים."

Christians arrested by the various tribunals of the Portuguese Holy Office in the 1540s and 1550s identified a variety of towns in which forced baptisms took place in 1497; including Bragança, Miranda do Douro, Porto, Aveiro, Vinhais, Alvito, Évora, Ponte de Lima, Trancoso, Lousã, Torres Novas, Santarém.¹²⁹ Justa Rodrigues, relaxed to the secular arm by the Inquisition in 1543, stated that she had converted in the Church of Santa Maria in Setúbal.¹³⁰ Isabel Rodrigues and Diogo Pires told the inquisitors of Tomar in 1543 that they were baptised in the church of São João in Tomar and the monastery of Santa Marinha da Costa in Guimarães respectively.¹³¹ Without doubt the most surprising case, however, is that of the elderly Catarina Rodrigues, who was arrested by the Inquisition of Lisbon in 1562 and burnt at the stake the following year. Catarina Rodrigues, who claimed to be aged "around 100", stated that she had been baptised in the village of Golegã (near Torres Novas) at the age of "around 20 and something" at the time of the "general conversion."¹³² Although the Jews assembled in Lisbon were forced to convert at the same time, there is evidence that this measure was not implemented at the same time throughout the realm. One Jew from Guadalajara in Castile who had arrived in 1492 and had settled in Elvas later claimed before the inquisitors that he had converted there as late as August 1497.¹³³

Exactly when in 1497 the adult Jews assembled in the *Estaus* were forcibly converted is difficult to determine. Damião de Góis states that the forced conversion of adult Jews happened when "the time that the King had set for their departure expired." Ibn Faradj, himself both an

¹²⁹ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processos* nos. 881 (Porto), 1330 (Ponte de Lima), 2711 (Aveiro), 7777 (Torres Novas), 12551 (Santarém); *Inquisição de Évora, processos* n.ºs 1481 (Alvito), 3738 (Pinhel), 4695 (Évora), 5004 (Alvito), 5305 (Trancoso), 6117 (Lousã), 7512 (Porto), 7794 (Miranda do Douro), 8232 (Miranda do Douro), 8398 (Alvito), 8530 (Évora).

¹³⁰ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* n.º 3946.

¹³¹ A.N.T.T., *Ordem de Cristo. Convento de Tomar*, bk. 26, fols. 160–160v and 188.

¹³² "... e por ella foy ditõ que he christãa bautizada, e que serya de jdade de cem Annos pouco mais ou menos e que serya de jdade de vinte e tantos Annos quamdo a bautizarão na golegam na conuersam geral e hum afomso pirez laurador e sua molher ahy moradores na golegam foram seus padrinhos..." S. A. Gomes, "Cristãos-novos Leirienses: alguns tópicos em torno do caso de Catarina Rodrigues do Penedo (1562–1563)", *Leiria-Fátima Ano V*, 14 (1997), 141 (this article includes a complete transcription of the trial (A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo* n.º 1284).

¹³³ F. Cantera Burgos and C. Carrete Parrondo, "Las juderías medievales en la provincia de Guadalajara", *Sefarad*, 34 (1974), 350–1, n.º 166.

eyewitness and victim, similarly states that the conversion occurred “when the time had passed” (“ואחר שכלה הזמן”).¹³⁴ These statements appear to indicate that the conversions occurred after the expiration of the delay stipulated in the expulsion edict, which was the end of October 1497. According to Damião de Góis, the Jews made an agreement (*partido*) with the King, converting in exchange for a guarantee that their children would be handed back to them and that he promised that no enquiries into their beliefs would take place for the next twenty years.¹³⁵ Here, the Portuguese chronicler offers contradictory information as he is clearly referring to the privileges Manuel granted to the Jews on 30 May 1497, and thus implies that the conversion of the vast majority of the Jews assembled in the *Estaus* took place around that date. The significance of these privileges is also emphasised by Elijah Capsali. In his chronicle, Capsali states that many Jews converted following Manuel’s proclamation which stated that whoever converted to Christianity would have their children returned to them, would be exempted from royal taxes or services and be allowed to reside freely in Portugal with their families.¹³⁶

Another question that remains unanswered is how, or indeed whether, the expulsion edict and subsequent forced conversion affected any Jews who might have lived in the Portuguese strongholds situated along the coast of Morocco. Although there is incontrovertible evidence that Jewish communities lived in the strongholds of Ceuta, Alcácer-Seguir, Tanger and Arzilla in the sixteenth century, no documentary evidence has yet surfaced of an organised Jewish presence in those towns in 1497.

¹³⁴ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 42; A. Marx, “The expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Two new accounts”, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, 101 and 104.

¹³⁵ “... & com estas delôguas se lhes passou ho tempo que lhe elRei limitou pera sua saída, pelo que ficauam todos captiuos, hos quaes vendosse em estado tam misero, comeram muitos delles por partido a elrei que lhes tornassem seus filhos, & lhes promettessem que em vintannos se nam tirasse sobrelles deuássa, & que se fariam Christãos, ho que lhes elRei concedeo...” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 42.

¹³⁶ E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 235:

”אז צוה המלך ויעבירו קול במחנה וזה פתשגן הכתב מטעם המלך ורווניו: כל איש ואשה מן היהודים אשר יחפוץ להשתמד שתכף ישיבו לו את בנו ויהיה לו חרות וחופש מכל מכסי המלך ואת ביתו יעשה חפשי בפורטוגאל, והאיש אשר לא יחפוץ להשתמד ישימוהו אל בית הבור ויתנו לו לחם צר ומים לחץ, עד יום מותו דבר יום בימו.”

On balance, it appears that any Jewish residents in these strongholds before the sixteenth century must have been there only temporarily. Some Jews were sent to these fortress-towns to serve fixed periods of penal exile whilst a few others were there to presumably service the medical needs of the Portuguese garrisons. On 11 November 1495, for instance, Manuel granted a measure of wheat to two Jews, Franco and Rabbi Faram (respectively a doctor and a surgeon), both of whom were residing in Tangier.¹³⁷ Only later on, in the sixteenth century, did small Jewish communities re-establish themselves with the backing of the Portuguese Crown. Nevertheless, a perplexing document preserved in the *Torre do Tombo*, and recently brought to light, first by Tavares and then by Tavim, indicates that some unfortunate Jews were imprisoned in Arzilla and tortured whilst the Portuguese governor awaited royal confirmation of an order to allow them to proceed to Fez. The document, lacking a date or title, forms part of an account of the events that occurred in Arzilla between 1 and 26 March 1499:

Likewise, Your Majesty, the Count [of Borba] has imprisoned the Jews which you ordered to be taken this year to Fez and continues to hold them prisoner. He ordered that they be tortured until they were ransomed and he then released them in exchange for 30,000 *reais*.¹³⁸

The identity of the Jews mentioned in this document is highly problematic. Tavares has argued that the Jews referred to were those of a community already living in the coastal stronghold of Arzilla.¹³⁹ In itself, however, this document is not proof of the presence of a resident Jewish community. Another possibility is that it might refer to the mistreatment of Castilian Jews in 1492–3 or of some Portuguese Jews in 1497–8. The latter option appears to be the most likely as it cannot be completely discounted that some of the rabbis who were permitted to leave Portugal in 1498 might have been detained and tortured a second time by the ruthless Count of Borba. This document certainly matches Abraham

¹³⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 32, fol. 105v.

¹³⁸ "Item Senhor os judeus que vossa alteza mandou que sse fossem este ano pera fez ho conde os tomou E tem pressos atee agora elles ouueram carta de vossa alteza pera que todavva os leixasse hir pera fez E elle os mandou atormentar que se Regatassem E os Resgatou por trimta mjll rreaes." A.N.T.T., *Corpo Cronológico, Parte III, maço 1*, doc. 18, fols. 7–7v; J. Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, *Os Judeus na expansão portuguesa em Marrocos durante o século XVI. Origens e actividades duma comunidade* (Braga, 1997), 85–7.

¹³⁹ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, *Judaísmo e Inquisição: Estudos* (Lisbon, 1987), 39.

Saba's claim that the governor of Arzilla imprisoned and tortured the small band of Jews allowed to leave Portugal in early 1498.¹⁴⁰

Mass Suicide and Torture: The Martyrs of Lisbon

As the thousands of Jews gathered in the *Estaus* palace were baptised, only a small number of Jews remained obdurate in the face of all coercion. Elijah Capsali provides a poignant account of the forced conversion that followed and of the spirit of resistance it inspired amongst the Jews:

The gentiles took them to their churches and there, by force, they converted them. Deprived of any help or resources, seeing their hopeless position, the Jews conferred together and decided to die for the sanctification of the name of God. While they were led to the churches to be immersed in the baptismal fonts they broke the statues, shattering them into many pieces. They were then condemned to be burnt. With a pure soul, many died sanctifying God and professing the perfection of the Holy Message.¹⁴¹

Capsali adds that the King, when he heard of their behaviour, was dismayed by the fact that the Jews were deliberately seeking martyrdom. He consequently ordered them not to be executed and it was then that some Jews committed suicide out of sheer desperation. Ha-Cohen described the suicides of numerous Jews in Lisbon:

Many refused [to convert] and preferred to be killed. One man wrapped his sons in his prayer-shawl and exhorted them to sanctify the name of

¹⁴⁰ D. Raphael (ed.), *The Expulsion 1492 Chronicles* (North Hollywood, 1992), 127. Rabbi Saba has the following to say concerning the treatment of the Jews by the Count of Borba: "... the king allowed us to be brought to Arzilla. But the King did not want to send the Jews who had remained with the righteous man [Mimi] in prison. They thus remained in prison as slaves. God, though, had them find favour in the eyes of the chief jailer, and they were treated with respect. Afterwards, the king sent them to Arzilla to be subject to hard labour under the governor of that district. He saw, though, that his decree had not been obeyed, for the governor tortured them to force them to profane the Sabbath." Translation from Hebrew to English by D. Raphael.

¹⁴¹ E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 235–6:

"... והיו מכניסין אותם תוך בתי תפלתם ושם היו משמדיו אותם מבלי רצונם. וכראות בני ישראל כי אזלת יד ואפס עצור ועוזב נתיעצו למות על קדושת שם אלהינו, וכשהיו מוליכין אותם בבתי תפלתם לשמידים במי טבילתם, אז היו משברים ונותצים מצבותם ודגום בשרפה, וימותו רבי' בקדושת ה' ונפש צרופה, על אמרת אלוה צרופה."

the Holy One of Israel, whereupon one died after the other, and he himself after them. Another man killed his dear wife, and then plunged the sword into his own body so that he died. Those who wished to bury the dead were murdered by the Christians with pikes. Many plunged themselves into graves just to remain faithful, and many jumped through fences and out of windows, and their corpses were thrown into the sea by the Christians in the presence of all the other Israelites. This was done to intimidate their hearts so that they would no longer persist in their obstinacy.¹⁴²

Samuel Usque, after a description of mass suicide similar to that narrated by Ha-Cohen, states that the Christian authorities attempted to deter such suicides:

The executioners of my people took the bodies of the Israelites who had died in that manner in order to burn them in front of their brothers, to instil in them a greater fear and terror of the cruelty [of the Christians].¹⁴³

It would therefore seem that royal officials were aware of the horror in which the Jews held cremation, forbidden as it was by Jewish law (*hal-akhah*) which condemned it as a desecration of the corpse and denial of the belief in the resurrection that would take place on the Day of Judgement. They thus resorted to using the threat of posthumous cremation in an effort to discourage further suicides.

Although all the Jewish chroniclers describe appalling scenes of mass suicide, they provide neither the names nor the numbers of martyrs. Only one chronicler provides the name of a prominent rabbi who took his own life. Abraham Zacuto named one rabbi, who committed suicide with his sons, as Isaac ben Zahin. Nothing else is known about this rabbi but it has been suggested that he may be the Isaac Zaquim of Santarém

¹⁴² Joseph Ha-Cohen, *Emeq ha-Bakha*, ed. K. Almbladh (Uppsala, 1981): סד-סה: "וימאנו רבים בעת ההיא . ותבחר מחנק נפשם . ויכס איש אחד מהם את בנו בטליתות . וידבר על לבם למען יקדישו את קדש ישדאל . וימותו אחד לאחד וימותו אחריהם: ויש אשד המית את אשת חיקו . ויפול גם הוא על חרבו וימות: ואת אשר בקשו לקוברם הכו הערלים ברמחים וימותו . בעת הנמהרה ההיא: ורבים נפלו לבלתי המיר את כבודם . הבורה . לעיני בני ישדאל הנשארים לתת מורד בלבבם . פן יקשו את לבם עוד."

English translation by H. S. May, *Emeq ha-Bakha* (The Hague, 1971), 71.

¹⁴³ "Muitos ouue que se lançarom en poços, e outros das janelas abaixo se faziaõ pedacos. e todos estes corpos ysraelitas assy mortos os leuauam os algozes de meus mēbros a queimar ante os olhos de seus yrmaõs, pera mayor medo e temor de sua crueldade os comprender." S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fol. 204.

who received privileges exempting him from the obligation to provide food and shelter in his house to nobles and royal officials in 1444 and 1449. The similarity between the names is certainly striking but the half century that separates the beneficiary of the royal privileges and the martyr of 1497 makes it unlikely that they are one and the same person.¹⁴⁴ The exact number of these martyrs, who killed themselves and their children or died under torture and in prison, will never be known but was, in all probability, greater than just a few rabbis. In one of his poems, Yehuda Abravanel claims that many died rather than renounce their faith.¹⁴⁵

Elijah Capsali, Abraham Saba and Abraham of Torrutiel all relate that Rabbi Simon Mimi of Segovia was tortured and died as a result of this ill-treatment.¹⁴⁶ Most Jewish sources state that Rabbi Simon Mimi was the leader of the Jews in Portugal. If this was the case, his authority was not officially recognised as there is strictly no evidence in Portuguese archives that he occupied an official position similar to that of *Rabbi-mor*, which in any event had been abolished in 1463.¹⁴⁷ A later Jewish source from the second half of the seventeenth century states that six other “sages” were put to death but does not provide their names.¹⁴⁸ Rabbi Abraham Saba claims that Rabbi Mimi had been the leader of the *imprisoned* Jews and recalled that forty Jews, including himself, were imprisoned, “and after six months, the King ordered that we be given one damaged ship and taken to Arzilla.”¹⁴⁹ Abraham Torrutiel cites a certain Rabbi Shem Tob Lerma as another rabbi who suffered for his faith. When the King forbade Jews from making sermons and holding prayer meeting in their synagogues, this rabbi had

¹⁴⁴ A. Gross, “The Ashkenazic syndrome of Jewish martyrdom in Portugal in 1497”, *Tarbiz* 64 (1995), 95–98 and 105; E. Lipiner, *Os baptizados em pé* (Lisbon, 1998), 35–6, n. 55.

¹⁴⁵ N. Slousch, “Poésies hébraïques de Don Jehuda Abravanel (Messer Leone Ebreo)”, *Revista de estudos hebraicos*, 1 (1928), 207.

¹⁴⁶ E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Benayahu, 1, 236–7; A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 31, n. 49; Abraham ben Solomon Torrutiel, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. and tr. Y. Moreno Koch in *Dos crónicas hispanohebreas del siglo XV, Biblioteca nueva Sefarad*, 19 (Barcelona, 1992), 111.

¹⁴⁷ E. Lipiner goes so far as describe Mimi as “*Arrabi-mor dos judeus de Portugal*” in *Os baptizados em pé* (Lisbon, 1998), 109–110.

¹⁴⁸ This source is Rabbi Joseph ben Isaac Sambari (1640–1703). Joseph b. Isaac Sambari, *Sefer Divrei Yosef*, ed. Shimon Shtober (Jerusalem, 1994), 262.

¹⁴⁹ A. Gross, *Iberian Jewry from Twilight to Dawn, The World of Rabbi Abraham Saba* (Leiden, 1995), 10.

it proclaimed amongst his co-religionists that anyone who wished to pray the afternoon prayer—the *Minḥah*—could do so in his house. For this open defiance of a royal edict, the rabbi was arrested and beaten. Torrutiel informs us that, although a false rumour reported the rabbi to be dead, he was one of those eventually allowed to proceed to Muslim North Africa.¹⁵⁰

All the Christian sources agree with the Jewish ones in describing the number of rabbis who were allowed to depart as very small. The author of the *Ajuda* codex states that there were "only seven or eight of contumacious infidels (*"cafres"*) that the King ordered to be taken overseas."¹⁵¹ It may be to this handful of individuals that Damião de Góis is referring when he states that the King finally relented, "giving ships and freeing those who did not want to convert and they all crossed over to the Muslim lands."¹⁵² One of those rabbis who survived abuse, torture and imprisonment in Lisbon to eventually make his way to Egypt via North Africa, is the anonymous author of the *Genizah* fragments. This anonymous source claims that the date of their release was in February or March 1498 and that he was imprisoned until he had impressed the King by prophesising the death of Prince Juan of Castile. The author informs us that the last group of inflexible Jews who were finally allowed to take ship for North Africa numbered 27; including Rabbi Samuel Valensi, Rabbi Jacob Alpouel and his master Rabbi Lerma who eventually made their way to Egypt. To this small number of obdurate rabbis were then added a number of Jews who had been hiding but were ultimately discovered.¹⁵³

Years after the forced conversion, a *converso* of Castilian origin who had been in Portugal at the time, told the inquisitors of Toledo in Castile that "those who did not wish to convert were permitted to leave." In spite of this, there is little reason to attach much credence to this statement.

¹⁵⁰ Abraham ben Solomon Torrutiel, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. and tr. Y. Moreno Koch in *Dos crónicas hispanohebreas del siglo XV*, *Biblioteca nueva Sefarad*, 19 (Barcelona, 1992), 110–1.

¹⁵¹ B.A., codex 51-V–69, fol. 232. Interestingly, the Portuguese author of the codex uses a Portuguese corruption of the Arabic word for infidel or unbeliever (*kāfir* كافر) to refer to the rabbis.

¹⁵² "... e ahos que nã quiseram ser Christãos mandou logo dar embarcaçam, quitando-lhes ho captiueiro em que encoreram, e se passaram todos a terra de mouros." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 42.

¹⁵³ I. Tishby, "Genizah fragments of a messianic-mystical text on the expulsion from Spain and Portugal" [Hebrew], *Zion*, 49 (1984), 28–9 and 34–5.

This man might well have made up this statement in order to convince the inquisitors of the sincerity of his own conversion.¹⁵⁴ Other converts arrested by the Portuguese Inquisition in the 1540s and 1550s made similar statements. Filipa Henriques, for instance, told the inquisitors of Lisbon in 1541 that she “was made a Christian of her own free will when they turned all the Jews [of Portugal] into Christians.” The explicit contradiction in her statement is striking.¹⁵⁵ The fact that the forced conversion affected the overwhelming majority of the Jews in Portugal can be gathered from the expression frequently used to describe it in inquisitorial trials: the “general conversion” (*conversão geral*). To cite but one instance, a convert arrested by the Inquisition in 1542, stated that he and his wife had become Christians in 1497 “at the time when King Manuel, may his holy memory be exalted, ordered the baptism of all the Jews, and which was the general conversion.”¹⁵⁶

Besides the fortunate few who were able to leave Portugal as Jews after the persecution, it is possible that a small number of Jews were able to leave Portugal soon *after* the promulgation of the expulsion edict. Capsali states in his chronicle that a small number of Jews were able to escape from Portugal “at the start of the persecutions” (“בתחלת הגזרה”). According to the Cretan rabbi, these were rich individuals whose wealth—and presumably also their connections at the court—enabled them to bribe royal officials to grant them royal licences to travel abroad.¹⁵⁷ Evidence of such bribery is not found in any source other than Capsali’s account. Moreover, no document emitted by the royal Portuguese chancery refers to travel licences granted to Jews or

¹⁵⁴ F. Cantera Burgos and C. Carrete Parrondo, “Las juderías medievales en la provincia de Guadalajara”, *Sefarad*, 34 (1974), 348.

¹⁵⁵ “. . . *fora feita cristãa per sua vontade quando tornaron os judeus cristãos.*” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo n° 12511*, fol. 4v. Another example is that of Fernão de Alvares, who came to Portugal in 1492 and claimed to have converted in Évora in 1497 “*per sua vontade quando tornaron os judeus xpaos.*” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo n° 6116*, fol. 65v.

¹⁵⁶ “. . . *no tempo que el-Rei Dom Manuel, que santa memoria glória haja, mandou baptizar os judeus, e foi a conversão geral.* . . .” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo n° 1558*. The expression is also used in *Inquisição de Évora, processo n° 7512* (“. . . *no tempo da conversão jerall dos judeus nestes reynos.*”); *Inquisição de Évora, processo n° 5303*; *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo n° 1284* (“. . . *quando a bautizarão na golegam na conversão jeral*”).

¹⁵⁷ E. Capsali *Seder Eliyahou Zouta*, ed. A. Shmuelevitz, S. Simonsohn and M. Bena-yahu, 1, 236:

“... כי אם מתי מספר אשר נסו לנפשם בתחלת הגזרה, כי היו עשויים ושחדו בעדם והשוחד עור עיני חכמי יועצי פרעה נבערה אמרו אל פרעה וגנבו את לבבו ונתן להם רשות ונסעו לדרכם.”

to the punishment of any corrupt officials who aided Jews to illegally leave the realm. The fact that Manuel was forced to send writs to Porto, Buacar and presumably most other Portuguese ports in late December 1496 and early January 1497 ordering them to prevent the departure of Jews without any royal licence suggests that a few Jews, acting quickly enough, may have been able to leave in December 1496.

Final Act: Princess Isabel and the Expulsion of the "Heretics"

The decree issued by Manuel in early December had ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal but did not directly mention the problem of those Castilian *conversos* who had sought refuge in Portugal. Despite the silence of the Portuguese narrative and documentary sources, an undated Castilian document makes it clear that large numbers still remained in Portugal. This fascinating document takes the form of a proposal, or *memorial*, sent by "the chaplain Pineda" to Isabel and Fernando:

Because of the Inquisition, some persons have left these realms [Castile and Aragon] and settled in Portugal. These persons have received support for their cause in Rome and claim to have received absolution from the Holy Father. They desire to return to these realms and claim that they would if Your Highnesses [Isabel and Fernando] were to be disposed to allow them to return in spite of the sentences [against them], so that the reverent inquisitors would receive them and give them reasonable penances. If Your Highnesses were to grant them a safe-conduct to come and live in these realms, then in return they would give Your Highnesses 7,000 ducats. Moreover, those who return shall be the 150 [*converso*] households that have remained in Portugal because those who did not have a papal absolution were expelled from [Portugal] by order of the King of Portugal, who is now deceased.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ "Por razon de la inquisiçion salieron algunas personas destos reynos al reyno de Portugal, los quales seguyeron en Roma sus cabsas e dizen que ovieron absoluçion del Sancto Padre. Desean benir a estos reynos a su naturaleza, y dizen que, sy Sus Altezas son dello servydos, movydos a misericordia, e aunque tengan las dichas sentençias, los quieran admitir, para que los padres de la inquisiçion los reciban e les den penitençias saludables; e con esto, dandoles Sus Altezas seguro para que libremente puedan venir e entrar e tratar e estar de bybyenda en estos sus reynos, que ellos serbyran a Sus Altezas con syete mill ducados e çiento e çinquenta casas, que han quedado en Portugal porque tenian esta dicha absoluçion del Santo Padre, que los que non la tenian todos fueron echados del dicho reyno por mandado del rey de Portugal, que agora murio." A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 333–4, doc. 378.

The historians António de la Torre and Luis Suárez Fernández have edited this document and given its date as April 1487. In fact this date seems to be quite incorrect. To start with, the reference to the King of Portugal “who is now deceased” puts the date firmly as either 1496 or 1497. Indeed, the reference must be to João II and it cannot possibly refer to Afonso V. The latter monarch died on 28 August 1481, when the Castilian Inquisition had begun to operate for only a few months and before the flight of *conversos* to Portugal had become an issue. Even more conclusive is the closing reference to the fact that all *conversos* without a papal absolution had been expelled “by order of the King of Portugal”: a clear reference to the edicts of João II.

What this document confirms, beyond any doubt, is that there remained a sizeable group of Castilian *conversos* still resident in Portugal, indeed at least 150 households. Ostensibly, the measures taken by João II had successfully managed to expel most Castilian *conversos* but the King had allowed this substantial minority to remain because of the papal absolution they had received. Moreover, the effectiveness of the measures taken by João II to prevent the arrival of further fugitive *conversos* is open to question. On 13 November 1493 the *conversa* Juana Diaz, who had fled from Seville to the town of Faro in the Algarve, gave a certain Pedro Gutiérrez the authority to bring her daughter Isabel to Portugal despite the royal edict passed in July that expressly forbade the entry of more *conversos* into Portugal.¹⁵⁹

Almost nothing is known of these exiled Castilian *conversos* during the first years of Manuel’s reign. Damião de Góis and other narrative sources do not mention *conversos* at all. A rare indirect mention of Castilian *conversos* in Portugal appears in a pardon granted to a certain Simão Álvares of Monforte in May 1496 for having escaped from the prison where he was being incarcerated for the very serious crime of forging the signature of João II on a fake document which allowed him to confiscate goods imported from Castile. Simão Álvares received his pardon in recognition of his assistance in the arrest, in Évora, of Jacob Joes, Jamila his wife and their daughter Cimfa by Fernão Lopes de Carvalho and Rui Dias—respectively *juiz* and *alcaide pequeno* in that town—in February 1496. According to the pardon, these *conversos* had become

¹⁵⁹ J. Gil, *Los conversos y la Inquisición Sevillana* (Seville, 2000), 1, 105. Pedro Gutiérrez had been looking after Isabel during her mother’s absence.

Christians in Castile "but became Jews once more in these realms."¹⁶⁰ In view of this document, it appears reasonable to argue that, although the presence of those *conversos* holding a papal absolution continued to be tolerated by the Portuguese Crown, the illegal arrival of others was not. Nevertheless even this situation was not destined to last. The minutes of the municipal council of Loulé in the Algarve record that Manuel took action against the *conversos* as early as November 1496. According to these minutes, an edict was issued on 14 November by which the King ordered all the Castilian *conversos* residing in Portugal to leave before the end of August of the next year. Those found to be still in the realm after August would lose all their property and be punished as the King saw fit. This document is of paramount importance as, to date, no other version of this expulsion edict has been found and the narrative sources do not mention it.¹⁶¹

Such was the mutual mistrust between the Castilian and Portuguese courts that the expulsion edict of 14 November 1496 did not mark the end of the *converso* controversy. The issue of the *conversos* was one of capital importance for Isabel and Fernando. Portugal remained outside the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition and hence continued to be a safe haven for *converso* fugitives even though, as we have seen above, the scarce documentary evidence indicates that the Portuguese authorities did arrest *conversos* who illegally moved to the kingdom. Zurita states that Isabel and Fernando apparently did not believe that Manuel actually intended to implement the expulsion of the *conversos* and suspected some dissemblance on his part:

It was feared and believed that the King of Portugal did not wish to expel those people from his realm because, instead of expelling them, he kept extending the period of time they were allowed to remain [in Portugal], so that they might remain in Portugal and was attempting to secure bulls from the Holy See in his favour.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ "...que em Castela sendo judeus se tornaram cristãos e neste reino se tornaram judeus outra vez." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de Manuel I*, bk. 43, fol. 77.

¹⁶¹ "...fazemos saber que considerando nos como nestes regnos a estada dos conversos que sentenciados sam pellos comisarios do Santo Padre nom he seruiço de Nosso Senhor e isso mesmo nom he bem de nossos regnos e asy per outros justas caussas que nos mouem mandamos que ata fim do mes d'Agosto do ano que vem de mill IIIc LRVII se saiam todos os dictos sentenciados de nossos regnos e senhorios (...)" L. Miguel Duarte, "Actas de Vereação de Loulé, Século XV", 227–9. The edict was issued in Santarém on 14 November 1496 and was received in Loulé on 12 January 1497.

¹⁶² "Tambien se sopechava, y aun creya, q̄ el Rey de Portugal no auia gana de echar aquella gēte de su reyno: porque en lugar de lançarlos, les alargaua el plazo, que les auia

A new diplomatic crisis concerning the presence of Castilian *conversos* in Portugal erupted during the spring of 1497. Once more the documentary sources are silent but a general outline of events can be gathered from a careful study of the subsequent events and the extant chronicles. At some unknown date in early 1497, Princess Isabel wrote a personal letter to Manuel informing him of her refusal to go to Portugal and officially marry him until he had expelled all the heretics from his kingdom. All arrangements for the forthcoming wedding came to a sudden standstill. The Princess's position caused Manuel much anger and frustration and he apparently wrote to his putative in-laws to inform them of his displeasure. He had assembled the foremost Portuguese noblemen to welcome their new queen and the delay was causing him to suffer an intolerable loss of face in front of his most powerful subjects.¹⁶³

Was Princess Isabel manipulated by her parents? Clearly, Fernando and Isabel could not continue to tolerate such a situation and thus it is quite possible to believe that they deliberately engineered their daughter's letter. The Portuguese monarch, on the other hand, feared that Isabel and Fernando were using the issue of the *conversos* as a bargaining lever with which to wring further concessions from him. Damião de Góis conveyed Portuguese suspicions concerning Princess Isabel's demands:

The Princess, induced it was suspected by her parents, wrote a letter to the King informing him that she would delay her coming to Portugal until all the Jews (sic) had been expelled.¹⁶⁴

Zurita also communicates the same Portuguese fears:

The King of Portugal started to have certain suspicions concerning the reasons put forward to explain why the Princess delayed her departure [for Portugal]. He feared that her parents the King and Queen harboured other designs. Although they assured him that the Princess would be sent

dado, para que se estuuiessem en Portugal, y procuraua de ayer bulas de la Sede Apostolica en su fauor..." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 125.

¹⁶³ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 50.

¹⁶⁴ "...no qual meo tempo induzida ha Rainha Princesa, quomo se teue per suspeita, pellos Reis seus pais, screueo hũa carta a elRei pedindolhe que dilatasse sua vida atte ter de todo lâçado de seus Regnos hos judeus..." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 50.

[to Portugal] when he had expelled the heretics from his realms, he did not carry out [the expulsion], for he was very worried that later on they would make further delays, and new demands.¹⁶⁵

Nonetheless, the Aragonese chronicler claims that these fears were groundless and presents a human explanation for the *Infanta's* reluctance to enter Portugal:

She attributed the disaster that was the death of her first husband [Prince] Afonso to the fact that in Portugal [João II] had shown such favour to the heretics and apostates who had fled from Castile. This caused her to have many scruples and she was so frightened of offending God that she claimed she would rather die [than go to Portugal].¹⁶⁶

Whether or not the Princess was the tool of her parents's diplomacy, as the Portuguese suspected, or whether her disinclination to remarry was caused by her own religious scruples is a question that will probably never be satisfactorily determined. Neither Zurita nor Damião de Góis are specific about the Portuguese suspicions but there can be little room for doubt that what Manuel feared the most was an attempt to coerce him into joining the Holy League against France.

It is difficult to establish exactly when Manuel was first approached by representatives of Isabel and Fernando with an invitation to join the Holy League as our two sources provide contradictory statements. Damião de Góis states that Manuel was invited to join the Holy League whilst he was staying in Estremoz, in early 1497.¹⁶⁷ In contrast to this, Zurita places the request firmly in 1496 and as having been made at the same time as the marriage negotiations were taking place.¹⁶⁸ On balance, it

¹⁶⁵ "Como el Rey de Portugal entendiò, que se ponía tanta dilacion por parte de la Princesa, en efetuar su matrimonio, concibiò algunas sospechas, no le pareciendo, que la razon que la Princesa daua, fuesse la que le mouia a sobreseer en su ida: y temia que los Reyes sus padres tuuiesse otros fines: y aunque se asseguraua por su parte, que des-terrando los Hereges de sus Reynos, a la hora embiaran a su muger a Portugal, no se determinaua en cumplirlo: y recelaua, que despues no huuiesse otros achaques, y nueuas demandas." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 124v.

¹⁶⁶ "...y el desastre acaecido en la persona del Principe don Alõso su primer esposo, lo atribuyó, al ayer se tanto favorecido en aquel reynos los hereges, y apostatas, que se aviã huydo de Castilla: y formaua grã escrúpulo dello: y crecia le tanto el temor de ofender a Dios en esto, que afirmaua, que antes recibiria la muerte." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 124v.

¹⁶⁷ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 40.

¹⁶⁸ J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 88v.

appears far more plausible that the invitation was made in 1497 rather than 1496. If Isabel and Fernando had thought that the Portuguese monarch was in no position to refuse to join the Holy League, they were sorely deceived as Manuel had stood his ground:

(...) concerning these alliances, the King politely declined [to join], promising however that if the King of France invaded the kingdom of Castile he would come to its aid despite the peace and friendship he had with the monarch of France.¹⁶⁹

The discontent that Manuel's refusal provoked at the Spanish court is reflected by Zurita, who indignantly records that the Portuguese King had preferred to uphold his "friendship" with the French King "even though he had entered into the possession of that realm by the favour, and with the help, of the King [of Aragon] and the Queen [of Castile]."¹⁷⁰ Manuel's refusal to intervene in wars between different European powers was to become a feature policy of his reign. Throughout his reign, Manuel preserved a position of strict neutrality in European affairs. Manuel knew only too well that he had nothing to gain—and much to lose—by actively participating in European wars. A war with France would only divert material and financial resources from his projects of expansion in North Africa and the opening of a sea route to India. The King of Portugal had no claims to defend against France either in Italy or any other part of Europe and, apart from occasional acts of piracy by French ships, relations between the Crowns of France and Portugal were not hostile. Damião de Góis records that in 1511 Manuel once more refused to join the Holy League and left Fernando "very annoyed."¹⁷¹

The letter bearing Manuel's furious reply to the Spanish court—written after receiving Princess Isabel's personal demands—has unfortunately not survived. From Medina del Campo, Isabel and Fernando wrote to

¹⁶⁹ "... das quaes alianças se elrei excusou, prometendo com tudo q̃ se elrei da França lhes viesse fazer guerra dẽtro dos regnos de Castilla, que em tal caso ho ajudaria, sem embargo da paz, e amizade que entam com ho dicto rei de França tinha..." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 40.

¹⁷⁰ "... aunque avia entrado en la posesión de aquel Reyno con el favour, y amparo del Rey, y de la Reyna." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Emperas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 88v.

¹⁷¹ The policy of neutrality in European affairs that Manuel resolutely adhered to was later continued by his successor João III. Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 3, 100; I. M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, *Um espaço, duas monarquias* (Lisbon, 2001), 143–173.

their ambassador Alvaro de Silva on 21 June 1497, giving him clear instructions concerning what he should say to the Portuguese King to sooth his anger:

As [Manuel] already knows, at the time when the marriage negotiations were taking place, the Princess imposed the precondition that he expel all the heretics from his realms and lordships before she entered them. She asked us this at the time that the engagement was agreed and did not even want to agree to [the engagement] until [the heretics] had left but we all told her then that she need not worry as the heretics would be expelled before her entry into Portugal. Two or three days after this, when [Manuel] himself could not yet have known of the engagement, or the precondition of the Princess, there came the news that he had ordered the heretics to leave his realms, in such a way that it seemed to be a miracle from God.¹⁷²

Tavares has asserted in various articles that the heretics to which the Princess was referring were in fact the Jews, and even the Muslims, who were ordered to leave on 4 December 1496.¹⁷³ This letter, however, goes a long way towards identifying who the heretics were and makes it apparent that this clearly cannot be the case. Isabel and Fernando state in their instructions that news of the expulsion of the "heretics" reached them at Burgos, where they were then staying, on 2 or 3 December. It is

¹⁷² "Y que ya sabe que, al tiempo que se trataua este casamiento, la princessa pidio por condiçion que el rey huuiesse de echar todos los hereges de sus reynos y señorios antes que ella entrasse en ellos, y esto mismo pidio al tiempo que se fizo el desposorio; y no lo queria hazer hasta que fuessen salidos, sino que todos deximos que no lo detouiesse por aquello, que, antes que ella fuesse a Portugal, serian echados los dichos hereges; y con esta condiçyon fizo ella el desposorio. Y acahecio que dos o tres dias despues de hesso, a tiempo que no podia el ahun saber el desposorio ni la condiçion que en el se hauia pedido, vino nueua como el hauia mandado que saliesen de sus reynos todos los dichos hereges; de manera que a todos nos parecio cosa que venia de Dios." A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 3, 12–5, doc. 470.

¹⁷³ Tavares makes this claim in the following works: M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, "A expulsão dos judeus de Portugal: conjuntura peninsular", *Oceanos*, 29 (1997), 13: "Podemos concluir pela correspondência citada que os judeus e mouros foram integrados nas mesmas exigências de expulsão dos conversos castelhanos, fugidos à Inquisição espanhola ou que o termo hereges englobava este e todo os infiéis." Her opinion is expressed even more forcefully in her English article "Expulsion or integration? The Portuguese Jewish Problem", *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World 1391–1648*, ed. B. R. Gampel (New York, 1997), 99: "Who were these heretics? At first glance we might conclude that they were Castilian conversos who had found refuge in Portugal. However, the majority of these had already left for Naples, and those who remained in the kingdom were considered good Christians. The princess's refusal to cross the border into Portugal before the last Jews had left the country clearly indicated that they were included in the designation of heretics."

thus impossible that they would be referring to the news of the expulsion of Jews, which was only made public on 4 December. In reality there can be little doubt that Isabel and Fernando were clearly referring to the order of expulsion directed against the Castilian *conversos* in Portugal and promulgated earlier by Manuel on 14 November 1496. The confusion concerning the exact identity of the “heretics” dates back to the very first Portuguese accounts of these events. In this respect, there is indeed a major discrepancy between Spanish and Portuguese sources. Zurita consistently refers to “heretics” but, in the Portuguese chronicles of Damião de Góis and Bishop Amador Arrais, the Princess is presented as calling for the expulsion of the “Jews.”¹⁷⁴ During this period the Castilians and Aragonese consistently used the term “heretic” to refer to *conversos* and not to the Jews although a common popular insult was to describe a *converso* as a Jew. It is clear that Damião de Góis and Amador Arrais both made a glaring confusion between the Jews and the Castilian *conversos* and this misunderstanding has extended to modern scholarship ever since.¹⁷⁵

The dispute over the expulsion of the *conversos* led to renewed negotiations over the conditions of the marriage. These talks apparently continued throughout the month of July and into early August. Now, however, pressure began to mount on the Spanish court for a speedy conclusion of the marriage. On 29 July, the Spanish ambassador Alfonso da Silva urgently wrote to his masters, warning them that certain councillors of the Portuguese King, distrustful of Castilian aims, were sowing seeds of doubt in his mind and advising him against the marriage.¹⁷⁶ A new agreement was finally drawn up on 11 August with João Manuel, High Chamberlain of Portugal, signing on behalf of his sovereign. Manuel agreed to expel all the Castilian *conversos* residing within Portugal by the end of September. In a separate document,

¹⁷⁴ “La princesa lo differia pidiendo que auia el Rey don Manuel de echar primero de su reyno, todos los que se auian recogido a el, por miedo de la inquisition: cõtra quien se auia procedido en ausencia, y estauã condenados, como conuencidos de hereges.” J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fol. 124v.

¹⁷⁵ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 50 (quoted above); Frei Amador Arrais, *Diálogos*, ed. M. Lopes de Almeida (Porto, 1974), 112–3.

¹⁷⁶ “Los que stan en gana de turbar este negocio o de derramalle dizen al rey para ponelle miedo que como debe tirar seguro si vuestras altezas no se quieren contentar de querer las vistas otro dia despues de haverse el velado, y a el asientasele aquello porque con sus reçelos parecele que se cumple con todas partes en fazerse assi.” L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 5, 198–9, doc. 34.

appended to the new marriage contract, the Princess herself leaves no room for doubt as to who the "heretics" were as she swore to abide by the terms so long as Manuel expelled "all those condemned over here [in Castile] who are presently in his realms and lordships."¹⁷⁷

Conclusion

Rabbi Abraham Zacuto was not exaggerating when he described the ordeal he and his co-religionists underwent in Portugal as "a forced conversion on a scale never before witnessed." The sheer scale of the "general conversion" in Portugal, affecting as it did tens of thousands of Jews, its brutality and above all its careful orchestration by King Manuel makes it stand out, even in an era of growing religious intolerance throughout Western Europe. The sense of shock that news of the forced conversion must have caused Jews outside Portugal is clearly epitomised by an entry in a list of persecutions of German Jewry drawn up by an anonymous Ashkenazi Jew in the first half of the sixteenth century:

At the beginning of the year 5258 [1498] rumours came of a decree of forced conversion in the land of Portugal. All, young and old, were forced to convert from Judaism, and to mingle [among the non-Jews]. May God, Blessed be He, keep us from harm, Amen.¹⁷⁸

The tens of thousands of Jews residing in Portugal during the spring and summer of 1497 rapidly realised that they were trapped in the Kingdom, with no alternative other than death or conversion to Christianity. In his *Sefer Yuhasin*, Rabbi Abraham Zacuto underscored the contrasting fates of the Jews expelled from France in the fourteenth century with those of the Jews in Portugal in 1497. Noting that his ancestors had been able

¹⁷⁷ "... todos los que fueron condenados aqua por hereges que stan en los dichos sus reynos e señorios..." Isabel and Fernando agreed to hand the princess over to her new husband at the border town of Celcavín, between Plasencia in Castile and Castel Branco in Portugal but the wedding venue was in fact later moved further south to Valencia de Alcántara. A.N.T.T., *Gaveta 17, maço 1*, doc. 9; *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, ed. A. da Silva Rego, 6, 486–8, doc. 4080; A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 3, 15–8, doc. 471 [The authors wrongly give date in the document's title as 11 July 1497].

¹⁷⁸ The anonymous list of persecutions, known as "List B" is translated as an appendix in *A Hebrew Chronicle from Prague, c. 1615*, ed. A. David and tr. L. J. Weinberger and D. Ordan (Tuscaloosa, 1993), 79–85 [quote on page 83].

to leave France for Spain, Zacuto wryly observes that “we [in Portugal] had the enemies on one side and the sea on the other!”¹⁷⁹

The “general conversion” of 1497 speaks volumes about the vulnerability and ambiguous position of Jews living in Christian societies during the medieval and early modern periods. Entirely dependent upon the King for protection, literally “his Jews”, their property and persons were considered by Manuel to be his to dispose of as he wished. That Manuel did not simply expel the Jews, as had been the case in so many other Christian kingdoms, but forcibly converted them is testimony not only of their importance to the economy of his kingdom but also of the Portuguese sovereign’s complex character. Whilst in some respects Manuel was clearly an idealist—for instance in his ardent desire to rekindle to crusade against the Muslims of Morocco—he was nonetheless also able to act out of expediency. The privilege granted to the neophytes on 30 May 1497, granting them 20 years of immunity from official scrutiny into their religious beliefs, clearly demonstrates that he had few illusions concerning the sincerity of their conversions. The combination of deception, ruthlessness and pragmatism employed by Manuel in his treatment of the Portuguese Jews, in order to serve his own interests would have made him a worthy model for the type of statecraft that Niccolò Machiavelli later famously advocated to the readers of *The Prince*.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Translation by Y. H. Yerushalmi in *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Washington, 1996), 60.

¹⁸⁰ “You must realise that a prince, and especially a new prince, cannot observe all those things which give men a reputation for virtue, because in order to maintain his state he is often forced to act in defiance of good faith, of charity, of kindness, of religion. (...) He should not deviate from what is good, if that is possible, but he should know how to do evil, if that is necessary.” N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. and tr. G. Bull (London, 2003), 57–8.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPULSION OF THE MUSLIMS FROM PORTUGAL: THE FORGOTTEN PERSECUTION

The expulsion of the Muslim minority from Portugal has always been overshadowed by the forced conversion of the Jews. Contemporary Portuguese chronicles barely refer to it and Jewish sources never mention the fact that the expulsion edict also affected Muslims. Modern studies rarely, if ever, mention it. To a large extent this silence is due to the total absence of any Muslim sources that might shed light on this event. The obscurity that surrounds the expulsion of the Portuguese Muslims is all the more striking as the event itself is so very surprising. Manuel's decision to expel his Muslim subjects is difficult to understand and was a totally unprecedented act. Throughout the Iberian Peninsula, Muslim communities continued to be tolerated until 1502 in Castile, 1516 in Navarre and 1525–6 in the Crown of Aragon.

It is impossible to find any parallels, or precedents, in other regions where Muslim communities lived under Christian rule. On the island of Sicily, conquered by Muslims armies in 827 and then by the Christian Norman rulers of southern Italy in the final decade of the eleventh century, a sizeable Muslim population continued to live under Christian rule until the thirteenth century. A Muslim revolt on the island resulted in the deportation, by Emperor Frederick II (1197–1250), of large number of these rebels and their families to the southern Italian town of Lucera in 1224. By 1300 the remaining Muslims on the island had been largely assimilated. On the Italian mainland, Frederick II and his successor Manfred (1258–1266) employed the isolated Muslims of Lucera as their personal bodyguard. The Muslims of Lucera continued to be tolerated after Charles I of Anjou (1266–1285) had conquered southern Italy and killed Manfred but his son Charles II (1285–1309) disbanded the colony in 1300 and reduced its inhabitants to slavery.¹

¹ On the Muslims of Sicily: D. S. H. Abulafia, "The end of Muslim Sicily", *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100–1300*, ed. J. M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), 103–133; A. Metcalfe, "The Muslims of Sicily under Christian rule", *The Society of Norman Italy*, eds. G. A. Loud and A. Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), 289–317 and, by the same author, *Muslims and*

In the Iberian Peninsula itself, the only previous instance of Muslims being expelled on a large scale by a Christian ruler was that which followed the revolt of the newly conquered Muslim population of Andalucía and Murcia between 1262 and 1264. Even then, King Alfonso X of Castile (1252–1284) only expelled the Muslim population of those areas who had rebelled against him but not those residing in other parts of his realm such as Toledo and the towns of the Duero Valley. In Murcia the Muslim rebels, who were defeated in 1265–6 not by the King of Castile but on his behalf by his father-in-law King James I of Aragon (1213–1270), were dealt with more leniently and allowed to remain there with their property, customs and laws. When Alfonso X took possession of Murcia, he encouraged the settlement of Christians in the region but respected the treaties negotiated by his father-in-law. Many Muslims subsequently left Murcia for Granada or North Africa but this emigration was not due to Royal pressure.² In the lands of the Crown of Aragon, revolts by the Muslims of Valencia resulted in some population displacement but King James I did not attempt to implement any widespread expulsions. The acute shortage of Christian colonists meant that Muslim manpower was simply too precious to the new conquerors to be dispensed with in punitive expulsions.³

In all these cases, the drastic measures of Christian rulers towards their Muslim subjects were provoked by revolts and the need to safeguard against further insurrections. The Portuguese expulsion of 1496–7, however, differs starkly from all these precedents. It was the first time that a Christian ruler ordered all the Muslim subjects of his realm to leave without any apparent provocation. There are important questions

Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic speakers and the end of Islam (London, 2003). On the Muslim colony of Lucera: D. S. H. Abulafia, "Monarchs and minorities in the Christian western Mediterranean around 1300: Lucera and its analogues", *Christendom and its Discontents: Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1100–1300*, ed. Scott Waugh and Peter Diehl (Cambridge, 1996), 234–263; J. Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy. The Colony at Lucera* (Lanham, 2003).

² J. O'Callaghan, "The Mudéjars of Castile and Portugal in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", *Muslims under Latin Rule 1100–1300*, ed. J. M. Powell (Princeton, 1990), 11–56 and S. Thacker and J. Escobar, *Chronicle of Alfonso X* (Kentucky, 2002), 49–62.

³ On the Muslim revolts in Valencia see the articles by Robert I. Burns: "The crusade against al-Azraq: A thirteenth-century Mudéjar revolt in international perspective", *American Historical Review*, 93 (1988), 80–106; "A lost crusade: unpublished bulls of Innocent IV on al-Azraq's revolt in thirteenth-century Spain", *Catholic History Review*, 74 (1988), 440–449; "Al-Azraq's surrender treaty with Jaume I and prince Alfonso in 1245: Arabic text and Valencian context", *Der Islam*, 66 (1989), 1–37.

surrounding the expulsion of the Muslims from Portugal: When was the expulsion decreed? Where did the Muslims go? Why did Manuel decide to take this initiative? It might appear surprising to examine the circumstances of the expulsion of the Muslims separately from that of the Jews but, as will become clear below, the two events must be treated separately as they had neither the same causes nor the same impact.

Exile or Permanence?

One of the first and most important questions concerning the expulsion of the Muslims might seem an incongruous one but is certainly crucial: did it actually take place? António de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo has contended that the expulsion did not in fact occur. Manuel simply abolished organised Islamic worship and confiscated the communal property of the Muslims (mosques, prisons and cemeteries) but allowed Muslims to remain in his realm. Lobo thought that the expulsion edict was used as an excuse to extort money from the Muslim minority. His conclusion was that “there was no reduction in the number of Muslims by an edict that grandly claimed to purge the kingdom of all infidels. This ordinance, in regard to the Muslims, did not do much else than simply prohibit the Koran in Portugal.”⁴

Concerning the fate of the communal property of the Muslim *comunhas*, it was confiscated just like that of the Jews. Manuel granted all the communal buildings and property of the Muslims of Lisbon to the Hospital of All Saints which itself in turn leased them out to individuals. On 18 March 1498 the hospital leased the building which had served as the old communal prison of the Lisboetan Muslims to Vicente d’Avis and his wife Catharina Lopes for a duration of three lifetimes in return for a yearly payment of 170 *reais* and one chicken.⁵ On 4 April 1498 the hospital also leased the building of the Great Mosque of Lisbon for the duration of three lifetimes to Garcia Fernandes and his wife Isabel Martins.⁶

⁴ “Nenhuma redução attendível foi causada na população islamita pela ordenação que se gloriava de expurgar o paiz de todos os infieis. (...) Essa ordenação, em relação aos mouros, não fez nada mais que extinguir o culto do Koran.” A. de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *História da sociedade em Portugal no século XV*, 42–6 (quote on page 46).

⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fols. 118–119.

⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fols. 109–109v.

Both these grants were confirmed by Manuel almost a year later. The building of the Great Mosque was demolished in 1519 to make way for the Dominican convent of Our Lady of the Annunciation, founded by Manuel's sister Leonor. In 1542 the convent became the monastery of Saint Anthony, one of the first Jesuit colleges in the world.⁷

The Muslim cemeteries suffered a similar fate. In May 1497 Manuel granted the cemetery in Lisbon to the municipal authorities to use as a pasture for animals but gave the tombstones to the newly founded hospital of All Saints for use in its construction works. Two years later, a field and some ruins "in the cemetery that used to be that of the Muslims" was leased to Leonardo Moniz for an annual lease of 50 *reais*.⁸ The field which had been the Muslim cemetery of Colares was leased by the Crown to João de Olivença, an inhabitant of the town, in 1499.⁹

To support his argument, Lobo signals the presence of Muslims living in Portugal after 1496 and even into the sixteenth century.¹⁰ The evidence is certainly real enough and it is an incontrovertible fact that some Muslims were permitted to remain in Portugal unmolested:

- In March 1498 'Alī "*mouro Azuleiro*" and his wife Amina held property that they rented from the monastery of All Saints in "the area that was the *mouraria*" for a yearly fee of 410 *reais* and two chickens.¹¹
- On 18 March 1498 another "free Muslim" named Belfader (Abū al-Faḍl?) petitioned the Crown to be granted certain houses owned by the hospital of All Saints "in that part of Lisbon that used to be the *mouraria*."¹²
- In April 1504 Aḥmad Capelão, *mouro forro*, sold by proxy some pottery shops located in "the new suburb that used to be the *mouraria*

⁷ I. Carneiro de Sousa, *A Rainha D. Leonor (1458–1525). Poder, misericórdia, religiosidade e espiritualidade no Portugal do renascimento* (Lisbon, 2002), 668–672; F. de Sousa Viterbo, "Occorências da vida mourisca", *AHP*, 5, (1907), 84–8.

⁸ "...no almocauar que pertença aos Mouros..." A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fols. 25–26.

⁹ F. de Sousa Viterbo, "Occorências da vida mourisca", *AHP*, 5, (1907), 252–3, doc. 8.

¹⁰ A. de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *História da sociedade em Portugal no século XV*, 42–6.

¹¹ A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Livro 2 da Estremadura*, fols. 93v–95.

¹² A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Livro 1 da Estremadura*, fols. 187v–189. The grant was confirmed by King Manuel on 14 July 1500.

(*arrabalde novo que foy mouraria*)” on behalf of his sister Fatima to a Christian named Mateus Peres.¹³

- In September 1504 Muḥammad Namorado, *mouro forro* of the town of Lisbon, was granted the right to reside in the realm with his wife and children. The royal privilege granted to Muḥammad Namorado specifically states that this was done “despite the fact that they are Muslims and [notwithstanding] our ordinance to the contrary.”¹⁴
- A list of properties owned by the Crown in the ancient *mouraria* of Lisbon in 1506 shows that a pottery stall was leased by one ‘Alī, *mouro forro* for a rent of 36 *reais*.¹⁵

Without doubt the most interesting case is that of Muḥammad Láparo, the last religious leader or faqīh (translated in vernacular Portuguese documents as *capelão* or “chaplain”) of the Muslim *comuna* of Lisbon and his wife Zuhayra. This Muslim couple received a number of royal privileges after 1497. In 1505 Manuel I confirmed a charter that had been granted to Muḥammad Láparo by João II in January 1491 and the next year Manuel I also confirmed their ownership of a vineyard in Azambujeiro that they held rent-free from the Crown. Another document attests that the vineyard was still in their possession as late as 1507.¹⁶

There can be little doubt that these Muslims were exceptional cases, individuals whose contacts and talents earned them the special privilege of remaining in Portugal after 1497. There is evidence, for instance, that Muḥammad Láparo was involved in arranging the ransoms of Christian prisoners in North Africa.¹⁷ Similarly, as a producer of blue glazed tiles or *azulejos*, ‘Alī Azuleiro (literally “the *Azulejo* maker”) was the master of a specialised craft that was in considerable demand. It is noteworthy that ‘Alī was described in the grant as a “Muslim of the [dowager]

¹³ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 8, fol. 33v. This sale was confirmed by the Crown on 28 August 1499.

¹⁴ “... *sem embargo de serem mouros E de nosa defesa E hordenaçam em contrairo...*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 22, fol. 89.

¹⁵ A.N.T.T., *Núcleo Antigo*, nº 318. Edited version published in M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 154–5.

¹⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 5, fol. 58v; *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 10, fol. 11; *Leitura Nova, Livro 2 de Estremadura*, fols. 93v–95; F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida mourisca,” *AHP*, 5 (1907), 162–8.

¹⁷ A.N.T.T., *Cartas Missivas, maço 1*, doc. 272. In this document, dated 26 December but without any indication of the year, Muḥammad Láparo “who was the faqih of the Muslims” (“*capelam que foy dos mouros*”) petitioned the Crown for the sum of 45 *cruzados* to be given to his nephew in North Africa for the rescue of prisoners.

Queen Leonor” (“*mouro da rainha D. Leonor*”) and thus was personally connected to the highest circles of the Portuguese monarchy. It is also important to note that so far the documentary evidence, which has brought to light Muslim residents in Portugal after 1497, concerns individuals living only in Lisbon and not in any other town or region of Portugal. It therefore seems likely that this handful of Muslims were granted the right to remain, despite the expulsion edict, because of special circumstances. In 1502 Manuel even granted these remnants of Portugal’s Muslim minority the privilege of not having to wear distinguishing hooded cloaks.¹⁸

There is, in fact, abundant proof that the majority of Muslims did leave Portugal in 1497. Some Muslims held allodial lands or property and, because of their particular status as part of the royal patrimony, required royal permission before they could sell their property to Christian buyers. This problem was resolved when, at some unknown date before April 1497, they received “a letter from our Lord the King authorising all the Muslims of these realms to sell their goods and property.”¹⁹ Many others, however, held houses and shops in leasehold, paying a yearly rent to a permanent owner and were entitled to occupy them for a stipulated period of time. In many cases the agreements specified that the leaseholder and his family would be entitled to occupy the building for the duration of three lifetimes. With the agreement and permission of the permanent owner, a number of Muslim leaseholders throughout Portugal sold their leases to Christians between February and July 1497. A number of documents recording such sales by Portuguese Muslims in Lisbon and the surrounding area have fortunately survived:

- On 30 March Aḥmad Caciz and his wife Fatima sold “of their own volition” (“*de seu proprio moto e lyvre vontade*”) some “damaged houses” (“*cassas denyficadas*”) in the *mouraria* to Brás Afonso and his wife Isabel Álvares for 2,000 *reais*.²⁰
- On 1 April the *capelão* Ibrāhīm and his wife Murayma Franca sold houses they owned in the *rua do Físico* to Isabel de Sousa, lady-in-

¹⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 6, fol. 110v.

¹⁹ “...por poder e virtude de uma carta que os mouros destes reinos d’el-rei nosso senhor tem em que lhe da licença e lugar que posa vender todos seus bens e fazendas...” A.N.T.T., O. Avis/C. São Bento, Caixa 13, maço 10, doc. 841.

²⁰ A.N.T.T., *Colegiada de Santa Marinha*, maço 5, doc. 195.

waiting of the Princess, for the sum of 15,000 *reais brancos*. The sellers made the provision that they should be allowed to continue to reside there until the feast day of St. John the Baptist (24 June).²¹

- On 21 April Ghālib *alcaide dos mouros* and his son Yūsuf Galebo sold to D. Isabel de Sousa all the property they owned in Carnaxide for 20,000 *reais brancos*.²²
- On 5 May ‘Alī de Colares and his wife Murayma sold houses in the *mouraria* that they had held from the Crown since 1491 in return for an annual rent of 36 *reais* to João da Arruda and Beatriz Annes for 900 *reais brancos*.²³
- On 6 May ‘Alī Láparo and Yūsuf Galebo, together with their respective wives Mawlā and Murayma, sold a property in Monsanto worth 40,000 *reais brancos* to Isabel de Sousa.²⁴
- On 28 July ‘Alī Capelão and his wife Sausan sold a small house in the *mouraria* to Fernão Gonçalves and Catarina Vaz for 1,500 *reais*.²⁵
- An exchange of lands between King Manuel and Rodrigo Afonso in December 1498 reveals that the latter had acquired a property situated in the parish of Olivaes from a Muslim named ‘Umar Alicante for the sum of 3,500 *reais*. Interestingly, the document states that the property bought by Rodrigo Afonso was adjacent to “lands and olive groves purchased by Rodrigo Afonso from [other] Muslims.” The document further added that the property “always belonged to Muslims, as were the others around it that he [Rodrigo] bought.” No date for the purchase is specified though it appears very likely to have taken place in 1497.²⁶

Other surviving documents record sales of property made by a few more Muslims in the regions of the Alentejo and Algarve. In a chronological order, the sales in Évora were the following:

²¹ A.N.T.T., *Colegiada de Santa Cruz do Castelo (Lisboa)*, cartolario n° 1, fols. 42v–44v.

²² A.N.T.T., *Colegiada de Santa Cruz do Castelo (Lisboa)*, cartolario n° 1, fols. 49–51.

²³ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 11, fol. 80.

²⁴ A.N.T.T., *Colegiada de Santa Cruz do Castelo (Lisboa)*, cartolario n° 1, fols. 48–49.

²⁵ A.N.T.T., *Mosteiro de Santos-o-Novo*, caixa 7, doc. 625. The name of the wife is given as *Sauce*, in all likelihood a Portuguese transliteration of the Arabic name Sausan (سوسن).

²⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fol. 83; F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida mourisca”, *AHP*, 5, (1907), 255–7, doc. 10.

- On 7 February Aḥmad Caeiro and his wife Futayma Pintainha sold a house “with a chimney” in the *mouraria* of Évora to Diogo Álvares and his wife Susana Afonso.²⁷
- On 13 April Aḥmad of Ceuta and his wife Murayma Patava sold houses in the *mouraria* of Évora to Joane Anes and his son Joane. The houses were leased from the church of Santiago and the lease was sold with its permission for 1,200 *reais*.²⁸
- On 24 April Muḥammad de Ceuta and his wife Zahra sold houses they owned in the street of the mosque in Évora to Fernão Matela, a nobleman of the King’s household for 2,000 *reais brancos*.²⁹
- On 26 May Muḥammad Patava and his wife Murayma Parrado lost their lease on houses owned in Évora after it was expropriated by the Monastery of São Domingos. The expropriation took place firstly because they could not produce the documents certifying their right to lease the property, secondly they were unable to honour the term of the lease and finally “because of the departure which our King has decreed” (“...e por respeito da partida onde os el-rei nosso senhor manda...”). The document specified that the property was adjacent to the houses that had belonged to ‘Alī Corredor and ‘Alī Manjam.³⁰
- On 30 May Aḥmad the potter and his wife Murayma sold a shop they leased from the church of Santiago to Leonor Rodrigues, widow of João Fernandes.³¹
- On 10 July ‘Abd Allāh Filipe sold houses he leased from the church of Santiago in the *Rua Cega* of Évora on his own behalf and that of his siblings to Diogo Fernandes for 1,500 *reais*. The sale was made with the agreement of the church of Santiago.³²

Finally, in the Algarve, the following sales were made by Muslims in the months following the promulgation of the expulsion edict:

²⁷ B.P.E., *Cabido da Sé de Évora*, CEC 3-VI, fols. 79–80 v.

²⁸ B.P.E., *Cabido da Sé de Évora*, CEC 3-VI, fols. 81–82v.

²⁹ A.N.T.T., *O. Avis/C. São Bento, caixa 13, maço 10*, doc. 841.

³⁰ B.P.E., *Convento de S. Domingos, maço 1*, doc. 17. The houses were subsequently leased to Nuno Afonso of Torrão and his wife Filipa Rodrigues.

³¹ B.P.E., *Cabido da Sé de Évora*, CEC 3-VI, fols. 69v–70. A scribal error means that this document is dated 1494 but another document reveals that Aḥmad the potter himself bought the property on 19/04/1496 (B.P.E., *Cabido da Sé de Évora*, CEC 3-VI, fols. 61–61v) and thus the sale to Leonor Nunes must have taken place in 1497.

³² B.P.E., *Cabido da Sé de Évora*, CEC 3-VI, fols. 71v–72v.

- On 15 February Mufarrij Melizyna, a Muslim resident of Loulé, sold a garden in the town of Faro worth 50,000 *reais* to João de Mascarenhas and his wife Joana.³³
- On 21 May two Muslim couples of Faro, ‘Abd Allāh Coroa and Muḥammad Aboom Baram, with their respective wives Murayma and Murayma Duram, sold a forge they owned (“*um ferregeal isento*”) worth 2,400 *reais brancos* to João Mascarenhas, a nobleman of the royal household, and his wife Joana de Noronha.³⁴

These surviving documents probably hide a far greater number of sales made by Muslims in the first half of 1497. Fortunately, proof of the departure of Portuguese Muslims after 1497 does not depend solely upon these few sales contracts. The list of houses and shops owned by the Crown in the Lisbon *mouraria* in 1506 is particularly evocative in this respect. All of the properties listed had been held by Muslim tenants before 1496 but ten years later, with the sole exception of an ‘Alī “*mouro forro*”, they were now occupied by Christians.³⁵ Further incidental evidence of the departure of Muslims can be found in expressions used in some documents. In Loulé, for instance, a grant made by Manuel of various privileges and properties to Diego Fernandes in November 1497 indicates that the latter received a mill situated close to the *mouraria* of that town, which was now empty “because of the departure of the Muslims from our realms.”³⁶ Similarly, on 14 February 1503, Maria Gonçalves, an inhabitant of Beja, received 70 *reais* and one chicken in compensation for the rent which she had lost when her tenant Muḥammad Frouxel “left [the realm] with the other Muslims.”³⁷ Even a document referring to a Muslim who stayed on after 1497 also hints at the Muslim exodus. The royal confirmation of the sales made by Aḥmad Capelão and his sister in 1504 specified that the shops sold by Aḥmad Capelão were adjacent on one side to “a shop that belonged to ‘Alī Almançor but is now owned by Master Jorge, and [on the other

³³ A.N.T.T., *Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes*, n° 120, doc. 2379.

³⁴ A.N.T.T., *Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes*, n° 120, doc. 2376.

³⁵ A.N.T.T., *Núcleo Antigo*, n° 318; M. F. L. de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*, 154–5.

³⁶ “...polla ida dos mouros fora de nossos Regnos.” A.N.T.T., *Leitura Nova, Livro 1 de Guadiana*, fol. 63.

³⁷ “...que quando os ditos mouros foram fora con elles o dito Mafamede Frouxel...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 21, fol. 10.

side] with a shop that was once owned by Muḥammad Roballo.”³⁸ Muslims must have become an extremely rare sight in Portugal after 1497, so much so that a Moroccan convert to Christianity who wished to live in the kingdom petitioned the Crown in 1517 to grant him a certificate instructing all Portuguese officials not to arrest him because “he looked like a Muslim.”³⁹

At least two of the Muslim families that left Portugal in 1497 attempted to return to the kingdom. At some unknown date after 1496, two residents of Moura, Muḥammad Xirre and his son Ibrāḥīm Xirre, and two residents of Elvas, Ibrāḥīm Gordo and his brother Ghālib Gordo, petitioned the Crown to allow them to return to those towns and live there with their families “as Muslims, which they have always been” (“*asy mouros como ssempre foram*”). Ibrāḥīm Gordo and his brother Ghālib Gordo also asked for a safe-conduct that would protect them if the Christian authorities in those two towns imprisoned them. To support their petition, they even gave the names of three Christians of Elvas who could provide character references. Both families asked for the right to return in recognition of “the great service they have rendered to God and to your Highness” (“*por fazerem tam grande serujço a deus E a sua alteza*”). The document does not specify what the “great service” that these Muslims had performed was but it is interesting that both Muslims requested that the Crown grant them the huge sum of 10,000 *cruzados*. Sadly, we do not know what the outcome of this petition and the fate of these Muslims were.⁴⁰

The different fates of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal were clearly distinguished in official documents. A charter confirming the compensation received by the dowager Queen Leonor in return for the income she lost in 1497 states bluntly that her loss occurred “because of the conversion of the Jews and the expulsion of the Muslims from Our realms.”⁴¹ It is also worth noting that Portuguese authors in the following centuries also sharply distinguished between the fates of the Jewish and Muslim communities. The poet Garcia de Resende, a contemporary of the expulsion, contrasted the fate of the Muslims with that of the Jews:

³⁸ “...a dita temda que estaa nas olarias que partẽ de huia parte com temda que foy dalle almançor que ora he de mestre Jorge da outra com temda de mafamede Roballo...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 8, fol. 33v.

³⁹ “...pareçendo ser mouro...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 9, fol. 28v.

⁴⁰ A.N.T.T., *Cartas Missivas*, maço 2, doc. 62

⁴¹ “...por bem do convertimento dos judeus e lançamento dos mouros de nosos Regnos.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 20, fol. 11.

*Hos judeus vii caa tornados
 todos nũo tempo christãos
 hos mouros entam lançados
 for do reyno sem pagãos;
 e ho reyno sem pagãos;
 viimos synogas, mezquitas
 em que sempre eram dıctas/
 e pregadas heresias
 tornadas em nossos dias
 igrejas sanctas, bendıtas.*

The Jews here I saw converted
 all made Christians in a single stroke
 the Muslims were then expelled
 they have left the kingdom
 and the realm is free of heathens;
 we saw synagogues and mosques
 in which were always uttered
 and preached heresies
 turned these days into
 holy and blessed churches.⁴²

Likewise, in the seventeenth century, the author of a history of Lisbon listed amongst the achievements of Manuel that he had “brought to our faith the Jews of these realms and expelled the Muslims that still resided in parts of Portugal.”⁴³

The situation in Portugal contrasts starkly with that in the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, where all the Muslim communities were forced to convert to Christianity during the first half of the sixteenth century. The majority of the reluctant neophytes—the “*moriscos*”—continued to live in both Castile and Aragon until their final expulsion by Philip III (1598–1621) in 1609–1614.⁴⁴ The expulsion of the Muslims from Portugal did not have similar results as apparently only a few, if any, Portuguese Muslims converted to Christianity. Moreover, in many cases, the individuals concerned were not *mouriscos*—which is to say Muslims converted to Christianity—but “Old Christians” who had converted to Islam—generally following their capture in North Africa or by Muslim pirates—and who subsequently either repented or fell into Christian hands and were termed renegades (*renegados*).⁴⁵

⁴² García de Resende, “Miscellanea”, *Livro das obras de Garcia de Resende*, ed. E. Verdelho (Lisbon, 1994), 564.

⁴³ “Fez conuenter à fé os Iudeos, que auia nestes Reinos; desterrou os Mouros, que ainda estauaõ por alguns lugares de Portugal.” Frei Nicolau de Oliveira, *Livro das Grandezas de Lisboa*, facsimile edition of the original 1620 edition prepared by M. Helena Bastos (Lisbon 1991), fol. 52v.

⁴⁴ L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614* (Chicago, 2005), 291–331.

⁴⁵ On the *renegados* see I. M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, *Entre a cristandade e o Islão (séculos XV–XVII). Cativos e renegados nas franjas de duas sociedades em confronto* (Ceuta, 1998) as well as the following works by B. Benassar, “La vida de los renegados españoles y portugueses en Fez (hacia 1580–1615)”, *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Magreb siglos XIII–XVI. Actas del Coloquio* (Madrid, 1989), 665–678 and “Les ‘soldats perdus’ de Don Sebastian devant les inquisitions espagnole et portugaise”, *Inquisição. Comunicações apresentadas ao 1º congresso luso-brasileiro sobre Inquisição. Actas.*, 1, 93–101.

It is notable that individuals arrested for secret Islamic practices formed only a very small fraction of the cases prosecuted by the tribunals of the Portuguese Inquisition. Such cases accounted for only 93 out of the 8,644 persons brought to trial by the tribunal of Évora from its origins in the 1540s until 1668. The situation was similar for the tribunal of Lisbon, where only 202 trials for Islamic practices took place during the whole of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ In the north of Portugal, which fell within the jurisdiction of the tribunal of Coimbra, only 4 individuals were arrested for Islamic offences during the whole of the sixteenth century and these were not *mouriscos* but rather renegade Christians.⁴⁷ A survey of the origins of *mouriscos* arrested for secret Islamic worship by the Portuguese Inquisition during the sixteenth century reveals that these were mostly slaves and freedmen of North African origin and *not* the descendants of the free Muslim community residing in Portugal prior to 1496. In many cases they appear to have arrived in Portugal as a result of the famine that ravaged large parts of Morocco during 1521–2. Contemporary eyewitness accounts tell us that many Muslims sold themselves into slavery rather than starve to death.⁴⁸ Other *mouriscos* were prisoners of war captured during raids by the Portuguese garrisons or other major clashes in the Mediterranean such as the capture of Tunis in 1535.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ A. B. Coelho, *Inquisição de Évora 1533–1668* (Lisbon, 2002), 271; I. M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, *Mouriscos e cristãos no Portugal quinhentista: duas culturas e duas concepções religiosas em choque* (Lisbon, 1999), 127–133.

⁴⁷ E. Cunha de Azevedo Mea, *A inquisição de Coimbra no século XVI. A instituição, os homens e a sociedade* (Porto, 1997), 357.

⁴⁸ On the Moroccan famine of 1521–2: B. Rosenberger and H. Triki, “Famines et épidémies au Maroc aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles”, *Hespéries-Tamuda*, 15 (1974), 5–103; B. Loupias, “Destin et témoignage d’un Marocain esclave en Espagne (1521–1530)”, *Hespéries-Tamuda*, 17 (1976–7), 69–84.

⁴⁹ On the *mouriscos* in sixteenth-century Portugal: A. Boucharb, “Spécificité du problème morisque au Portugal: une colonie étrangère refusant l’assimilation et souffrant d’un sentiment de déracinement et de nostalgie”, *Les Morisques et leur Temps* (Paris, 1988), 213–233 and *Os Pseudo-Mouriscos de Portugal no séc. XVI* (Lisbon, 2004). Also I. M. R. Mendes Drummond, “Para o estudo da criminalidade dos mouriscos no século XVI”, *Gil Vicente*, 28 (1993), 53–62; “Os Mouriscos perante a Inquisição de Évora”, *Eborensia*, 13–14 (1994), 45–76 and *Mouriscos e cristãos no Portugal quinhentista: duas culturas e duas concepções religiosas em choque* (Lisbon, 1999). Finally also R. de Oliveira Ribas, “Práticas religiosas dos mouriscos em Portugal (Segundo os processos inquisitoriais)”, *Islão minoritário na Península Ibérica* (Lisbon, 2002), 67–77 and “Filhos de Mafoma: mouriscos, cripto-islamismo e inquisição no Portugal quinhentista”, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, 2004, 2 Vols.

The *mouriscos* were never more than an unimportant and marginal minority in sixteenth-century Portugal. The *mourisco* population of Loulé in 1505, for instance, was limited to a mere three households.⁵⁰ In 1525 João III, in response to a complaint of the town council of Setúbal that the free *mouriscos* facilitated the escape of Muslim slaves, ordered all the *mouriscos* to leave the town. From a similar complaint made by the townspeople of Lagos in 1554 we learn that there were 50 *mourisco* households in that town. These *mouriscos* were more fortunate, however, as the King turned down the council's request and allowed them to remain in view of the fact that most of them had been born in Portugal and owned property worth 15,000 *reais*.⁵¹ A census of the tax paying population of Lisbon in 1565 numbered only 37 *mouriscos* out of a total of 15,056 tax-payers.⁵² A law enacted in the parliament of 1563 decreed that all Muslims in Lisbon must wear a distinctive sign on their clothing to prevent them mingling with *mouriscos* but the individuals referred to must have been merchants passing through Portuguese ports.⁵³ It was certainly the case that North African Jews visiting Portugal in the sixteenth century were kept under strict surveillance to prevent them interacting with New Christians.⁵⁴ Adding to the probability that these Muslims were merchants from North Africa is the fact that the fiscal census of 1565 lists no tax-paying "*mouros forros*" as residing in Lisbon.

Anti-Muslim Sentiment in Portugal prior to 1496

A pertinent question to ask is to what extent popular hostility might have played a part in the expulsion of the Muslims from Portugal. Whilst

⁵⁰ J. José Alves Dias, "Estratificação económica-demográfica do concelho de Loulé nos finais da Idade Média", *Actas das I jornadas de história medieval do Algarve e Andalusia* (1987), 205–218.

⁵¹ I. M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, *Mouriscos e cristãos no Portugal quinhentista: duas culturas e duas concepções religiosas em choque* (Lisbon, 1999), 30, footnotes 86 and 87.

⁵² A. B. Coelho, "Minorias étnicas e religiosas em Portugal no século XVI", *Viagens e viajantes no Atlântico quinhentista. Primeiras jornadas de história Ibero-Americana*, ed. M. da Graça and A. Mateus Ventura (Lisbon, 1996), 157.

⁵³ Visconde de Santarém, *Memorias para a historia, e theoria das Cortes Geraes, que em Portugal se celebrarão* (Lisbon, 1924), 59.

⁵⁴ Y. H. Yerushalmi, "Professing Jews in post-expulsion Spain and Portugal", *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974) 1023–1058 and M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, "Judeus de sinal em Portugal no século XVI", *Cultura. História e Filosofia*, 5 (1986), 339–363.

the Jews bore the brunt of antipathy from the Christian populace, there is some evidence that the Muslim minority in Portugal was not spared either. Throughout the fifteenth century, Muslims continued to be perceived as aliens. By way of illustration, the Christian inhabitants of Elvas complained to the Crown in 1436 that the Muslim cemetery of the town was situated next to the church of São Vicente and close to monastery of São Domingos. The monks and friars emerging from the church onto the plaza “praising God according to our true religion” were offended to have to see the Muslims bury their dead and listen to their funerary oration through which they were “denying God according to their evil and false sect.” The municipal council requested that the Muslim cemetery be moved to a location where it would cause less offence to the Christian population. The King approved their petition so long as the Muslims were provided with a suitable location as a replacement and their wishes were taken into consideration.⁵⁵

Similar anti-Muslim sentiments are revealed in two cases that are recorded by a few documents produced by the convent of Chelas. In the first case, such feelings appear in a striking phrase that is included in a document dated 9 December 1445. On that day the nuns of the convent of Chelas leased some houses they owned in Santarém to a squire named João Luis, authorising him to take possession of these houses from their current occupant, a Muslim widow named Murayma. The document specifies that the nuns preferred to lease their property “to a Christian, since to do so is a much greater service to God and of greater benefit to the monastery (sic).” The motivations of the nuns, however, may not

⁵⁵ “*Jtem senhor uossa mercee sabe que a comuna dos mouros desta ujlja tem seu fosairo em que se enterram dos muros adentro Junto com ho adro da igreja de sam vicente e mujto preto do adro de mo/teyro de sam domjngos da dicta ujlja em tal guisa que quando estes mouros leuam alguũ mouro ou moura a enterrar uaão per meo do adro da dicta Igreja de sam vicente de guisa que mujtas uezes acontece que esta os clerigos enterrando alguũ ou sajndo sobre os finados louuando deus segundo nossa uerdadeyra ffe E elles mouros vão pella outra parte do adro Renegando deus segundo sua maa e mjntirosa seyta que teem em tanto que as orações e lououres que os clerigos fazem os christãos as ouuem tam preto he huũ adro do outro, em tanto que os clerigos e frades ho ham por grande mal e he contra djreiro e nossa fe e que o nom deujamos consentir E assy no llo requeriam da parte de deus que tornasemos a ello. (...) A esto uos Respondemos que se todo o concelho da dicta vjlja parecer que he bem que assy o façam E que assy dem lugar conujnhauel aos mouros em que façam seu adro ouujndo os Jujzes da dicta ujlja primeiramente os dictos mouros do que lhes por sua parte quizerem dizer...*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Duarte*, fols. 221–221v. Published in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Chancelarias de D. Duarte*. Vol. I Tomo 2 (1435–1438), 403–404, doc. 1187.

have been just pious in nature since the document does not conceal the fact that João Luis had offered to pay a higher annual rent than the Muslim tenant.⁵⁶ In the second case, a series of documents record a bitter dispute that erupted between the convent of Chelas and Muḥammad Ratinho, a free Muslim of Santarém, between 1463 and 1465 over the terms of the lease of certain houses in Santarém belonging to the convent that were rented by Muḥammad Ratinho. The Archbishop of Lisbon, Afonso Nogueira, in his final sentence, described the plaintiff as an “infidel enemy of the Holy faith” (“*mouro Imfiell e Immjgo da Sancta ffe*”) who should not be permitted to lease ecclesiastical property except in certain determined areas (the *mourarias*).⁵⁷

The religious ties that existed between free Muslim and their enslaved coreligionists, and the resultant sentiments of solidarity, sometimes also gave rise to danger for the former as is revealed by a law enacted in 1421 by João I. In this law, the monarch ordered his officials and subjects not to harass or arbitrarily arrest free Muslims whom they suspected of harbouring fugitive slaves. The law refers to a letter of complaint the mudéjars of Lisbon sent to the king that describes the abuses in explicit terms:

The free Muslim community of Lisbon has sent us [word] that whenever a knight or any other person finds that one of his Muslim slaves has escaped, they seize [the free Muslims] without having discovered the slaves in their houses and extort bribes from them. They take from [the free Muslims] what they possess without having lodged a formal complaint with named witnesses and, if [the free Muslims] do not bribe them, then they have them tortured.⁵⁸

The king further states that the mudéjars of Lisbon also warned the king that the level of abuse had reached such levels that some of his Muslim subjects were leaving the kingdom.

⁵⁶ “...*christãos por sseer mais seruiço de deus E proll do dicto moesteiro...*” A.N.T.T., *Mosteiro de Chelas*, maço 45, doc. 887.

⁵⁷ M. F. L. de Barros, “O conflicto entre o Mosteiro de Chelas e Mafamede Ratinho, o moço, mouro forro de Santarém (1463–1465)”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas*, 3, 239–244.

⁵⁸ “... *o comuũ dos Mouros de Lixboa nos enviou dizer, que tanto que a alguũ cavalleiro, ou a alguã outra pessoa fógia alguũ Mouro dos captivos, que logo lançavam maão por elles, sem achando os cativos em seu poder, fazendo-os por ello espeitar, levando delles o que teem sem dando querella jurada, e em ella testemunhas nomeadas, e que se lhes nomeitavam, que os fazião meter a tormento...*” *Ordenações Afonsinas*, livro II, título 118.

Another indication that tension between Christians and Muslims did exist over the ties between the latter and slaves is highlighted by a pardon granted to Qāsim Láparo, a master carpet maker resident in Lisbon, on 26 August 1446. The document states that “circa one year and a half ago” (i.e. in 1444) an unspecified number of Muslim slaves were arrested for the murder of a Christian boy named Afonso in the *mouraria* of Lisbon. Prior to their execution, the slaves were tortured and some of them implicated Qāsim Láparo. The slaves declared that Láparo had assisted them in their attempt to escape. More particularly, one of the slaves named ‘Alī Chanque Cego revealed that Qāsim Láparo had given them 400 *reais brancos* so that they might leave the realm and go to the *terra dos mouros*. To aid their escape, Qāsim Láparo had even given them a letter of introduction for the other Muslim *comunas* of Portugal so that they might receive shelter and assistance on their way out of the realm. In his defence Qāsim Láparo claimed that if the Christians had discovered that a Christian child had been murdered by Muslims in the Muslim quarter then “all the Muslims of the *mouraria* would have been put to the sword” and that he had acted in order to prevent the outbreak of “a great riot by the populace of the town.”⁵⁹ Of course, it cannot be excluded that Qāsim Láparo invented the threat of a riot in order to conceal the fact that he had acted out of religious solidarity towards the slaves.

This is not the only instance in which Muslims were accused of helping enslaved co-religionists escape. In 1462 ‘Alī Bonombre, a Muslim of Setúbal, received a royal pardon after he was accused by two Christians of the same town of having helped two slaves escape.⁶⁰ Over twenty

⁵⁹ “...o culpárom que elle ssoubera parte dos que o dicto moço fora morto como elles matarom E que o nom quisera descobrir a Justiça antes lhes disera que sse callassem pois tanto mall Era factio E que o escondessem E o lançassem no mar nom o soubessem os cristãaos ca sse o ssoubessem todollos mouros da dicta mourarea andariam a espada E huum dos dictos mouros catiuos que asi matarom o dicto moço a que chamauom alle chanque cego elle dicto çaçome lhe dera iijc rreaes brancos com que sse ffosse fora destes nossos Regnos E sse fosse pera terra de mouros por sse nom ssaber parte da morte do dicto moço E lhe dera mais hũa carta pera as comunas dos mouros dos dictos nossos Rennos a que chegasse que lhe fezessem esmolla pera teer com que se fosse E fogir pera a dicta terra de mouros em que el dicto çaçome auendo desto nonoçea [notícia] temendo o grande aluoroço do poboo da dicta çidade...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 5, fols. 90–90v. Qāsim Láparo, who was himself on the run, was pardoned in return for the payment of a fine of 100 gold crowns.

⁶⁰ “...allee bonnonbre mouro forro morador em a ujlla de setuual nos enujou dizer que huum afonso gonçalluez E lujs afonso filho d’afonso rroo moradores em a dicta villa de setuuual querellarom delle dizendo que no primeiro dia do mes d’oytubro de iijc Lxij

years later, in 1483, Fernão Afonso Faleiro was pardoned and fined 1000 *reais* for having falsely accused a free Muslim named 'Ali Carrapato of having helped a Muslim slavewoman who had stolen money from her Jewish master. 'Ali Carrapato had been accused of having promised to redeem her with the money and marry her to one of his sons.⁶¹

Although popular animosity towards the Muslim minority did exist in medieval Portugal, interestingly, it does not appear to have been exacerbated by the military clashes that pitted the realm against the Muslim rulers of North Africa. Raids by Muslim pirates on the towns and settlements of the Portuguese coast, particularly the Algarve, did take place in the fourteenth century. The town of Lagos was attacked in 1332 by a fleet of twelve ships and some of its inhabitants taken to North Africa as slaves. In 1361 Lagos received special privileges from Pedro I in the hope of encouraging its settlement and defence after the local councillors informed the King that "the town is the most exposed and dangerous in the whole of the Algarve, a Muslim fleet from beyond the sea [i.e. North Africa] can get to this place within only one night and a day and [the Muslims] have already caused much damage here." The councillors added that the risk of attack had already driven away many settlers.⁶² One of those abducted by a Muslim raid in 1384 was Lourenço Anes Mil Libras, a town councillor of Loulé.⁶³ Once the Portuguese captured Ceuta in 1415, and later on a string of other fortresses along the Moroccan coast, Muslim raids on the Portuguese coast appear to have stopped as the war was carried on to North African soil. It was the practice of the

elle dicto bononbre sse fora da ujlla de palmella aa dicta villa de setuall E fallara com dous mouros catyuos do dicto lujs afomso E afomso gonçalluez E lhos engalhara os quaees fugirom loguo como elle com elles fallara." A.N.T.T., Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, bk. 1, fol. 116 and bk. 12, fol. 118. These two documents, nearly identical, clearly refer to the same individual but one states that he was from Palmela and the other from Setúbal. King João I had promulgated a law in 1421 (Era 1459) protecting free Muslims from being arbitrarily imprisoned or attacked in revenge for the escape of Muslim slaves (Ordenações Manuelinas, bk. 2, title 118).

⁶¹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 26, fol. 111v.

⁶² "A quantos esta carta virem faço saber que o concelho e homens boons de lagos me enujarom dizer que a dicta villa estaua em lugar fronteiro e temeroso que auja no regno do algarue que se frota algũa saya de mouros d aallem mar em hũa noyte e huũ dia eram ni dicto logo de lagos e que fizerom ja hi mujto dampno." *Chancelarias de D. Pedro I (1357–1367)*, ed. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 263–4, doc. 576.

⁶³ A. Iria, *Documentos Portugueses: O Algarve e os Descobrimientos* (Lisbon, 1956), 1, 97–150. Lourenço Anes Mil Libras did return to Portugal (perhaps having been ransomed?) since his presence is attested at a municipal council meeting held in August 1394 (see page 137).

Portuguese King to encourage the settlement of locations on the borders of the realm, which were exposed to attack by the enemy, by granting these towns and their settlers special privileges and by transforming them into penal colonies known as “*coutos dos homiziados*.” The diminution of the risk of attack by Muslim pirates can be gathered from the fact that in the fifteenth century the vast majority of such penal colonies tended to be located on the border with Castile. After the capture of Ceuta, only two *coutos dos homiziados* were created in the coastal towns of Vila Nova de Portimão (1478) and Mexilhoeira (1495).⁶⁴ The danger of Muslim raids on the coasts of the Algarve, and of attacks upon fishing vessels, did not reappear until later on in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁵

The situation in Portugal was therefore different from that on the other side of the Peninsula—particularly in the region of Valencia—where the local Muslim population was widely suspected by the Christian authorities and population of aiding and abetting Muslim pirate raids. The fear that the substantial Muslim population was acting as a fifth-column, soured relations between Christians and Muslims in Valencia. These tensions between Christians and Muslims in Valencia resulted in the outbreak of anti-Muslims riots in 1463 but no such violence took place in Portugal. The crucial factor that distinguished Portuguese Muslims from their co-religionists in the east of the Iberian Peninsula was that they were never numerous enough to be perceived as a potential danger by the dominant Christians.⁶⁶ Nor were they suspected of actively proselytising amongst the Christian population. The rare instances of Portuguese Christians converting to Islam concern individuals who went to Islamic lands and was not the result of missionary efforts by Muslims in Portugal.⁶⁷ On balance it is difficult to argue that there was an increasing anti-Muslim sentiment amongst the Christian populace in medieval

⁶⁴ H. Baquero Moreno, “Elementos para o estudo dos coutos de homiziados instituídos pela Coroa”, *Os municípios portugueses nos séculos XIII a XVI* (Lisbon, 1986), 125 and 129.

⁶⁵ I. M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, *Entre a cristandade e o Islão (séculos XV–XVII) Cativos e renegados nas franjas de duas sociedades em confronto* (Ceuta, 1998), 24.

⁶⁶ M. D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley, 1991), 61–98.

⁶⁷ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 4, fol. 3v (1452, in Granada); bk. 33, fols. 58v–59 (1473, in “*terra dos mouros*”) and *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 19, fol. 84v (1487, location of conversion not specified).

Portugal or that the Muslims were increasingly perceived as alien elements of society by their Christian neighbours.⁶⁸

When were the Muslims expelled?

Damião de Góis is ambiguous on this important point. According to chapter 18 of his chronicle, the debate that took place between Manuel and his advisers only concerned the fate of the Jews. Only at the end of the chapter does Damião de Góis simply state that the King “expelled the Muslims as well.”⁶⁹ When did Manuel decide to expel the Muslims? Until May 1496 the royal chancery continued to issue confirmations of privileges and public offices held by Muslims in the towns of Loulé, Lisbon, Elvas, Tavira and Faro.⁷⁰ After this date there is a mysterious silence in the documentation issued by the royal chancery concerning the Muslim *comunas*, just as with the Jews. Contrary to what is generally asserted, there is no proof that the decision was taken at precisely the same time as that to expel the Jews. The earliest printed version of the expulsion edict, printed in Lisbon by the German printer Valentim Fernandes on 19 November 1513, again omits any reference to Muslims and so does the second edition printed the following year. It is only in the third printed edition of the Manueline Ordinances, produced by Jacobo Cronberguer in Lisbon in 1521, that there appears a version of the expulsion edict mentioning both Jews *and* Muslims.⁷¹

On 30 December 1496, Manuel appointed ‘Abd Allāh Dourão of Évora to the office of *juiz dos direitos reais* of the *mouraria* of that town. His appointment was made to replace that of Aḥmad the Carpenter “who

⁶⁸ The idea that the Muslim minority was increasingly perceived as alien by Portuguese Christians has been tentatively argued by S. Boissellier in “L’appréhension des Mudéjares par la société chrétienne dans le Midi Portugais 1249–1496: quelques données et propositions de réflexions”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História. Porto*, 3ª Série, 1 (2000), 183–210.

⁶⁹ “...mas tambẽ hos mouros pelo mesmo modo.” Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 40.

⁷⁰ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 26, fol. 71v (Lisbon, 30/03/1496); bk. 26, fols. 81v–82 (Loulé, 15/03/1496); bk. 33, fol. 28 (Lisbon, 13/04/1496); bk. 33, fol. 40v (Tavira, 02/04/1496); bk. 34, fol. 38v (Elvas, 13/05/1496); bk. 34, fols. 49–49v (Loulé, 14/05/1496); bk. 43, fols. 67–67v (Faro, 28/05/1496).

⁷¹ See the discussion on this problem in the previous chapter.

has disappeared and fled from the city.”⁷² Such an appointment raises important questions. Why would Manuel have appointed a Muslim official to such a relatively important post if he had already decreed the departure of all Muslims? The most plausible explanation seems to be that the appointment was probably a temporary one made to cover the void left by Aḥmad the Carpenter. No explanation is given in the document for Aḥmad’s flight but it is possible that it may have been connected with the expulsion itself. We may never know exactly when Manuel decreed the expulsion of his Muslim subjects but it is certain that it was decreed before the end of December 1496. So far, the earliest contemporary document to mention the expulsion of the Muslims as well as the Jews is one dated 31 December 1496. On that day, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Manuel sent a missive to the municipal authorities of Porto informing them that the Jews *and* Muslims leaving Portugal were to be well treated but at the same time were not to be allowed to leave the realm without first obtaining a royal licence.⁷³

Where did the Exiles go?

Since it is clear that the majority of the Muslim population left Portugal in 1497, it is important to consider the problem of where they went. One of the most difficult questions surrounding the fate of the Muslims who left Portugal in 1497 remains the identity of the areas that they resettled into. One certainty is that they avoided the same fate as the Jews. Damião de Góis states that, since there were no Jewish states or realms, the Portuguese did not fear any possible retaliation but that the situation was entirely different regarding the Muslims:

To punish our sins God has allowed the Muslims to occupy the greater part of Asia and Africa as well as significant parts of Europe, where they have established great empires, kingdoms and lordships in which many Chris-

⁷² “... *comfiando nos de adela duram mouro foro morador na nossa cidade d’euora que nesto nos seruirea bem e como a noso seruiço e ben das partes pertemce e querendo lhe fazer graça e merçe temos por bem e o damos daquy em diante por juiz dos derreitos reaes da mouraria da dicta cidade asy e pela maneira que ho atee qui foy azmede carpinteiro que o dicto ofiço per carta d’el Reij meu Senhor cuy’alma deus aja tinha e se ora ausemtou e fugio da dicta cidade.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 33, fols. 80–80v.*

⁷³ A de Magalhães Basto, *Livro antigo de cartas e provisões dos senhores reis D. Afonso V, D. João II e D. Manuel I do arquivo municipal do Porto* (Porto, 1940), 107–8, doc. 69.

tians live under their yoke in addition to the many they hold as prisoners. To these [Christians] it would have been very prejudicial if the children of the [Portuguese] Muslims had been seized because the latter would seek revenge against the Christians living in Muslims lands when they arrived there and particularly against the Portuguese. And this was why the Muslims were allowed to leave the realm with their children unlike the Jews.⁷⁴

Jerónimo Osório repeats De Góis's explanation that the mercy shown to the Muslims was based on the concerns that "the Christians who live under Muslim rule in Asia and Africa" would suffer from acts of revenge.⁷⁵ Manuel's awareness of the possibility of Muslim reprisals should not come as a surprise. Since the fourteenth century, the Christian rulers of Aragon had been aware that the mistreatment of the Muslim population under their rule might spark reprisals against the Christian minority in the Islamic Near East. As recently as 1489, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt had sent an embassy to the court of Isabel and Fernando, chastising them for their attack on the Muslims of Granada and threatening reprisals against Christians in Jerusalem.⁷⁶ It is probable that Manuel and his advisers, like the ruler of Aragon, were thinking of Christian populations living under Muslim rule in the Near East but in all likelihood their concerns were more particularly directed towards the fate of Portuguese prisoners of war in Morocco, men garrisoning the strongholds on the coast who had been captured during raiding expeditions. These prisoners, along with any other future captives, would certainly

⁷⁴ *"Ha causa foi porque de tomarem hos filhos ahos Iudeus se nã podia receber nenhum damno ahos Christãos que andam espalhados pelo mũdo, no qual hos Iudeus per seus peccados nam tem regnos, nem senhorios, çidades, nẽ villas, mas antes ẽ toda parte õde vivẽ sam peregrinos, ẽ tributarios, sem terem poder, nem aauthoridade pera executar suas võtades contra has injurias, ẽ males que lhes fazem. Mas ahos mouros per nossos peccados, ẽ castigo permite Deos terem occupada ha mór parte de Asia, ẽ Africa, ẽ boa parte de Europa, onde tem Imperios Regnos, ẽ grandes senhorios, nos quas vivẽ muitos christãos debaixo de seus tributos, allem dos muitos que tẽ captiuos, ẽ a todos estes fora mui perjuçial tomarem se hos filhos dos mouros, porque ahos que se este agrauo fezera, he claro que se nam houueram esquecer de pedir vingança dos Christãos q̃ habitauam nas terras dos outros mouros, depois que se lá acharão ẽ sobre tudo dos Portugueses, de quẽ particularmente nesta parte se podiam aqueixar. E esta foi a causa porque hos deixaram sair do Regno com seus filhos, ẽ ahos Iudeus nam..."* Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 43.

⁷⁵ *"Neque fuit eis aliquod incommodum illatum, quemadmodum Iudæis: ne Christiani, qui in Africa vel Asia sub Saracenorum ditione viuebant, aliquod ob eam causam malum paterentur."* Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis* (Lisbon, 1571), 21.

⁷⁶ J. M. Doussinague, *La política internacional de Fernando el Católico* (Madrid, 1944), 515–7.

have borne the brunt of any Muslim retaliation against the Portuguese. Unfortunately, Damião de Góis does not elaborate further on the fate of the Muslim minority or where they went after leaving Portugal.

An indeterminate number definitively made their way to Castile. On 22 April 1497 Isabel and Fernando responded to a petition they had received from the Portuguese Muslims to allow them to pass through their realms:

We have been informed by you—the Muslim communities of Portugal—that the King of Portugal, Our cherished and beloved cousin, has ordered that you must all leave his realms and lordship within a certain period of time and that you could not leave Portugal without crossing or even settling in these Our realms without Our authorisation. On your behalf, We were begged and entreated [by your emissaries] so that you, your wives, children, men, servants and property shall be able to come to Our realms and lordships and remain there for the length of time that you wish and leave them whenever you desire.⁷⁷

In response, Isabel and Fernando allowed Portuguese Muslims to enter their realms with their families and property. In addition, it was decreed that Portuguese Muslims would be allowed to settle in Castile or, if they preferred, to leave Castile for another destination with all their property except for gold, silver or other “forbidden items.”

Most Portuguese Muslims probably found a welcoming refuge in neighbouring Castile. Many Muslim communities existed in the towns of the Castilian Extremadura and these would have been a particularly attractive destination to Portuguese Muslims, particularly those residing in the border towns of Moura and Elvas. As we have seen above, the two Muslim families that did send appeals to Manuel to be able

⁷⁷ “Por quanto por parte de vos aljamas e moros del reyno de Portugal nos fue fecha relacion diziendo que por el serenismo rey de Portugal, nuestro muy caro e muy amado primo, vos esta mandado que dentro de cierto termino todos saliesedes fuera de sus reynos e señorios, e que no podiadés salir dellos a parte alguna syn yr e pasar por nuestros reynos e señorios, ni menos venir e biuir a los dichos nuestros reynos syn nuestra licencia. E por vuestra parte nos fue suplicado e pedido por merced que vsando con vosotros de piedad e clemencia vos mandasemos dar liçençia para que vosotros e vuestras mugeres e fijos e omes e criados e vuestros bienes pudiesedes venir a estos nuestros reynos e señorios e estar en ellos el tiempo que vosotros quisyesedes e yr dellos cada e quando quisyeredes.” This document has been transcribed and published in M. A. Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en el tiempo de Isabel I* (Valladolid, 1969), 213–4, doc. 72 and in H. Beinhart, “A expulsão dos muçulmanos de Portugal”, *Em Nome da Fé* (São Paulo, 1999), 47–55.

return to Portugal were precisely from those two towns, although we do not know from where their appeals were sent but it is likely that it was from Castile. Many Muslims would have maintained ties of kinship with their co-religionists on the other side of the border. According to complaint made by the representatives of the town of Elvas at the parliament of Torres Vedras in 1441, the Muslims of this town often traded in the neighbouring kingdom and “sometimes marry in Castile and bring their wives back to Portugal.”⁷⁸ A Muslim of Lisbon named ‘Alī, who received a pardon from the Crown in 1462 for illegally leaving the kingdom without a royal licence, claimed in his defence to have been visiting members of his family in the Castilian town of Alcántara.⁷⁹

There was a particularly high density of Muslims living in and around the Extremaduran locality of Hornachos, situated just across the border from Portugal. The surviving fiscal records indicate that there were 432 Muslim households in Hornachos in 1495, the largest single concentration of Muslims in Castile outside the newly conquered territories of Granada. The surviving census of the poll tax (*pecha*) paid by Muslim communities in Castile in the years 1495, 1496, 1498, 1499, 1500 and 1501 have fortunately survived and have been edited by Ladero Quesada.⁸⁰ This extraordinary tax was levied from each head of a household. A comparison of the amounts that were levied from the Muslim communities in towns of the region of Extremadura, along the border with Portugal, between 1496 and 1498 are particularly interesting:

⁷⁸ “E aas uezes acontece que alguns mouros desta ujlja casam em castella asy como soyam fazer ante desta defesa e traziam as molheres pera esta ujlja como oge em dja viuem e per bem da defesa o nom ousam de fazer nem trautarem das dictas mercadorias seja uosa merce que possam husar em castella asy como usauom no tempo d’el Rej uoso auoo que deus aja em sua grollia e em esto nos farees merçee e proueyto a esta ujlja. A nos praz que posam hjr a castella se teuerem beens abastantes ou derem fiança e tornem a certo tempo.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 2, fol. 9.

⁷⁹ “... dous mouros seus tios com mercadorias e o levarom consygo a Alquantara logar do reinos de Casteua pera folgar com suas tias e parentas.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, bk. 15, fol. 68.

⁸⁰ M. A. Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla en el tiempo de Isabel I* (Valladolid, 1969), 17–20 and “Datos demográficos sobre los musulmanes de Granada y Castilla en el siglo XV”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 8 (1972–3), 481–490.

Table 1. *Pechas* levied from the Muslims communities in the Castilian Extremadura. (1495–1501)

<i>Town/Year</i>	1495	1496	1498	1499	1500	1501
Plasencia	81	82	107	106	103	105
Trujillo	71	73	100	90	89	91
Alcántara	45	50	84	84	84	103
Magacela	56	58	78	78	78	78
Bienquerencia	86	88	78	81	80	80
Medellín	10	9	7	7	7	7
Badajoz	6	n/a	2	1	n/a	n/a
Hornachos	432	426	425	429	427	427
Llerena	41	36	34	38	38	38
Mérida	90	87	83	107	97	97
Valencia de Alcántara	14	16	32	32	32	33

In the towns of Hornachos, Bienquerencia, Medellín, Llerena and Mérida there was little change or even a decline in the numbers of *pechas* collected between 1496 and 1498 but interestingly this was not the case everywhere. In the towns of Plasencia, Trujillo, Alcántara, Magacela and Valencia de Alcántara there was a sudden rise in the number of households paying the *pechas* between 1496 and 1498: +30% in Plasencia, +40% in Trujillo, +60% in Alcántara, +34% in Magacela and +100% in Valencia de Alcántara (see table 1). Perhaps surprisingly, the *pechas* collected from the important community of Hornachos shows that the population did not increase between 1496 and 1498 but had in fact declined slightly from 432 to 427. These figures are important since in no other parts of Castile was there such an increase. In fact these towns defy the general trend which between 1496 and 1498 tended towards a decline or stagnation. The most noticeable declines between 1496 and 1498 occurred in Burgos, where the number of *pechas* declined from 81 to 70 and in Ávila, where it plummeted from 250 to 177. Elsewhere in Old and New Castile, the only other towns in which there were substantial increases were Valladolid (from 111 to 122), Arévalo (from 116 to 128), Uclés (from 63 to 80) and Albacete (from 17 to 22).

Another area of Castile with a strong Muslim presence to which Portuguese Muslims may have migrated was the south-eastern Mediterranean region of Murcia. Between 1496 and 1498 a number of towns in this region registered an increase in the number of households paying the *pecha* but none so large that they could not have been the result

of natural demographic increase or migration from other areas of the peninsula (see table 2). The only exceptions are the villages of the Val de Ricote, which saw their number of households suddenly rise from 177 in 1496 to 211 in 1498 (+34%), and a few other Murcian localities that witnessed significant increases between those years such as Havanilla (modern-day Abanilla, up from 68 to 78) and Molina de Murcia (up from 47 to 60). It could of course be argued that the Muslim minority of medieval Castile was a highly mobile social group and that this might account for the variations in numbers. Notwithstanding this, the date of these sudden increases and the proximity of the Extremaduran towns to Portugal make it difficult to believe that the sudden rise of the *pechas* might not have been the result of the arrival of Portuguese Muslims. With their already considerable Muslim populations, both these areas would have been attractive destinations for Portuguese Muslims wishing to remain in Castile.

Table 2. *Pechas* levied from the Muslims communities in the region of Murcia. (1495–1501)

<i>Town/Year</i>	1495	1496	1498	1499	1500	1501
Murcia	43	42	49	43	43	44
Pliego	31	31	37	41	39	43
Cebty	37	37	44	47	46	47
Lorquí	33	32	36	38	39	37
Archena	21	21	22	21	21	21
Fortuna	31	28	32	31	31	29
Havanilla	68	68	78	65	69	70
Molina de Murcia	45	47	60	57	58	59
Val de Ricote	177	177	211	216	210	200
Alcantarilla	53	56	62	67	62	59
Socobos	n/a	6	15	16	16	14

Apart from the demographic increases recorded by these fiscal records, there is little other evidence that might establish the presence of Portuguese Muslims in Castile after 1497. In March 1498 a Muslim resident of the town of Mérida in Castile, named 'Alī Valiente, requested a copy of the privilege granted by Isabel and Fernando the previous year. Sadly there is no indication of the reason that impelled 'Alī Valiente to seek a copy of the privilege though this action in itself strongly suggests that he himself might have been a Portuguese Muslim who had settled

just across the border from his former homeland.⁸¹ This hypothesis is bolstered by the fact that a Muslim with exactly the same name of 'Alī Valiente, an inhabitant of Elvas, received a pardon from the Portuguese Crown in October 1486 for having had sexual relations with Christian women.⁸² The case of this Muslim is also significant as it brings into question the reliability of using the poll tax records as evidence of Muslim resettlement in Castile in 1497: in effect the number of households paying the *pecha* in Mérida actually fell from 87 in 1496 to 83 in 1498. A search for further individuals of Portuguese origin amongst the Mudéjar population in Castile after 1497 has so far failed to uncover any Muslims who might be of Portuguese origin. The only possible exception is a document of 1501 that refers to a *morisco* named Felipe *Portugés*, an interpreter living in the village of Moclinejo, near Málaga.⁸³

Did some of the exiles leave Portugal by ship and proceed directly to North Africa? The letter sent by the men of Faro to those of Silves in January 1497, and mentioned in the previous chapter, claims that Manuel had ordered ships to be requisitioned for the transport of the Jews but does not indicate that these were also intended to transport Muslims.⁸⁴ Whilst Damião de Góis is silent on this question, Jerónimo Osório states that the Portuguese Muslims sailed to North Africa and there is evidence that this was in fact the case for a least some of them.⁸⁵ Over eight years after the expulsion, in September 1505, Manuel ordered an inquiry to be carried out into unsold property left by Muslims in the Algarve, proving without doubt that some did emigrate to North Africa:

We have been informed that, at the time when the Muslims of Our kingdom of the Algarve went elsewhere because We ordered them to leave, [these Muslims] left property in parts of the Algarve where they had lived

⁸¹ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 3, 9–12, doc. 469.

⁸² A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. João II*, bk. 8, fol. 73.

⁸³ J. E. López de Coca Castañer, “La emigración mudéjar al reino de Granada en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos”, *En la España Medieval*, 23 (2003), 209, n. 29. It is worth noting the existence in June 1496, six months prior to the expulsion from Portugal, of an Ahmad *Portugues* “*moro ladino*” living in Vélez Málaga. See J. E. López de Coca Castañer, “El repartimiento de Vélez Málaga”, *Cuadernos de Historia*, 7 (1977), 432 and 435, doc. 8.

⁸⁴ *Academia das Ciências, Série Azul, códice 403*, fols. 366v–367v.

⁸⁵ “*Mauri vero omnes, qui noluerunt à Mahumetis pestifera secta discedere, in Africam se contulerunt.*” Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis* (Lisbon, 1571), 21.

that had not been sold as well as unpaid debts owed to them. Moreover, in the days of their passage [to North Africa] property of theirs was taken from them against their will by the masters of the ships and sailors.⁸⁶

The value of the property left behind by the Muslims of the Algarve, or at least that which the Crown was able to reclaim only amounted to a mere 120 *reais*. Moreover, it appears that the Muslims suffered at the hands of unscrupulous sailors just as the Castilian Jews had in 1492. If many did not proceed directly to North Africa in 1496, then others possibly did so after the forced conversion of the Muslims of Castile in 1502. There is almost no information revealing what became of those who chose to cross the sea. Any Portuguese Muslims who arrived in North Africa simply assimilated into the mass of the local Muslim population without leaving a trace of their Portuguese past. In August 1514 the governor of the Portuguese stronghold of Safim in Morocco confirmed the terms of the lease of a couple of houses that were rented by a Muslim named Muḥammad Colares.⁸⁷ Could this Muslim originally have been an inhabitant of the town of Colares, north of Lisbon, before 1497? A much later reference to a Muslim of Portuguese origin residing in the Moroccan town of Fez appears in a denunciation made to the inquisitors of Lisbon as late as 1541. On 9 March of that year, the inquisitors carefully recorded in their “book of denunciations” that a certain Bartholomew Almunha from Valencia accused a Portuguese Christian of Lagos, named Duarte, of having sold a fellow Christian to a Muslim of Fez. Duarte had supposedly even advised the hapless captive to convert to Islam. The informant further specified that the Muslim buyer “was one of the old Muslims from Portugal.”⁸⁸

Whilst many of the Jews who were expelled from Castile converted and returned in the years following 1492, there is practically no evidence

⁸⁶ “*Aquamtos Esta nosa Carta virem fazemos saber que a nos djeram oora que no tempo em que os mouros do nosso Regnno do Allguarue se foram pera as partees daalem quando os mandamos ssair de nossos Regnnos lhe ficaram nos liguares em que viuiam no dito Regnno do Allguarue allguuīs beēs e fazemdas por vemder e asy diuidas em que allguuās pesoas lhe eram obriguados por Recadar e tambem nos dias de sua pasagem pelos mestres dos nauios e mareantes delles lhe foram tomadas allguuās cousas comtra sua vomtades...*” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 15, fol. 97; F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida mourisca”, *AHP*, 5 (1907), 259–260, doc. 13.

⁸⁷ A.N.T.T. *Chancelaria de D. João III*, bk. 8, fol. 22 v (later confirmation by João III, circa 1525).

⁸⁸ “...*que fora de Portugal dos velhos.*” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 1 de denúncias*, fol. 104v.

for a similar phenomenon affecting the Muslims expelled from Portugal four years later. The only reference to such an occurrence is made, intriguingly, by the Portuguese author of a description of Loulé that was published around 1600. The author reported that he had once spoken to a Portuguese Muslim who left the kingdom in 1497 and crossed over to North Africa but “finding himself unable to live there, returned with others, and they became Christians.”⁸⁹ If Muslims did indeed return to Portugal after 1497 it was either through special royal privilege or in violation of a law enacted by Manuel that expressly prohibited such returns.⁹⁰

Why the Muslims? Why 1497?

Of the many enigmas surrounding the expulsion of the Portuguese Muslims, the most persistent and difficult ones to answer remain the ones asked by L. P. Harvey: Why the Muslims? Why 1497?⁹¹ Manuel did not reveal the reasoning behind his decision in any extant document and no contemporary source provides any solution to these questions. The prevalent explanation, and indeed the only one put forward by historians both in and out of Portugal, is that the Portuguese Muslims—like the Jews of that realm—were the victims of Spanish pressure on Manuel I. Isabel and Fernando are alleged to have required Manuel to expel the

⁸⁹ “Outro sítio está junto à vila, da parte austral, que se chama Momperle. Estes nomes mouriscos estão tão vivos nesta vila, porque há pouco tempo, que nela estiveram os últimos Mouros, que houve no Algarbe, e há poucos anos, que faleceu um, que se foi para os Mouros, a África, e não podendo lá viver, se tornou ele e os outros, e se fizeram cristãos.” H. Fernandes Sarrão, “História do reino do Algarve (circa 1600)”, *Duas descrições do Algarve do século XVI*, ed. Manuel Viegas Guerreiro e Joaquim Romero Magalhães (Lisbon, 1983), 161.

⁹⁰ “Outro si vendo Nós como muitos Christãos Nouos que foram Mouros, e assi alguiões Mouros foros se veem de Castella, ou d’Aragam, ou d’outras partes a estes Nossos Reynos, pera delles se passarem a Terra de Mouros, onde se tornam Mouros, e dahi fazem guerra assi a Nossos Reynos, como aos de Castella, o que he tanto contra serviço de Deos, e Nosso (...) Poemos por Ley, que ninhuũ Christão Nouo que fosse Mouro sendo forro, nem ninhuũ Mouro de Castela, ou d’Araguam, ne de quaesquer outras partes que sejam, nom venham, nem entrem em Nossos Reynos, posto que diguam, que vem con tençam de negociar, sob pena, que (...) serem catiuos, serem publicamente açoutados, e ferrados no rosto (...). E estas mesmas penas aueram os Mouros que por Nós destes Reynos foram lançados.” *Ordenações Manuelinas*, bk. 5, title. 82.

⁹¹ L. P. Harvey, “When Portugal expelled its remaining Muslims (1497)”, *Portuguese Studies Review*, 2 (1995), 1–14.

Muslims from his realm, as well as the Jews, before they would consent to him marrying their daughter. This idea has important ramifications for historians as it presupposes that Isabel and Fernando harboured a Machiavellian plan to rid the Peninsula of Muslims. Harvey, in particular, has used the expulsion of the Portuguese Muslims to claim that “it was curiously in Portugal and not in any of the Spanish realms that Spain was first able to insist on the implementation of a policy of monolithic Catholic Christian unity, with, as a corollary, the elimination of all other faiths.”⁹²

Many modern historians have perceived Isabel and Fernando as having formulated and enforced a coherent policy of religious uniformity designed to strengthen their political power. In a few cases there has even been a confusion of facts which has led some historians to erroneously state that the Catholic Monarchs expelled the Muslim minority in their kingdoms at the same time as the Jews in 1492, which was certainly not the case.⁹³ The notion that Isabel and Fernando pursued a coherent policy of religious homogenisation from the beginning of their reign makes little sense and is not supported by any narrative or documentary evidence. To begin with, if the Catholic Monarchs entertained a “*política de exclusion*”, as many historians have claimed, then it is difficult to understand why they did not also force the rulers of Navarre to expel their Muslim subjects. Navarre in 1498 was in an even more difficult position than Portugal in 1497. The successive treaties of Valencia (1488), Pamplona (1493) and Madrid (1495) had to all intents and purposes reduced Navarre to a Spanish protectorate. The rulers of Navarre, Juan de Albret and Catalina, were not in a position to refuse such a demand. Their position was so weak that Philippe de Commines wryly commented in his famous memoirs that Isabel and Fernando “did what they wanted with Navarre.”⁹⁴ If Isabel and Fernando were planning to rid their realms of Muslims and did pressure Manuel into expelling his

⁹² L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614* (Chicago, 2005), 15.

⁹³ For instance in A. Losa, “Le statut légal des maures et des juifs portugais pendant les XII^e–XV^e siècles”, *Medievalia. Textos e Estudos*, 5–6 (1994), 307: “Fernando et Isabel, en 1492 avaient expulsé d’Espagne les juifs et les maures qui restaient après la conquête de Grenada. Or parmi les clauses du contrat de mariage de la princesse, était exigé, de la part du monarque portugais, l’expulsion de tous les maures et juifs vivant dans son Royaume.”

⁹⁴ J. del Burgo, *Historia general de Navarra desde los orígenes hasta nuestros días* (Madrid, 1992), 2, 231–257; Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires*, ed. J. Blanchard (Paris, 2001), 667.

own Muslim subjects, why did they not also follow the same policy with Navarre? When the small Pyrenean Kingdom of Navarre expelled its Jewish population in 1498 because of pressure from Isabel and Fernando, it did not also drive out its Muslim inhabitants. Even after Castilian troops invaded Navarre in 1512, the local Muslim communities continued to reside in that kingdom until 1516, when Navarre was formally attached to the Crown of Castile and adopted all of its laws and edicts, including the Castilian expulsion edict of 1502.⁹⁵ It is also worth mentioning that the expulsion of the Portuguese Muslims, just like that of the Jews, does not feature in any clause of the marriage contract between Manuel and Isabel at Burgos on 30 November 1496. Moreover, it appears even more improbable that, as Tavares has suggested, the Muslims were included among the “heretics” that Princess Isabel wanted Manuel to expel before she would agree to marry him and enter Portugal.⁹⁶

The attitude of Isabel and Fernando towards their own Muslim subjects up to the time of the Portuguese expulsion showed no premonitory signs of their future policies. Although the Jews were expelled from Castile and Aragon in 1492, it was ten years before the Muslims of Castile were forced to convert. When false rumours circulated in 1493 that they intended to expel the Muslims as well as the Jews, Isabel and Fernando sent a letter all the magistrates and justices of their realms firmly and publicly denying this news and ordering the arrest of those who circulated such rumours:

You should know that we have been informed by the Muslim communities of all the cities and towns of these realms that certain unknown persons, in the hope of stirring the populace against them, have been spreading the rumour that We are intending to order all the Muslims of our realms to leave. Because of this, [the Muslims] have been unable to find work to sustain themselves or people willing to enter into contractual obligations with them and they have received much hurt and prejudice. They have begged us to remedy this state of affairs and We have agreed because it has never been Our intention, and it is not, to expel the Muslims from these Our realms. We order you to have this [ordinance] published in all the cities, towns and villages of Our realms so that no one should be so bold as

⁹⁵ L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago, 1990), 149–150.

⁹⁶ M. J. P. Ferro Tavares, “A expulsão dos judeus de Portugal: conjuntura peninsular”, *Oceanos*, 29 (1997), 13.

to claim that we intend to expel the Muslims. (...) If anyone should be so bold as to say so, you must arrest them and confiscate their property; they must not be released or paroled without Our expressed permission.⁹⁷

The decision to force the Muslim population living in Castilian territory to convert in 1502 has its roots firmly in the revolt of the Granadan Muslims in 1499–1500.⁹⁸ The decision to expel the Jews in 1492 had been prompted by the fear that they encouraged the judaizing of *conversos* but until 1500 there was no similar problem with the Muslim minority. At the surrender of Granada, the victors had guaranteed the religious freedom of the conquered Muslim population and this had been respected by the first Archbishop of postconquest Granada, Hernando de Talavera. It was not until the zealous and intolerant Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, involved himself in missionary activity in Granada that the situation changed decisively. Cisneros forced many Granadan Muslims of Christian origin to accept baptism and his brutal methods resulted in a series of Muslim rebellions between 1499 and 1501. It was these uprisings that forced the hand of Queen Isabel of Castile. In the eyes of the Castilians, the Muslim rebels had broken the terms of the surrender agreement of 1492 and thousands were forced to

⁹⁷ “Sepades que por parte de las aljamas de los moros de todas las çidades y villas y logares de los nuestros reynos e señorios nos es fecha relacion por su petición diciendo que de pocos dias a esta parte algunas personas a fyn de escandalizar los pueblos contra ellos andan diziendo y divulgando y echando fama que nos queremos mandar a los dichos moros que salgan fuera de nuestros reynos, a cabsa de lo qual diz que no entienden en sus heredades, ni hallan en que trabajar para su sustentamiento ni queren contratar con ellos personas algunas ni tienen de ellos confianza que tenían de antes de que la dicha fama se dibulgase, de lo qual todos ellos reçiben mucho agravio y daño, e por su parte nos fue suplicado e pedido por merced que sobre ello proveyese como la nuestra merced e voluntad no fue ni es de mandar salir los dichos moros fuera de los dichos nuestros reynos nos mandamos dar esta nuestra carta en la dicha razon. Porque vos mandamos que luego que con ella fueredes requeridos fagays pregonar e publicar por todas esas dichas ciudades y villas y lugares en cada una de ellas, que ninguna ni algunas personas non sean osados de decir que avemos de echar los dichos moros fuera de los dichos nuestros reynos (...), e sy alguna o algunas personas gelo dijeren les prendades los cuerpos y secresteys los bienes e no les dedes sueltos ni fiados syn nuestra liçença e espeçial mandado...” M. A. Ladero Quesada, “Los Mudéjares de Castilla en la baja edad media”, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla y otros estudios de historia medieval andaluza* (Granada, 1989), 115–6.

⁹⁸ M. A. Ladero Quesada, “Isabel and the Moors”, *Isabel La Católica, Queen of Castile: Critical Essays*, ed. D. A. Boruchoff (New York, 2003), 177–187; M. D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley, 1991), 51–60 and “Religious change, regionalism, and royal power in the Spain of Fernando and Isabel”, *Iberia and the Mediterranean world of the Middle Ages: studies in honor of Robert I. Burns*, S. J., ed. L. J. Simon (Leiden, 1995), 1, 96–112.

convert thus creating a new problem. It was feared that contact between the converts and the Muslim communities in the rest of Castile outside Granada would prevent their Christianisation and accordingly the remaining Muslim population of Castile was also forced into baptism in 1502.⁹⁹ Thus it is simply impossible to claim that prior to the events of 1499 there is any evidence that Isabel and Fernando entertained a plan to rid their realms—and the Iberian Peninsula—of Muslims.

The only link drawn between the marriage of Manuel and Princess Isabel and the expulsion of the Muslims is made in an anonymous 1560s or 1570s critique of the biography of King Manuel by Damião de Góis. The author of this work has been identified as the second Count of Tentugal, Francisco de Melo, a member of the Bragança family. The Count of Tentugal disliked de Góis's treatment of the role played by his grandfather Alvaro de Silva in the marriage negotiations of 1496 and made the following criticism:

If Lord Alvaro da Silva had not been so close to the Kings of Castile (...) I do not think that the marriage would have taken place. (...) This is clearly set out in certain letters I have in my possession that King Manuel wrote of his own hand by which he declared that all that was done regarding the Jews and Muslims was because of this marriage. I do not know how [Damião de Góis] was able to overlook this issue as it was one of the most important.¹⁰⁰

In spite of the claim made by the Count of Tentugal, no letters from Manuel to Alvaro da Silva, linking the expulsion of the Muslims—as well as the Jews—to the marriage negotiations, have survived and it is quite possible that they never existed. In his response to his critic, Damião de Góis states that the Count of Tentugal had failed to produce the letters. Perhaps the clearest evidence that the Count of Tentugal was mistaken is that when Damião de Góis was compelled to publish a second, expurgated, version of his *Crónica* this passage had not been altered.

⁹⁹ On the actions of Cisneros in Granada: L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago, 1990), 324v339 and *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614* (Chicago, 2005), 24–44.

¹⁰⁰ “E se o senhor Dom Alvaro não valera tamto com os Reis de Castela (...) não creyo que fora posivel aver feito tal casamento, o qual ele deixou acabado, como se maes larguamente pode ver pelas cartas que lhe El Rey Dom Manoel espreveo de sua mão, que eu tenho em meu poder, pelas quaes consta que tudo ho que El Rey fez nas cousas dos Judeos e Mouros for por comtrato deste casamento, e não sey como ficão espritas atras sem fazer menção desta cousa, pois foy a prymçipal.” Francisco de Melo, “Critica contemporanea da ‘Chronica de D. Manuel’”, ed. Edgar Prestage, *AHP*, 9 (1914), 358.

If Spanish pressure was not responsible for Manuel's decision to expel the Muslims, then how are we to account for it? The eighteenth century historian Pedro Monteiro (1661–1735) asserts in his history of the Portuguese Inquisition that the idea of expelling the Muslims was suggested to the King by his Dominican confessor Friar Jorge Vogado.¹⁰¹ Little is known of Jorge Vogado, though he was head of the Dominican Order in its province of Portugal, but Monteiro states that he was a distinguished theologian. In his account of the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims, Monteiro closely follows Damião de Góis but this significant information is clearly derived from a different source. The identity of this source is not known but it is possible that Monteiro had access to narratives or documents in archives—including Dominican archives—that are no longer accessible to modern scholars. Nevertheless, this claim has to be treated with a degree of scepticism since in an earlier work Monteiro seems to imply that Jorge Vogado was behind the expulsion of both the Muslims *and* the Jews.¹⁰²

Whether or not Manuel's confessor played any part in the expulsion of the Portuguese Muslims, it makes far more sense when examined in the light of the declared aims of the Portuguese monarch in the first years of his reign. The reign of Manuel is chiefly remembered today because of the first sea voyage by Vasco da Gama that opened up a sea route to India in 1497–9 and the foundation of the Portuguese seaborne Empire in the East but, as we have already seen in chapter 3, from the very start of his reign Manuel also focused his attention on rekindling the crusade against the infidels in Morocco. This involved the King in complex diplomacy with Rome and brought to the fore Portuguese anxieties concerning competing Castilian claims in North Africa. A detailed examination of this aspect of the reign suggests another, far more credible, motive for the expulsion of the Muslims.

To understand the anxiety Manuel felt towards Castilian ambitions in North Africa, it is necessary to look back at the long history of Castilian-Portuguese rivalry in this region. Portuguese fears of Castilian encroachment upon what they considered to be their own sphere of

¹⁰¹ "...de conselho de seu confessor o Padre Mestre Fr. Jorge Vogado, Inquisidor do Reyno, religioso Dominicano, lançou for a esta gente por Dezembro do anno de 1496..." P. Monteiro, *História da Santa Inquisição do reino de Portugal, e suas conquistas* (Lisbon, 1750), 2, 6 and 427.

¹⁰² P. Monteiro, *Claustro Dominicano* (Lisbon, 1729), 83–4.

influence and potential conquests in Morocco were not unfounded. Since the thirteenth century, Castile had laid claim to the conquest of North Africa. At the treaty of Monteagudo in 1291 the Kings of Castile and Aragon had already marked out spheres of influence and future conquest in North Africa.¹⁰³ For Castile, however, the conquest of North Africa had particular political and historical significance. The ideology underpinning the Castilian “*reconquista*”, which cast its rulers as the heirs of the Visigothic Kings of the Peninsula prior to the Islamic conquest of 711, was also used by Castilian propagandists to legitimise further Castilian conquests in North Africa. The intrusion of the Portuguese into North Africa, from 1415 onwards, was perceived by the Crown of Castile as a usurpation of its legitimate sovereignty. When Pope Eugenius IV granted the Portuguese Crown the crusading bull *Rex Regnum* in 1436—entitling it to conquer all infidels in Africa—the papacy had received complaints from the Castilian court. The danger represented by such claims to the continued Portuguese presence in North Africa were clear. Already in the fifteenth century Portugal had been obliged to concede sovereignty of the Canary Islands to Castile. The Castilian rulers and their negotiators had insisted that the islands belonged by right to Castile because they claimed that these had formed part of the ancient Roman North African province of *Tingitana* (Tangier), which itself was considered by the Castilians as lawfully theirs since it once formed part of the Visigothic realm.¹⁰⁴

The treaty of Alcáçovas (1479) had divided North Africa into two different areas of Portuguese and Castilian authority. Isabel and Fernando had recognised the Portuguese right to conquer the “Kingdom of Fez” (roughly equivalent to modern day Morocco) and pledged not to impede it in any way.¹⁰⁵ With the fall of Granada in 1492, the eyes

¹⁰³ The treaty divided North Africa in two. The regions to the west of the Mulua River would be reserved for conquest by the Crown of Castile and those to the east by the Crown of Aragon. M. Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla* (Madrid, 1922), 2, 167–197, 294v7; 3, docs. 384–6.

¹⁰⁴ J. F. O’Callaghan, “Castile, Portugal and the Canary Islands: claims and counter-claims, 1344–1479”, *Viator*, 24 (1993), 287–309. See also P. Russell, *Prince Henry “the Navigator”*. *A Life* (New Haven, 2001), 264–290. Also of interest is J. Montenegro and A. del Castillo, “De Monteagudo a Tordesillas: las aspiraciones castellanas en el norte de África y el problema de sus derechos históricos de conquista”, *Revista de Ciências Históricas (Universidade Portucalense—Infante D. Henrique)*, 14 (1999), 125–145.

¹⁰⁵ A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 1, 245–284, doc. 165.

of Isabel and Fernando were now set upon further expansion in North Africa. The treaty signed at Tordesillas in June 1494 had not only divided up the Atlantic into spheres of Castilian and Portuguese expansion but also sought to resolve the contentions that existed between Portugal and her neighbour in North Africa. The treaty of Tordesillas had differed from that of Alcáçovas by one important concession made by the Portuguese. In effect, both sides agreed that the Kingdom of Fez would continue to be regarded as exclusively reserved for Portuguese conquest but that lands situated to the east of it, including Melilla and Cazaza which formed part of the Kingdom of Fez, would be reserved for conquest by the Crown of Castile. Nonetheless, the partition was vague and failed to set a precise point demarcating Portuguese and Castilian territory.¹⁰⁶

Isabel and Fernando instigated an intense diplomatic effort in 1494 and 1495 to obtain a bull similar to that granted to them in 1482 for their crusade against the Muslims of Granada. Their efforts were successful and, in November 1494, the Pope granted them the issue of a crusading bull (*Redemptor Noster*) that included a papal indulgence and the grant of the ecclesiastical tithes for a period of two years. The Castilian ambassadors were even more successful the following year. In February 1495, the Pope granted another far reaching bull to Isabel and Fernando, *Ineffabilis et Summi*, conferring upon them the possession of any lands they conquered in "Africa." The bull did not explicitly mention Portuguese rights in North Africa but simply stated that any conquests must not cause any prejudice to "Christian monarchs and princes" who might have rights over these lands.¹⁰⁷ Portuguese ambassadors at the papal curia had protested loudly on behalf of João II that the "venture" (*empresa*) of the "Kingdom of Fez" had been granted to the Portuguese by Pope Pius II in 1461 but without success.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ L. Suárez Fernández, *Los Reyes Católicos. La expansión de la fe* (Madrid, 1990), 201–2; A. de la Torre and L. Suárez Fernández, *Documentos referentes a las relaciones con Portugal durante el reino de los Reyes Catholicos*, 2, 421–434, doc. 463.

¹⁰⁷ L. Suárez Fernández, *Política Internacional de Isabel la Católica. Estudio y Documentos*, 4, 299–302, doc. 64.

¹⁰⁸ "... puesto que luego los embaxadores de Portugal pidieron, que no diesse la empresa del Reyno de Fez afirmando, que el Papa Pio auia dado aquella conquista a los Reyes de Portugal y que la de Alger, Bugia y Tunez, se auia concedido a los Reyes de Aragon, en tiempo del Rey don Alonso." J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia* (Zaragoza, 1670), fols. 48v–49. The reference appears to be to the bull *Dum tua* (25 January 1461) in which Pius II granted the mastership of the Military Order of Christ to the King of Portugal to "extirpate the Saracens from all of Africa." Ch.-M. de Witte, "Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion Portugaise au XV^e siècle," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 53 (1958), 11.

As we have previously seen in chapter 3, the Portuguese King and his advisers had good reasons to be concerned that the Castilians would take advantage of the ambiguity of the term “Africa” used in papal bulls to impinge upon territory that was claimed by the Portuguese as their own. Isabel and Fernando had made plans for an expedition to North Africa as early as 1494. The anonymous Portuguese author of the memorial sent to Queen Isabel in 1494 mentions their project of conquering the town of Melilla and encouraged them to conquer the Kingdom of Fez instead. Moreover, Zurita informs us that in 1495 Fernando was advised to exploit Manuel’s weak position to force him to renounce his claim to the “Kingdom of Fez.”¹⁰⁹ The Castilian preparations for an invasion of North Africa were hardly kept secret and Münzer—after meeting with the Catholic Monarchs in Madrid in January 1495—makes the following remarks in his travel journal:

King [Fernando] is now gathering numerous ships, horses and other supplies for an expedition with his army to Africa, where he is greatly feared by the kings of Fez, Tunis and Tlemçen.¹¹⁰

It is true that Isabel and Fernando’s war against the French in Italy forced them to divert their attention and resources away from North Africa but this could only have been of little reassurance to the Portuguese. In fact the Castilian presence in North Africa became a reality when, in September 1497, the Duke of Medina Sidonia crossed the sea with an armed force and seized the deserted town of Melilla, thus establishing the first Castilian foothold in North Africa. This expedition was a private venture financed and led by the Duke but was also officially backed by the rulers of Castile and Aragon.¹¹¹ Manuel must have known of the preparations for this expedition in 1496 and he cannot have failed to know that the Castilians, now armed with great papal sanction, were earnestly preparing to send armed forces to North Africa.

As we have seen in chapter 3, Manuel worked hard to restore the balance from the moment he came to the throne. One of his aims was to

¹⁰⁹ For the passage from Zurita’s *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico* see chapter 3.

¹¹⁰ “Item maxime disponit se Rex cum navibus, equis et aliis com meatibus pro expeditione affricana. Timent enim [eum] maxime Rex de Fes, de Tunnis, de Tremesin.” H. Münzer, “Itinerarium Hispanicum”, ed. L. Pfandl, *Revue Hispanique*, 48 (1920), 132.

¹¹¹ J. Zurita, *Historia del Rey Don Hernando el Catholico. De las Empresas, y Ligas de Italia*, fols. 136–136v. On the plans and reconnaissance missions sent to North Africa see L. Suárez Fernández, *Los Reyes Católicos. La expansión de la fe* (Madrid, 1990), 204–6.

secure Papal sanction for his ambitions in North Africa and Manuel initiated an all out diplomatic offensive of his own. In Rome, his ambassador Pero Correia and the resident Portuguese Cardinal Jorge de Alpedrinha were negotiating with Pope Alexander VI for the concession of a papal bull that would confirm Portugal's territorial claims and safeguard any further gains from encroachment by a rival Christian power. In September 1496 he had received the crusading bulls *Redemptor noster* and *Cogimus jubente*. Even though these two bulls demonstrate that the King was planning a crusade to North Africa, they did not demarcate potential Portuguese conquests or seek to protect them from rival claim by other Christian princes.

These negotiations for the grant of a new papal bull were ultimately successful and on 1 June 1497 Alexander VI issued the bull *Ineffabilis et Summi* for the Portuguese King. This bull was an almost identical copy of the one granted to Isabel and Fernando two years earlier. The Portuguese King and all his descendants could possess in perpetuity any lands conquered from the infidels. The only major difference between this and the one granted to Isabel and Fernando is that it explicitly warned other Christian rulers not to molest, impede or wage war against the Portuguese King. The Portuguese sovereign, however, was also not to encroach upon the territories of other Christian rulers. The new bull, which again refers explicitly to the involvement of Cardinal Jorge de Alpedrinha in the negotiations, mentions the fact that through his ambassadors Manuel had conveyed to the pope his "intention to fight the infidels in the manner of his forbearers."¹¹² As Charles Martial de Witte has pointed out, the lands to which *Ineffabilis et Summi* referred were clearly those of North Africa rather than any other conquests that might result from the future expedition to India which was also being planned by Manuel.¹¹³ Pope Alexander VI, anxious not to offend Isabel and Fernando, was again deliberately vague in the terms he used in the bull. This ambiguity was not a new development in papal diplomacy and

¹¹² "... et ad sedem ipsam successu temporis conuerti sane pro parte tua nobis nuper per Venerabilem fratrem nostrum Georgium Episcopum Albanensem sanctae Romae ecclesie Cardinalem Vlixbonensem nuncupatur expositum sint quod tu qui more tuorum progenitorum intendis Infidelium expugnationi vacare desideras..." J. Martins da Silva Marques, *Descobrimientos portugueses. Documentos para sua história* (Lisbon, 1944), 3, 479–480, doc. 315.

¹¹³ Ch.-M. de Witte, "Les bulles pontificales et l'expansion Portugaise au XV^e siècle", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 53 (1958), 452–3.

had been previously used by Alexander in 1493–4 to preserve the balance of power and peace between both realms.¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, from Manuel's position, the grant of *Ineffabilis et Summi* served a useful purpose as it effectively nullified any advantage that the Castilians might have hoped to gain over Portugal with their own copy of *Ineffabilis et Summi* in any future negotiations relating to territories in North Africa.

Taking into consideration these facts, it is easier to attempt to discern the reasoning that probably informed Manuel's decision to expel the Portuguese Muslims. This expulsion only makes sense if it was conceived as a gesture of political propaganda, designed to impress the Papacy and other Christian rulers. It was the deed of a king whose desire to portray himself as a champion of Christendom was fuelled both by his obsession with the struggle against Islam and his anxiety about competing Castilian claims in Morocco. As we have seen above, the King played on his image as an ardent and enthusiastic crusader in the letters he sent to Rome. Such propaganda would continue to play a central role throughout Manuel's reign. In 1505, Manuel would finance the printing of a short propaganda tract entitled *Epistola ad summum romanum pontificem*. Ostensibly a letter written in reply to the Pope, the *Epistola* was in fact designed to be circulated in Europe. The tract set out to emphasise the King's credentials as a great crusader at the expense of the other Christian kings of Europe who were criticised for their inactivity. Although he does not mention the expulsion of the Muslims in 1497, the King strongly emphasised the importance of fighting the common enemy of Christendom more by deeds than by words. In a bombastic tone, Manuel informs the Pope of the forthcoming destruction of Mecca by the Portuguese armies in India. The Portuguese monarch even claimed the credit for the forced conversion of the Muslim minority and destruction of their mosques in neighbouring Castile in 1502 by stating that he had personally suggested the idea to his in-laws Isabel and Fernando. Manuel congratulated himself that "[the forced conversion of the free Muslims in Castile] was carried out and accomplished, as was promised, with the praise of God and to Our great pleasure and benefit."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ H. Vander Linden, "Alexander VI, and the demarcation of the maritime and colonial domains of Spain and Portugal, 1493–1494", *The American Historical Review*, 22 (1916), 1–20.

¹¹⁵ "...saiba vossa sanctidade que quando se contrattou casamento entre nós, & ha Rainha nossa muita amada molher nisto principalmente insistimos, & houemos por mais

When the lengthy periods of time that negotiations between Portugal and the papal curia required are considered, it is obvious that Manuel I had decided to acquire crusading bulls such as *Redemptor Noster* and *Ineffabilis et Summi* in all probability as early as the end of 1495, when he was at Montemor-o-novo and had sent his envoy Pero Correia to Rome. It is not clear whether Manuel was already contemplating the expulsion of the Muslims at that time. Nevertheless, once it was clear that the expulsion of the Jews had become an unavoidable compromise of the new alliance with Castile, it appears likely that the King then also seized the opportunity to boost his image as a Christian king by expelling the Muslims as well. The relatively small size of the Muslim population in Portugal, and its correspondingly limited importance to the Portuguese economy, made the expulsion of this minority far less of an economic sacrifice than the expulsion of the Jews. Another aspect of the problem that must not be overlooked is the manner in which the expulsion of the Muslims fitted in with the King's personal vision of Christian kingship. As Thomaz has pointed out, his unlikely succession prompted Manuel to firmly believe that he had been especially chosen by God to wage war against God's enemies on Earth. Although this conviction was clearly not at the root of his persecution of the Jews, we should certainly not overlook the part it may have played in his decision to expel the Muslims.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

The expulsion of the Muslim minority, which had resided in Portugal for hundreds of years, still poses many enigmas. Nevertheless, it is clear that

bemaumenturado dote, pedirmos aho dito Rei nosso pai que nam somente totalas mezquitas dos Mouros sogeitas aho Regno de Castella has mandasse todas destruir, mas que ainda hos seus filhos pequenos, e de pequena idade fossem tirados de seus pais, e se baptizassem, e que hos tornassem Christãos. Ha qual cousa, assi quomo foi prometida, assi com louuor de Deos se acabou, e cõprio, no que recebemos grãde prazer, e benefiçio." Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 224–7; Damião de Góis gives an accurate Portuguese translation of the original Latin work: Manuel I of Portugal, *Epistola ad summum romanum pontificem*, Lisbon, 1505 (fas-simile edition, Lisbon, 1981). The wedding to which this passage refers is the second marriage of Manuel to Princess Maria of Castile in 1500.

¹¹⁶ L. F. F. R. Thomaz, "L'idée impériale Manueline", *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe*, ed. J. Aubin (Paris, 1990), 89–90.

the expulsion did take place and the Portuguese Muslims did leave for Spain and North Africa. The Muslims were spared the fate of the Jews largely through the fear of retaliation. It is also obvious that the prevalent assumption that Manuel was acting under pressure from Isabel and Fernando is not supported by any concrete evidence and must be re-examined and challenged. The absence of marked anti-Muslim sentiment during the fifteenth century also makes it difficult to argue that Manuel may have been pandering to inflamed anti-Muslim sentiment in the Portuguese population. In fact all the available evidence points to the conclusion that when Manuel decided to expel the Muslims in December 1496 he was not prompted by his overbearing neighbours but rather by his own ambitions of expansion in North Africa. It would be simplistic to claim that this hypothesis is anything more than a theory but, in the absence of any contrary evidence, it remains the only credible explanation of the expulsion of the Muslims from Portugal.

As a postscript it is worth mentioning that it was to be Manuel's ill-fortune that his dream of conquering Morocco never materialised. During his reign, the number of strongholds held by the Portuguese along the Moroccan coast increased, the garrisons of these fortresses conducted numerous raids deep into Muslim territory and some Muslim populations were made to pay tribute but the Muslim rulers of Fez were never seriously challenged. In 1501 Manuel had amassed a large fleet in anticipation of a crossing to North Africa. Damião de Góis informs us that in the end these troops, 30 ships with 3,500 men, were sent to assist the beleaguered Christian forces resisting Ottoman forces in southern Greece.¹¹⁷ Other expeditions in 1503 and 1511 were similarly thwarted. The drain on the Crown's manpower and finances caused by the expeditions to India precluded any large scale involvement in Morocco. As for the rivalry and suspicions that existed between Portugal and Castile over North Africa, these were to remain unresolved for over a decade. The two parties were only able to reach a clear settlement over the precise demarcation between the areas reserved for Portuguese and Castilian conquest by the treaty of Sintra in September 1509. According to the terms of the treaty, Manuel acknowledged the Castilian right of conquest over territory east of the peninsula of Vélez de Gomera (including Melilla and

¹¹⁷ Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, 1, 114–5 and 120–4.

Cazaza) but in return the Queen of Castile and all her successors in perpetuity recognised the Portuguese Crown's sovereignty over Morocco "as its own property" ("*como coussa sua propria*").¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ P. de Cenial, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. Archives et bibliothèques de Portugal* (Paris, 1934), 1, 213–220; T. García Figueras, "El reino de Fez en el tratado de Tordesillas", *El tratado de Tordesillas y su proyección* (Valladolid, 1973), 1, 197–208; J. Porro Gutiérrez, "Un episodio de la cuestión africana en las relaciones entre Castilla y Portugal. El tratado de 1509 entre Doña Juana y D. Manuel", *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e sua epoca. Actas. Vol. 1. D. João II e a política quatrocentista* (Porto, 1989), 377–385.

CONCLUSION

The sudden end of religious tolerance in Portugal was marked by the proclamation of three separate expulsions in 1496: those of the Castilian *conversos* in November and of the Jews and Muslims in December. Ultimately, the Jews were compelled to convert in their overwhelming majority and only the Muslims and *conversos* were effectively expelled. This study has sought to challenge the common perception that Manuel was “submitting” to his prospective in-laws’ demands in order to satisfy wild ambitions of one day uniting the Peninsula under his sceptre. It presents a very different and much more complex picture of the monarch and his motives for ending religious tolerance. Writing with the benefit of hindsight and particularly with knowledge of the events of 1498—when Manuel nearly did become ruler of Castile and Aragon by a twist of fate—modern historians have argued, without any firm evidence, that he was motivated by a “dream” (*sonho*) of Iberian unification. The long history of matrimonial alliances between the Crowns of Portugal and Castile, coupled with the dynastic wars that pitted Portugal against Castile (1384–1431 and 1475–1479), certainly tends to add weight to claims that every ruler of Portugal and Castile automatically inherited an overriding desire to annex the neighbouring kingdom which overruled all other considerations and projects. Such a master narrative of Luso-Castilian relations might be an attractive one but it fails to take into account the particular circumstances faced by various Portuguese and Castilian monarchs at distinct times.

A detailed examination of the situation in 1496–7 reveals that the position of King Manuel I was in reality much more complex. The newly crowned monarch did not come to the Portuguese throne with any project to expel the Jews residing in his kingdom but was in fact forced to adopt this policy by events that occurred during the first year of his reign. Neither was Manuel, as is generally written, absorbed by any project to unite the Iberian Peninsula under his sway. The documentary and narrative evidence attests that the Portuguese monarch was instead intent on furthering Portuguese overseas expansion, both by launching a crusade to conquer Morocco and by the opening of a maritime route to India. At the very start of his reign, however, Manuel was forced to confront an acute dilemma. Firstly, he faced a precarious political

situation in Portugal where the illegitimate son of his predecessor and his partisans continued to present potential threat to his authority. Secondly, his powerful neighbours in Castile and Aragon demanded that he should not only expel both the Jews and Castilian *conversos* from his realm but also join them in a military alliance against France. Portugal had much to lose, and absolutely nothing to gain, from yielding to both of these demands.

To give into all the demands of Isabel and Fernando would have forced Manuel to postpone his cherished overseas ambitions indefinitely, yet the Portuguese King also knew that such projects hinged upon his ability to negotiate a long-lasting settlement with Isabel and Fernando. A marriage alliance, the only way to guarantee of a long-term settlement with the Catholic Monarchs, would ensure both peace in Portugal itself and allow Manuel to devote his resources to overseas expansion and exploration. Although the lacunae in the documentary evidence leave some details of the negotiations unclear, those documents that do exist prove that Manuel revealed himself to be a pragmatic diplomat in the manner he chose to tackle the important challenges confronting him. Knowing very well that Isabel and Fernando would not agree to a marriage alliance until he had given into their demands, Manuel resorted to obfuscation and found a suitable compromise with the Spanish rulers. Whilst on the one hand he steadfastly refused to join an offensive alliance against France, on the other hand he decreed the official expulsion of the Jews from Portugal. This “expulsion” was the sacrifice Manuel made in order to bring about such a long lasting peaceful settlement. In fact it is quite clear that Manuel never really intended to allow the Jews to leave Portugal and thus it must have appeared to him as the least problematic concession to make. Another factor that played a role in these complex negotiations, though the documentary evidence does not confirm this, is that Manuel was aware that his putative in-laws were increasingly anxious to secure Portugal’s friendship, or even its neutrality, as quickly as possible in view of their hostile relations with France. It would certainly be wrong to consider—as it has been tentatively suggested by Luís Felipe Thomaz—that the decision of Manuel to end religious tolerance in Portugal was partly motivated by any deliberately “messianic” political ideology steeped in Christian millenarianism.¹ Finally, it is important

¹ L. F. F. R. Thomaz, “L’idée impériale Manueline”, *La découverte, le Portugal et l’Europe*, ed. J. Aubin (Paris, 1990), 90.

to note that the part played by Manuel's wife, Princess Isabel, has been entirely misread due to confusion between the Jews and Castilian *conversos*. Many have argued that when the Princess insisted that Manuel expel the "heretics" she meant the Jews and even Muslims. In fact the evidence does not leave any doubt that she clearly meant the Castilian *conversos* who had sought refuge from the Inquisition in Portugal and who had been expelled by a royal decree of 14 November 1496.

The conclusions outlined thus far are only relevant to the fate of the Jewish minority and do not concern the Muslim minority in Portugal. The traditional historiography concerning the tragic events of 1496–7 has completely failed to consider the various problems posed by the expulsion of the Muslims. The persecution of the Portuguese Muslims cannot be straightforwardly ascribed to Castilian influence. To all intents and purposes, the decision was taken by King Manuel himself, possibly acting on a suggestion by his confessor. Though his motivations are still not entirely clear, the most likely explanation, indeed the only one to correspond with the surviving evidence, is that it was a conscious act of propaganda by a monarch entirely committed to the crusading ideal and keen to demonstrate his credentials as a crusader to Christendom in general and the papacy in particular.

An aspect of the aftermath of the forced baptism, that deserves to be highlighted, is the apparently contradictory statements in royal documents issued in the following decades, which describe the events of 1497 as both an "expulsion" and a "conversion." Thus, for instance, although in 1498 the King refers to "the Jews becoming Christians" (*que hos judeus fossem cristãos*), later royal grants made in 1501 and 1503 contain such phrases as "because of the departure of the Jews from our Realms" (*pola sayda dos judeus de nossos Regnos*) and "when the exodus of the Jews took place" (*quamdo fora ho desterro dos judeus*).² Why the royal chancery should have used such an inconsistent language is puzzling. Did the Crown consciously wish to present its actions in 1497 as an expulsion and hence gloss over its far from laudable policies? In at least one royal document, a grant to the dowager Queen Leonor in 1505, the different fates of Muslims and Jews are clearly distinguished and the use of the expression "general conversion" in later inquisitorial

² A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 19, fol. 2v; bk. 29, fol. 81; bk. 35, fol. 143 and 37, fols. 13–13v; F. de Sousa Viterbo, "Occorências da vida judaica", *AHP*, 2, (1904), 195, docs. "c" and "d".

trial dossiers leaves little room for doubt as to the hollowness of royal claims of having expelled the Jews.³ Nonetheless, as will be seen below, it is possible to find references to the “expulsion” of the Jews from Portugal right up to the nineteenth century.

The “general conversion” of 1497 had dramatic consequences for Portuguese society. The period between 1497 and 1536 witnessed an unprecedented effort at social engineering by Manuel and his son João III. In the privilege granted to the neophytes on 30 April 1497, Manuel stated that they officially ceased to be “a distinct people.” At the same time, however, the privileges themselves clearly show that Manuel had few illusions about the sincerity of the new converts, but he did hope that in time they would become sincere Christians. To assist the process of assimilation, laws were promulgated to prevent the New Christian from clustering together in the old Jewish quarters and to force them to intermarry with Old Christians.⁴ From surviving documents produced by the royal chancery, it is clear that attempts were made to enforce these laws. In July 1501 the Crown ordered the seizure of the property of a convert named Thomas Lopez for the crime of continuing to write books and letters in Hebrew “in defiance of our ordinances.”⁵ In October of the same year, another convert named Afonso Lopes lost his property for having married a fellow neophyte named Isabel Lopes.⁶

The Crown’s attempts to assimilate the New Christians into Portuguese society failed dismally. Though some intermarriage took place, endogamous marriages between New Christians continued in spite of laws prohibiting them, at least at a sufficient rate for the reluctant neophytes to preserve a separate group identity. Furthermore, although their economic integration was successful, the suspicion and resent-

³ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 20, fol. 11. On the use of the expression “general conversion” see chapter 4.

⁴ The texts of these two edicts have not survived, and hence their dates are not known, but their existence is revealed by later documents. A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fol. 16v; bk. 37, fols. 16–16v. A.N.T.T., *Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, maço 3*, doc. 81. Documents published in F. Portugal, “O problema judaico no reinado de D. Manuel”, offprint of *Armas e Troféus*, 3, (1975), 10 and 22–3, docs. 1, 2 and 3. See also A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 17, fol. 107.

⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 17, fol. 70. F. de Sousa Viterbo, “Occorências da vida mourisca”, *AHP*, 5, Lisbon (1907), 260–1, doc. 14.

⁶ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 17, fol. 107. For other converts punished for endogamous marriages see A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 16, fol. 16v and bk. 37, fol. 16.

ment they experienced from many Old Christians also served to further alienate them. In the immediate aftermath of the general conversion, the resentment of the Old Christians was directed towards their privileges. At the parliament held at Lisbon, only a year after the forced conversion, the representatives of Torres Novas gave vent to their grievances in their list of demands:

Your Highness should know that, when there were still Jews [in Portugal], these [Jews] shouldered the [tax] burden of the municipal council together with us. Accordingly, we received less injury than we presently do because of the privileges that Your Highness granted to [the converts] and that exempted them [from these taxes]. Since we are now all Christians, we beg that Your Highness should order that all [inhabitants of the town] pay these taxes irrespective of their privileges.⁷

Popular resentment against the New Christians had deeper roots however and was not simply a corollary of the privileges granted to them by Manuel in 1497. For many Old Christians, the converts remained tainted by their old faith and their sincerity as Christians was openly doubted. The pardons that were granted to two individuals in 1501 for insulting converts by calling them “renegade Jew” and “Dog” are evocative of the popular hostility and suspicion that was directed towards the New Christians.⁸ Although the racial concept of “purity of blood” had been almost nonexistent in Portugal prior to 1497, popular antipathy toward the converts and their descendants rapidly assumed overtly racial overtones. A convert who had become a Christian in the 1470s successfully petitioned the Crown for the privilege of not being referred to as a New Christian and for exemption from the ordinances that affected the newer converts.⁹ Likewise the King himself—in spite of his policies aimed at the assimilation the New Christians—granted a special privilege to one of his new Christian officials in 1501 that not only exempted him and

⁷ “*Outrosy Senhor sabera vosa alteza que em tempo que hy auja Judeus elles serujam connosquo nos enquaregos do Concelho no que rreçebiamos menos opresãom, do que ora rreçebe por rezam dos privilegios que lhe vosa alteza outrogou os ouue delo por escusos, e porque todos somos crystãos pydjmos a vosa alteza que mande que syruamos tdos sem embargo de seus priuylegios.*” J. J. Alves Dias, *Cortes Portuguesas, Reinado de D. Manuel I* (Lisbon, 2002), 3, 542.

⁸ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 45, fols. 49v and 119. In both cases the individuals concerned had been imprisoned and their pardon depended on the payment of fines of 300 and 1,000 *reais*.

⁹ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 6, fol. 86.

his descendants from any legislation affecting the New Christians but forbade that they be referred to as New Christians and officially cleansed the family of the “stain” (*maculla*) of Judaism.¹⁰

If racial suspicion of the New Christians was widespread at a popular level from 1497 onwards, it nevertheless developed more gradually at an institutional level. Discrimination against the New Christians by institutions such as universities and religious orders seems at first to have been largely unofficial. This certainly seems to be reflected in the complaint that representatives of the New Christian community addressed in 1543 to João III, in which they protested that the neophytes and their descendants were being denied entry into the universities and municipal corporations as well as access to other “honourable offices.” The official adoption by institutions of statutes of “purity of blood” (*limpeza de sangue*)—which officially excluded any applicants deemed to have “impure” Jewish or Muslim forbearers in their family tree—only gathered impetus after the union of the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain under Philip II (Philip I of Portugal) in 1580, and more particularly in the seventeenth century.¹¹

The tensions between the converts and the Old Christian population exploded in periodic disturbances. The worst—and most infamous—of these was the riot that erupted in Lisbon during Easter 1506. The riot rapidly escalated out of control and developed into a full-scale massacre resulting in the deaths of around three to four thousand New Christians.¹² Such was the stigma attached to those who converted in 1497 that, as late as the seventeenth century, some “New Christians” arrested by the Inquisition attempted to distance themselves from the general conversion of 1497 by claiming that they were descended from much older generations of converts. This anxiety is clearly reflected in

¹⁰ “E nos praz e avemos por bem que [nam] elle nem os dictos seus filhos se possam chamar cristãos novos e os apartemos e anulamos toda a quallquer maculla que por causa de sua naçença contra elles se possa alegar porquamto nos sorprimos ao defecto della.” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 17, fol. 90.

¹¹ A. J. Saraiva, *Inquisição e cristãos-novos* (Lisbon, 1969), 165–174. On the spread of racial prejudice against the New Christians see Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, *Preconceito racial em Portugal e Brasil colônia* (São Paulo, 2005).

¹² Y. H. Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah* (Cincinnati, 1976); Damião de Góis, *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel* (Coimbra, 1949), 1, 253–8; Also of great interest is the eyewitness account of Gaspar Correia in his unfinished *Crónicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III* (Lisbon, 1992), ed. J. Pereira da Costa, 29–32 (fols. 299v–300v).

the dossier of the trial of Fernão Lopes de Melo by the Inquisition of Lisbon in 1610:

The accused intends to prove that he is descended from persons of the Nation [i.e. Jews] who converted to our Holy Catholic Faith more than two hundred years ago [circa 1400], which is to say, much before the expulsion of the Jews from this realm, wherefore he should not be subject to the suspicion which exists against those whose ancestors were converted by force.¹³

Of course the dependence of historians upon judicial sources gives a bleak picture of relations between “Old” and “New” Christians but there can be little doubt that tension, anxiety and hostility poisoned relations between both groups.

A clear sense of the bitterness, felt by those who suffered the seizure of their children and forced baptisms and their descendants, can be gathered from the sermons preached by Rabbi Joseph ben Meir Garson, an exile who made his way from Portugal to Damascus via Salonica in the first decade of the sixteenth century. One of the sermons delivered by Rabbi Joseph is particularly poignant:

God will avenge the children of Israel, those who were forced to convert in the Kingdom of Portugal. (...) The day will come when God will avenge the death of His children and will do onto our enemy what they did onto us.¹⁴

Samuel Usque also describes the forced conversion as an act of violence “contrary to divine and human laws.”¹⁵ Evidence derived from denunciations made to the Inquisition of Lisbon bears witness to the desperation

¹³ “*Prouara que elle Reo procede de gente da nação cõuertida a nossa santa fee catholica ha mais de duzentos annos, e assi m[ui]to antes da expulsão dos judeus deste reino, pello que não ha contra elle Reo a susp[ei]ta que ha contra aquelles cuios auos se conuerterão por força...*” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo nº 8051*, fol. 31v. This trial dossier has been transcribed and published by H. P. Salomon in *Portrait of a New Christian: Fernão Álvares Melo* (Paris, 1982), quote on page 245.

¹⁴ M. Benayahu, “The sermons of R. Yosef b. Meir Garson as a source for the history of the expulsion from Spain and the Sephardi diaspora” [Hebrew], *Michael*, 7 (1981), 161:

”וינקום נקמת בני ישראל האנוסים אשר נשתמדו בעל כרחם במלכות פורטוגאל. ועתה בעונותיו ובעונותינו כפי החדשות שבאו לקחו אותם בכח והשליכו להם לגו אתון נורא יקידתא ויהיה מיתתם כפרתם. ויקיים במהרה בימינו הרנינו גוים עמו כי דם עבדיו יקום ונקם ישיב לצריו וכפר אדמתו עמו. אמן וכן יהי רצון. בילא”ו.”

¹⁵ “*Com esta violencia contra as leys diuinas e humanas...*”, S. Usque, *Consolaçam ás Tribulaçoens de Israel*, ed. Y. H. Yerushalmi and José V. de Pina Martins, 2, fols. 204–204v.

and strength of feeling that was still alive almost half a century later. On 11 April 1541 Joana Lopes reported to the inquisitors that a New Christian woman named Maria Rodrigues had exclaimed: “May God forgive the King who turned us into Christians!” Maria had then asked Joana whether she would have been a good Muslim if she had been forced to convert to Islam. On receiving a negative answer she had responded: “Well then, how are we supposed to become good Christians?”¹⁶ Two weeks later a free black woman named Leonor Henriques claimed to have invited the New Christian Maria Rodrigues to come with her to assist at an *auto-da-fé* in Lisbon. Maria Rodrigues declined the invitation and bitterly added: “May God allow the King Manuel who forced us to become Christians to rot in Hell” (*Mão inferno de Deus a el-Rei D. Manuel que nos fez christãos por força*). Maria Rodrigues further asked Leonor if she wished she could become a white woman and, on receiving an affirmative reply, then proceeded to state with sarcasm: “well it is as just as likely that we [converts] shall become good Christians as you [black Africans] become white.”¹⁷ The forced conversion caused dilemmas even for high ranking churchmen. The bishops of Silves (Algarve) and Funchal (Madeira) refused to judge irreverent or blasphemous New Christians as heretics on the grounds that they considered the forced conversion of 1497 to be invalid.¹⁸ The Castilian inquisitor Selaya, however, in a letter sent to João III in March 1528, urged him not to condone such views “because the delinquents, although they were compelled [to convert], have profited greatly by receiving the sacrament of baptism; and those who have been forced to do something that is for their own good cannot be described as forced [converts].”¹⁹

Despite the bans on travel outside the kingdom, many converts attempted to leave to realm, even before the massacre of 1506.²⁰ Due to its

¹⁶ “...lhe tinha dito que perdoasse Deus ao rei que tornou os judeus por força christãos (...) se vos tornassem moura, serieis boa moura? A testemunha respondeu-lhe que não e ella replicou: Logo, como seremos nós bons christãos?” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 1 de denúncias*, fol. 122.

¹⁷ “Pois assy nos tornaremos nos bons christãos como vos vos tornareis branca.” A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 1 de denúncias*, fols. 128v–129.

¹⁸ A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*, 1, 208–211.

¹⁹ “...porque los delinquentes aunque forçados recibieron gran beneficio en recibir el sacro bautismo y a quien fuerçan con su bien no se puede dezir forçado.” A.N.T.T., *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, 1, 165.

²⁰ I. M. R. Mendes Drummond Braga, “O embarque de cristãos-novos para o estrangeiro, um delito na inquisição de Lisboa (1541–1550)”, *Gil Vicente*, 29 (1994), 26–32.

clandestine nature, little is known of the scale of this movement. Usually we learn of these attempts only when they were unsuccessful. The anonymous author of the *Ajuda* codex mentions a captain named Gonçalo de Loulé who sailed in his caravel for the Moroccan port of Larache with numerous converts aboard. His caravel was blown off course by adverse weather and forced to shelter in the Azores, where he was arrested and his passengers enslaved.²¹ In 1502 the Crown confiscated the property of Samuel Robim, his wife Amada Balhamim and their son-in-law Fernão Luis, all New Christians of Loulé. These converts had fled to the town of Jerez de la Frontera in Castile with the intention of crossing over to “Muslim territory” (*terra dos mouros*) but whilst there had been arrested and “condemned to death by burning.”²² Others attempted to reach the Ottoman Empire by ship but were arrested in Sicily.²³ Documents issued by the royal chancery frequently mention the confiscation of property left behind by converts who had fled the realm.²⁴ New Christian merchants were only allowed to leave the realm by land and sea with a royal licence and generally leaving their family in Portugal as a guarantee of their return.²⁵ Some of the refugees, however, were more fortunate and settled in communities in Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. Communities of exiles from the Iberian Peninsula established themselves in Salonica, Constantinople and even the Holy Land. A Portuguese Friar on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1565 remarked with surprise that he had met Jews of Portuguese origins in the town of Safed and was told that the community numbered approximately 400 individuals. The flourishing town of Cairo provided a refuge for others. In 1513, the perplexed Viceroy of India, Afonso de Albuquerque, wrote to the King asking him for instructions concerning the manner in which he was to treat the Spanish and Portuguese Jews merchants residing in Cairo whom the Portuguese encountered in the subcontinent.²⁶ Lastly, other exiles

²¹ B.A., codex 51-V-69, fol. 232.

²² “...condenados a morto pelo fogo...” A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 6, fol. 24v.

²³ N. Zeldes, “Incident in Messina: Letters of Ferdinand the Catholic concerning Portuguese *conversos* caught on their way to Constantinople”, *Sefarad*, 62 (2002), 401–427.

²⁴ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 13, fol. 36; bk. 21, fol. 19b; bk. 38, fol. 12v; bk. 38, fol. 64.

²⁵ A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, bk. 17, fol. 88v; bk. 22, fol. 81v. In the second of these documents, on 3 October 1504, the Crown granted Vicente Reinel a licence to trade outside the realm but not to take his wife and children with him.

²⁶ A.N.T.T., *Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, maço 14*, doc. 27.

established thriving communities in Northern Europe and particularly in the towns of Bordeaux, Antwerp, Amsterdam and Hamburg.²⁷

Even before his death in 1521, Manuel was petitioning the Pope for the establishment of an Inquisition in Portugal similar to the ones operating in Castile and Aragon. His efforts were continued under his son João III and, though unsuccessful in 1531, finally met with success in 1536. The establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536 marked the failure of nearly four decades of state-sponsored integration and the start of active repression. There developed a veritable popular hysteria in Portugal concerning the presence of judaizing New Christians. Animosity towards the New Christians was fuelled by the conviction that all heretics were perceived to be undermining the prosperity and foundations of ordered Christian society through acts of religious sacrilege such as the desecration of consecrated wafers or religious images. Moreover, if they were allowed to flourish, heretical activities would unleash divine wrath against the kingdom. In his incomplete *Chronicle of João III*, Gaspar de Correia records that the bishop of the Algarve wrote to João III to inform him of the alarming visions of a paralytic girl he had visited. His report of the visions clearly exposes the popular fears and suspicions directed towards the converts:

[The girl saw that] God allowed the evil earthquakes, plagues and famines afflicting Portugal because of the evils perpetrated by the New Christians who were rumoured to have secret synagogues in Lisbon and that never had any realm been so governed and dominated by New Christians as Portugal now was.²⁸

²⁷ There is now a vast literature on the exiled Sephardic communities in northern Europe, Italy and the Ottoman Empire. By way of illustration see M. Bodian, “Men of the Nation: the shaping of Converso Identity in Early Modern Europe”, *Past and Present*, 143 (1994), 48–76 and *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Indianapolis, 1997) and R. Segre, “Sephardic settlements in sixteenth-century Italy: a historical and geographical survey”, *Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean World after 1492* (London, 1992), 112–137. For a general history of the worldwide Sephardic Diaspora see the various articles collected in *Les juifs d’Espagne. Histoire d’une diaspora 1492–1992*, ed. H. Méchoulan (Lyon, 1998), 233–251. On the Sephardic community of Safed see the works of A. David, “Safed, foyer de retour au Judaïsme de conversos au XVI^e siècle”, *REJ*, 146 (1987), 63–83 and *To Come to the Land. Immigration and Settlement in 16th-Century Eretz-Israel* (Tuscaloosa, 1999), 100–114.

²⁸ “...que hos males terramotos pestes e fomes que auya em Purtugall Deus o permytya polos males dos crystaos novos que neste tempo avya fama que em Lysboa tynham synogas secretas e nunqa em nenhũ tempo reyno algũu foy tam mandado e regydo por christaos novos como entam Purtugall...” G. Correia, *Crônicas de D. Manuel e de D. João III*, ed. J. Pereira da Costa (Lisbon, 1992), 304 (fol. 378v).

On 30 March 1543, three inhabitants of the remote northern village of Vinhais journeyed to Lisbon to denounce their neighbours. All three told the inquisitors that out of 50 inhabitants only 3 or 4 were Old Christians, whilst the rest were all “Jews”, keeping the Shabbat and maintaining a synagogue.²⁹ Around the same time that the inhabitants of Vinhais were being denounced as “Jews”, events that took place in Trancoso vividly testify to the fear that popular hostility and the Inquisition instilled in the hearts of the New Christians. The arrival of an official of the Inquisition in the town caused most of the terrified New Christian inhabitants to abruptly take flight, abandoning behind them their property, possessions and allegedly even their children.³⁰ In neighbouring Castile, all Portuguese rapidly came to be considered as suspect by the populace. In the town of Ciudad Real, one woman reprimanded her neighbour in 1512 for having offered accommodation in her house to some Portuguese, warning her that other inhabitants slandered her because of it.³¹

The popular hostility direct against the New Christians also found expression during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a number of truly outlandish allegations and conspiracy theories relating to their roles as doctors, physicians and apothecaries. Such beliefs and prejudices had already existed against Jewish physicians and surgeons during the medieval period but they reemerged with a renewed impetus. One of the most widely echoed of these conspiracy theories was based upon a forged document that purported to be a letter sent by the Jewish community in Constantinople to the New Christians of the Iberian Peninsula. In the letter, the New Christians of the Iberian Peninsula were advised to deliberately infiltrate the medical professions in order to seek revenge upon their persecutors: the Old Christian population.³² A letter sent at an unknown date by a Portuguese bishop to the Papal curia to protest against a papal pardon accorded to the New Christians directly repeats the central claim of this conspiracy theory. The bishop was adamant that “[the New Christians] have complied with a letter sent

²⁹ A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 1 de denúncias*, fols. 195v–197v.

³⁰ A. Herculano, *História da origem e estabelecimento da inquisição em Portugal*, 3, 155–6.

³¹ “... algunas veses le dyxo que paraque metya en su casa a vnos portog[u]eses que la dysfamavan...” H. Beinart, *Records of the Trials of the Spanish Inquisition in Ciudad Real (Jerusalem, 1985)*, 2, 361.

³² J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos novos portugueses* (Lisbon, 1921), 166 and 464, doc. 10.

by a Jew of Constantinople to the [New Christians] of these regions, that they should make their sons doctors and ecclesiastics, so that they might control the souls and bodies of the Christians.”³³ Another letter, this one sent in 1619 by an inquisitor of the tribunal based in Coimbra to the General Council in Lisbon, demonstrates that the conspiracy theories attacking New Christian doctors also found a receptive audience in the Inquisition itself. The inquisitor informed his superiors of the arrest of a number of New Christian doctors and brought to their attention an old case of religiously motivated murders carried out by a New Christian doctor:

A [New Christian] doctor confessed to the Holy Office (after confessing his Judaism) that he killed many Old Christians using purgatives and other drugs that did not cure the illnesses from which they were suffering. If he treated some [Old Christian patients] with the appropriate drugs, it was to preserve his standing and reputation. [He acted in this way because], had he killed all of his patients, nobody would have wanted to be treated by him and he would thus not have been able to earn a living through his profession.³⁴

The widespread concern over the threat supposedly posed by malevolent and heretical doctors led the representatives assembled in the parliament held by João IV in 1642 to demand that a royal decree forbid all New Christians from studying to be apothecaries in Portuguese universities. A treatise written in Portugal around the same time contained a list highlighting the involvement of New Christians in medicine that was clearly designed to shock its readers and heighten their hatred of New Christians. The list enumerated 52 New Christian physicians, surgeons and apothecaries working in Portugal and Spain who had been accused of heretical beliefs and, in some cases, even of mass murders. The most noticeable amongst the men listed were a physician named Garcia Lopes of Portalegre, who was accused of having murdered 150 Old Christian

³³ “*Emfim cumprirão o que escreveo hum judeo de Constantinopla aos de sua nação destas partes, que fizessem seus filhos medicos e ecclesiasticos, para que fossem senhores das almas e corpos dos cristãos.*” J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos novos portugueses*, 198, footnote 1.

³⁴ “*Hum medico confessou no S. O. (depois de confessar seu judaísmo) que matou muitos cristãos velhos com purgas e outros medicamentos contrarios ás enfermidades que tinham, e que se a alguns applicava convenientes era por seu credito e reputação, entendendo que se matara a todos ninguem se quereria curar com elle, e assi não ganharia por seu officio...*” J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos novos portugueses*, 469, doc. 12.

patients including 25 *fildalgos*, and a certain Pero Lopes of Goa, who had allegedly taken the life of 70 of his Old Christian patients.³⁵

Whilst small numbers of Jews were permitted to reside in Portugal's Moroccan strongholds from the start of the sixteenth century onwards, they were never allowed to settle in the kingdom itself.³⁶ The Portuguese Inquisition initiated a sustained campaign of repression against suspected crypto-judaizers that lasted from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. New Christians constituted the vast majority of those arrested by the Portuguese Inquisition in the sixteenth, seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries. This situation was in stark contrast to developments in Spain, where the number of suspected crypto-Jews brought to trial varied considerably from one tribunal to another and from one period to another. Crypto-Jews formed the majority of those accused of heresy by the tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition during its early period of activity (1480s–1540s) but then dropped in numbers as the inquisitors turned their attention to other heretics (*moriscos*, Lutherans, etc.). The total number of individuals accused of secret Judaism accounted for only 9.4% of those brought to trial by the various tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition in Europe between 1540 and 1700.³⁷ The heated academic debate surrounding the religious identity of the New Christians in Portugal—whether they were crypto-Jews heroically resisting persecution or simply genuine Christians victimised by the Inquisition because of their Jewish ancestry—is unlikely to ever reach a satisfactory resolution and lies beyond the scope of this work.³⁸ The firm hold of the Inquisition on Portuguese society and religious life was only

³⁵ J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos novos portugueses*, 167, 465–8, doc. 11.

³⁶ On the Jewish communities in these Moroccan strongholds see J. Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, *Os Judeus na expansão portuguesa em Marrocos durante o século XVI. Origens e actividades duma comunidade* (Braga, 1997). For their infrequent (and well supervised) visits to Portugal see Y. H. Yerushalmi, “Professing Jews in post-expulsion Spain and Portugal”, *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1974), 1023–1058. The same situation as the same in the Spanish strongholds in North Africa, see J.-F. Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d’Espagne. Oran 1509–1669* (Paris, 1999).

³⁷ I have used the statistical survey provided by J. Contreras and G. Henningsen, subtracting those trials conducted by the tribunals in the New World (Mexico, Lima and Cartagena). J. Contreras and G. Henningsen, “Forty-four thousand cases of the Spanish Inquisition (1540–1700): analysis of a historical databank”, *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe. Studies on Sources and Methods*, ed. G. Henningsen and J. T. Tedeschi (Dekalb, 1986), 114.

³⁸ For a brief description of this debate, which mirrors that concerning the converts in Spain, see the works of A. J. Saraiva, *Inquisição e cristãos-novos* (Lisbon, 1969) who

broken in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Marquis of Pombal, chief minister of King José I (1750–1777) and “enlightened despot”, who rightly saw the pernicious effects on Portuguese society caused by the social divisions between “Old” and “New” Christians, decided to put an end to the persecution of the New Christians. In 1773–4 the Marquis de Pombal abolished all discriminatory legislation against the descendants of the neophytes. Even then, however, this did not mark the end of the Holy Office and it continued to operate, though at a much reduced pace, for another fifty years. In its last decades the inquisitors concentrated their efforts upon homosexuals, atheists and unorthodox ecclesiastics. A handful of Jews from North Africa and the British-controlled Gibraltar even returned to Portugal at the start of the nineteenth century.³⁹

The final echo of the tragedy of 1497 reverberated in 1821, as the newly elected liberal deputies held an extraordinary parliament in Lisbon. When one parliamentarian proposed that Christianity be adopted as the official religion of Portugal in its new constitution, another raised the issue of the status of Jews and Muslims. Lamenting the events of 1496–7, the parliamentarians officially revoked the expulsion edict of December 1496 and brought back into vigour all the privileges granted to the Jews by João I and in the *Ordenações Afonsinas*. In their enthusiasm to redeem their Nation’s honour, the deputies went so far as to extend an invitation to settle in Portugal “not only to those Jews whose ancestors were expelled in 1497 but to all the Jews living in any part of the World.” The measures were also extended to Muslims, who “to the discredit of our elders, were also expelled from this realm in that same deplorable period.” Soon afterwards, the Portuguese Inquisition was officially abolished by a parliamentary decree on 24 March 1821. One parliamentarian even went so far as to propose, fortunately for

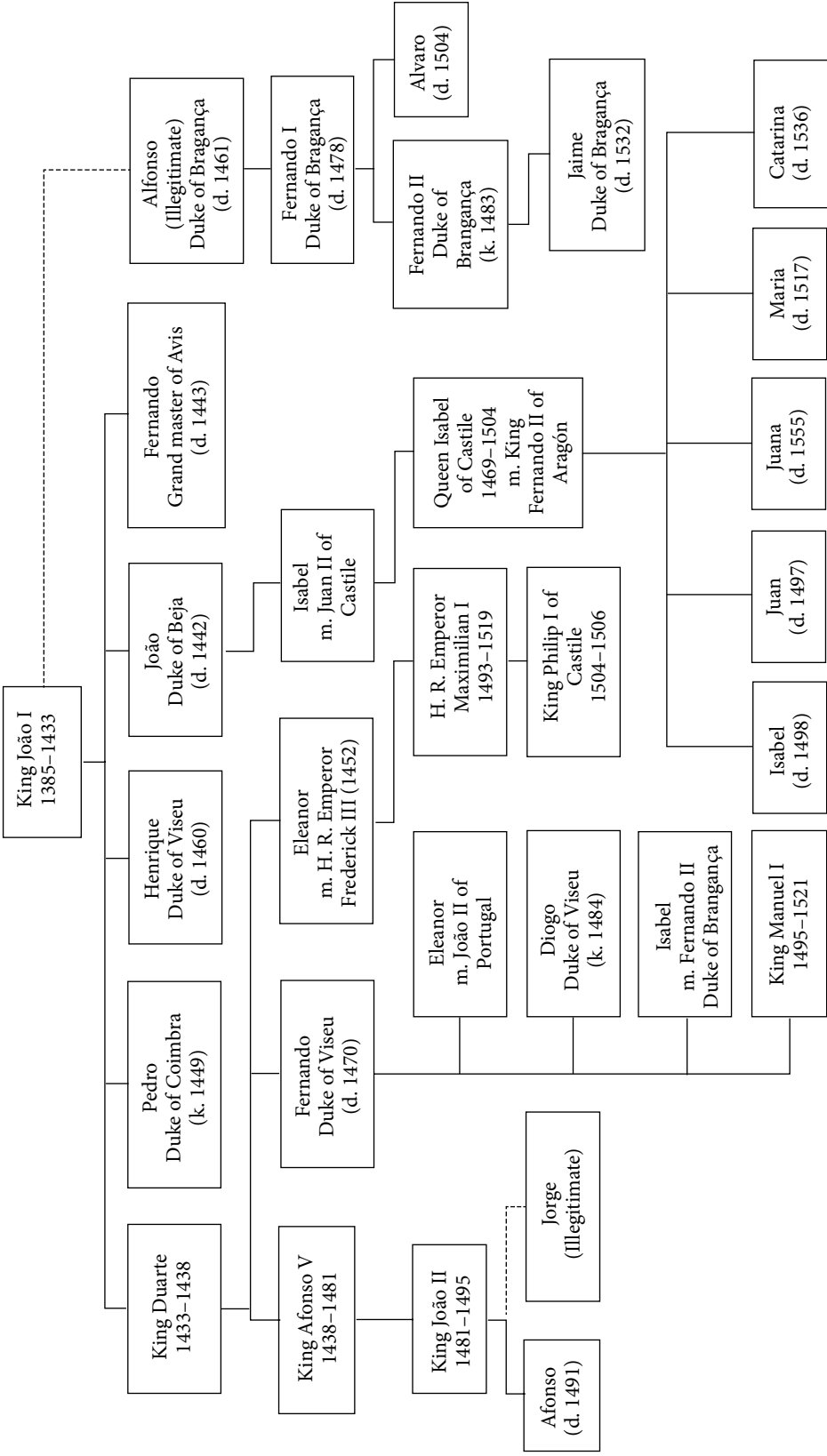
claims that the New Christians were overwhelmingly sincere Christians victimised by the Inquisition. The contrary view, that the New Christian were mostly secret Jews, is upheld by I. S. Revah, “Les Marranes”, *REJ*, 118 (1959), 29–77 and “Les marranes portugais et l’inquisition au XVI^e siècle”, *Études Portugaises* (Paris, 1975), 185–228. Both of these authors published vicious tirades against the other which were published in the daily newspaper *Diario de Lisboa*. These have been translated and published as an appendix in A. J. Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians 1536–1765*, tr., ed. and aug. H. P. Salomon and I. S. D. Sassoon (Leiden, 2001).

³⁹ P. Drummond Braga, “Igreja, igrejas e culto”, *Nova história de Portugal* (Lisbon, 2002), 9, 348–9.

historians without success, that all the trial records of the Portuguese Inquisition be burnt in one last public *auto-da-fé*.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ “3. Podem em consequencia regressar para Portugal, sem o menor receio, antes sim com toda a segurança, não só os descendentes das familias expulsas, mas todos os Judeos que habitão em qualquer parte do globo terão neste Reino as mesmas contemplações, se para elle quizerem vir.

4. Esta mesma legislação comprehenderá os Mouros descendentes das familias que, com tanto descredito de nossos Mayores, forão igualmente expulsos deste Reyno na mesma desgraçada época; estendendo-se por a dicta maneira a todos os que quizerem vir estabelecer-se em Portugal, e Algarves.” *Diário das Cortes Geraes Extraordinárias e Constituintes da Nação Portuguesa* (1821), 1, 44–5, 63, 113 (quote), 354–9 and *Diário do Governo* (1821), 6 de Fevereiro, 8 de Fevereiro, 19 de Fevereiro, 26 de Março. On the decline and abolition of the Portuguese Inquisition see F. Bethencourt, “Declínio e extinção do Santo Officio”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 20 (May–August 1987), 77–85; M. H. Carvalho dos Santos, “Da extinção da designação de cristão-novo à extinção da inquisição: 1773–1821”, *Mémorial I. S. Révah. Études sur le marranisme, l’hétérodoxie Juive et Spinoza*, ed. H. Méchoulan and G. Vahan (Paris, 2001), 165–170 and A. M. H. Leal de Faria, *A polémica sobre a inquisição (desde os fins do sec. XVIII até 1821)*, unpublished B.A. dissertation, Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon, 1971.



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