

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Illustrations</i>	· xi
	<i>Maps and Genealogies</i>	· xiii
	<i>Notes on Individuals and Locations</i>	· xv
	<i>Abbreviations</i>	· xvii
	Introduction	1
	1. <i>Object and Argument</i>	1
	2. <i>Conceptual Framework</i>	5
	3. <i>Semantics</i>	9
	4. <i>Method</i>	11
	5. <i>Scope</i>	13
	6. <i>Historiography</i>	15
PART I	TRANSITIONS (1490s–1540s)	21
CHAPTER 1	Background	25
	1. <i>Jewish Elite</i>	25
	2. <i>New Christian Elite</i>	29
	3. <i>Expulsions</i>	32
	4. <i>Prosecution</i>	34
CHAPTER 2	Continuities	43
	1. <i>João Rodrigues Mascarenhas</i>	43
	2. <i>Loronha, Pimentel, Tristão, and Negro</i>	47
	3. <i>Abravanel, Bixorda, Paz, and Mendes</i>	51
	4. <i>In Castile and Beyond</i>	55
CHAPTER 3	Disruptions	59
	1. <i>Division</i>	60

	<i>2. David Reubeni</i>	66
	<i>3. The Mendes/Nasi</i>	68
	<i>4. The Henriques/Nunes</i>	72
CHAPTER 4	Creativity	76
	<i>1. Power Struggle</i>	76
	<i>2. Arguments</i>	81
	<i>3. Spiritual Search</i>	85
	<i>4. Art and Literature</i>	91
	Conclusions to Part I	99
PART II	EXPANSION (1550s–1600s)	101
CHAPTER 5	Networks	105
	<i>1. North Africa</i>	106
	<i>2. Simón Ruiz’s Financial Web</i>	114
CHAPTER 6	Migration	121
	<i>1. Eastern Mediterranean and Asia</i>	121
	<i>2. Europe</i>	125
	<i>3. Africa and the Americas</i>	139
CHAPTER 7	Property	144
	<i>1. Crasto do Rio</i>	144
	<i>2. Nunes/Henriques</i>	147
	<i>3. Caldeira</i>	150
	<i>4. Fonseca</i>	152
	<i>5. Ximenes</i>	157
CHAPTER 8	Values	169
	<i>1. Merchant Culture</i>	169
	<i>2. Innovation</i>	175
	<i>3. Blood Purity</i>	188

TABLE OF CONTENTS [ix]

	<i>4. General Pardon</i>	193
	Conclusions to Part II	205
PART III	RESISTANCE (1600s-1640s)	207
CHAPTER 9	Conflict	211
	<i>1. Reaction</i>	211
	<i>2. Radicalisation</i>	216
	<i>3. Defence</i>	218
	<i>4. Exacerbation</i>	223
	<i>5. Appeasement</i>	226
CHAPTER 10	Politics	232
	<i>1. Trials</i>	234
	<i>2. Debate</i>	241
	<i>3. Revolt and Naturalisation</i>	245
	<i>4. Repression</i>	250
CHAPTER 11	Business	258
	<i>1. Asia</i>	258
	<i>2. Seville and the Slave Trade</i>	262
	<i>3. Spanish America</i>	268
	<i>4. Brazil</i>	272
	<i>5. Madrid</i>	278
	<i>6. Lisbon</i>	281
	<i>7. Europe</i>	287
CHAPTER 12	Identities	298
	<i>1. Religion</i>	299
	<i>2. States</i>	302
	<i>3. Literature, Politics, Art</i>	307
	Conclusions to Part III	321

PART IV	DECLINE (1650s–1770s)	325
CHAPTER 13	Persecution	327
	1. <i>Castile</i>	328
	2. <i>Portugal</i>	333
	3. <i>Italy</i>	340
	4. <i>Northern Europe and Beyond</i>	348
CHAPTER 14	Suspension	357
	1. <i>Targets</i>	359
	2. <i>Action</i>	370
	3. <i>Intervention</i>	382
CHAPTER 15	Breakdown	394
	1. <i>Reestablishment</i>	395
	2. <i>Rome and Madrid</i>	403
	3. <i>International Context</i>	409
CHAPTER 16	Immersion	420
	1. <i>Persistence</i>	422
	2. <i>Withdrawal</i>	428
	3. <i>Ideological Turn</i>	440
	Conclusions to Part IV	455
	Conclusion	457

Notes · 471

Glossary · 551

Currencies: Exchange Rates · 553

Acknowledgments · 557

Index · 559

Introduction

WHY DID NEW CHRISTIAN MERCHANTS, descendants of Jews forced to convert to Christianity in Iberia between 1391 and 1497, rise to play a pivotal role in intercontinental trade in the following two centuries only to decline and virtually disappear as an ethnic elite by the mid-eighteenth century? This question guides this book and links to issues of identity, religious allegiance, economic and social opportunities, political negotiation, and cultural innovation. It is a global study, since this New Christian elite moved between the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal and between the Iberian empires; from Western Europe to Africa and the Ottoman Empire; from the Portuguese Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and East Asia; from Spanish America to Asia; and from Iberia to Italy, France, Flanders, the Netherlands, Germany, England, and Dutch and English America.

1. Object and Argument

One way into this world is the case of Duarte de Paz, and his son Tomé Pegado de Paz, who was born in the Portuguese city of Porto, allegedly around 1536. In 1552, Duarte, who had taken refuge in Constantinople, asked for Tomé to be sent to him. The boy's uncle, Diogo de Paz, a well-known New Christian merchant and farmer of the king's rents, organised the journey to Constantinople.¹ Tomé went first to Venice, where arrangements were made for him to travel with the mission of the new French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Michel de Codignac.² The father had had a complicated life: having achieved the status of a wealthy merchant, contractor for royal rents, and member of the military order of Christ, he compromised this high financial and social position to become a New Christian agent (or procurator) in Rome, where he tried to block the negotiations of the Portuguese king for the establishment of the Inquisition.

Duarte de Paz had some initial success in Rome but was then subjected to a murder attempt in which he was stabbed fifteen times on the street, probably by agents of the Portuguese king, John III. His efforts were eventually defeated by the financial and political power of John III, who in 1536 obtained the creation of the tribunal of faith. Protected by the pope but isolated from his New Christian sponsors, who accused him both of duplicity concerning the king and ludicrous promises to the papal curia, Duarte finally escaped to Constantinople via Venice. In Constantinople, he first converted to Judaism, and then became a Muslim, according to the testimony of his son before the Inquisition.³ For the rest of his life, Duarte de Paz tried to revive his relationship with the Portuguese king by providing intelligence concerning Jewish and New Christian involvement in Ottoman policies, particularly in the Indian Ocean.

After the death of his father, Tomé Pegado de Paz served the celebrated Duke of Naxos, João Micas, who had become openly Jewish and changed his name to Joseph Nasi when he arrived at Constantinople in 1554. Tomé declared that the Duke of Naxos ordered his circumcision, following which he had married a Jewish young woman.⁴ The relationship between Tomé and the Duke of Naxos broke down after an initially successful trip to France to collect 150,000 écus owed by the French king to the Nasi family ended with a disastrous shipwreck. Tomé was saved, but the money disappeared. Later, he was detained in Aleppo and accused of owing more than 1,400 cruzados to the Duke of Naxos.⁵ He was released in return for converting to Islam, and finally decided to travel to Portugal to claim the money his father had left to the family in Porto.

Tomé started the journey as a Muslim, then dressed as a Jew, then as a Greek, and finally as a Catholic, in a telling reversal of his previous religious journey. During the trip, he asked for, and obtained, absolution from the archbishop of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and from the Jesuit Baltasar de Sousa in Rome.⁶ In Naples, he was received by the viceroy, who temporarily detained him following accusation from several Christians, former slaves of the Turks.⁷ In 1578, he was detained on the coast of Andalusia and brought to Lisbon, where he was interrogated by a secular judge who sent him to the Inquisition. He was liberated in May 1579, after denouncing a significant number of important Jews and New Christians in different parts of the Mediterranean.⁸

This story from the archives reveals the extraordinary reach of a New Christian family in sixteenth-century Europe: the international networks family members built, the different religious allegiances they assumed, and the wide range of places where they could carry on their business activities (Tomé was also in Cyprus, Algiers, and Marseille). It is astonishing how many people recognised Tomé in Naples, having met him in Algiers or Constantinople, and how many people, called to testify before the Inquisition in Lisbon, had interacted with him in various Mediterranean locations. One of them had

even been a captive in the same Ottoman galley that had been shipwrecked with Tomé on board. The trial of Tomé Pegado de Paz gives us a vision of the Mediterranean world as highly interconnected. This story offers a glimpse of the world of the New Christian merchant elite whose history has never been comprehensively written.

The history of the New Christians begins in Spain towards the end of the fourteenth century. Massive conversions of Jews into Christians occurred in 1391 in the wake of an anti-Jewish riot in Seville that spread through the urban networks of Castile and Aragon. Converting was the only way for these Jews to save their lives. The following decades saw renewed conflicts between Christians and Jews, with the remaining Jewish communities forced to attend sessions of Catholic preaching targeted at them. Over time, more Jews converted due to the oppressive atmosphere, and Jewish communities shrank, although the two ethnicities kept their ties. From the very beginning, converted Jews were targeted as strangers and as people who were only simulating conversion, and they were soon labelled as *conversos*, *marranos*, or *cristãos novos*. In 1449, an anti-New Christian riot in Toledo sealed the transfer of hatred of Jews to those who had been violently converted. The statutes of blood purity, which excluded New Christians from public offices, were then experimented with for the first time but were opposed by the king and the pope on the grounds that they violated the universalism of the Christian Church.

The Spanish Inquisition was established in 1478. This led to the massive persecution of New Christians, who were accused of returning to practicing Judaism in secrecy. These accusations reinforced the racial divide and contributed to the eventual acceptance of blood purity statutes by the pope and the king. The decision to expel Jewish communities from Spain in 1492 was justified by their supposed contamination of New Christians; many fled to Portugal, following in the steps of previous generations since 1391. In 1496, this decision to expel Jews was replicated and extended to Muslims by the Portuguese king, Manuel. The expulsion of the Jews was not really implemented; rather, they were forced to convert. The establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536 replicated the institutionalisation of persecution of New Christians in Spain. These harsh decisions completed a long process of exclusion; the segregation of Jewish people was replaced by discrimination against New Christians and their descendants. This new racial divide within Christianity, based on blood purity rules, would define Iberian societies in Europe for the early modern period.

By the end of the fifteenth century, many New Christian families had relatives in the three kingdoms, whilst those who sought to keep their Jewish allegiance migrated to North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. Family relationships were maintained in many cases, even between those who lived as Christians and those who returned to their Jewish faith, migrating to Sephardic communities. This is, by its nature, a connected and international history.

The size of the New Christian ethnicity was very large by the end of the fifteenth century: at least 260,000 people in Iberia in a population estimated from 5 to 5.5 million, which means around 5 percent of the total population.⁹ But the members of this ethnicity were overwhelmingly located in urban areas, which in 1500 were home to around 400,000 to 440,000 people.¹⁰ The New Christians would have represented 60 to 65 percent of this urban population and would certainly have been very visible in that dynamic setting. This demographic approach, curiously absent from most of the literature, should be extended to intermarriage, for the stereotype of endogamous New Christians needs to be scrutinised. Robert Rowland estimated 20 percent of intermarriage between Old and New Christians in each generation in the region of Lisbon based on sources from the 1630s.¹¹ Even if this intermarriage rate varied from region to region and time to time, it is obvious that the number of New Christians grew much faster than the rest of the population due to the rule of defining as New Christian anyone having one Jewish ancestor in several generations. This estimate exposes the fiction of blood purity.

The New Christian merchant elite must be studied taking into consideration this demographic background. They came out of this large ethnic group, mainly from small towns in the interior of Castile and Portugal. They maintained relationships with their places of origin, partly due to the patronage system ties that defined extended families. Rendering assistance to poor family members was an informal obligation, while a large kinship solved practical needs to renew families that did not have direct issue with heirs who could receive an inheritance.

A study of the New Christian merchant elite will need to include these relations, but also the ties this elite established both with Old Christians, in some cases even titled nobility, and Sephardic Jewish communities. This large set of relationships allows us to better understand their role as major players in intercontinental trade and finance, as bankers and lenders to kings, cardinals, bishops, and noblemen. This gave them the economic power to become involved (and interfere) with royal and papal policies, while some obtained aristocratic status as knights of military orders. But we also need to be attentive to the constraints this merchant elite suffered, mainly from inquisitorial persecution and permanent extortion by the royal and papal powers.

The argument of this book is necessarily complex, since it comprehends the rise and fall of the New Christian merchant elite. I summarise it here. The expansion of this elite was related to the inheritance of Jewish economic positions and to a radical enlargement of business opportunities during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. New Christians obtained royal contracts, such as those for tax farming and money lending, and expanded their dealings with the nobility and the dignitaries of the Church; and they combined these activities with investment in new intercontinental trade and distribution circuits in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The

constant flow of migration to the Mediterranean, Northern Europe, and beyond, which partly absorbed the impact of inquisitorial persecution, the success of New Christians in education, liberal professions, and ecclesiastical careers, and the deft alliances made with Old Christians at all levels, contributed to this expansion. The precarious status of this merchant elite, positioned between royal and papal extortion for support on the one hand, and inquisitorial pressure on the other, stimulated the creation of multiple identities, including those that bypassed blood purity rules and claimed to be Old Christians. This status also triggered innovative behaviour in spiritual and religious quests, artistic and literary expression, and in legal and social thought. The decline of New Christians as a recognisable ethnicity between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries resulted from growing inquisitorial persecution, the backlash that followed the pope's suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition from 1674 to 1681, the War of Succession in Spain, and structural changes in international trade. The abolition of discrimination against New Christians in Portugal in 1773, legally implemented, preceded Spanish abolition by almost one century. It was not the cause of the disappearance of New Christians as a distinct ethnicity; it just accelerated a process of decline, while in Spain discrimination was pursued at the local level.

2. *Conceptual Framework*

New Christians were shaped by labelling processes, inquisitorial prosecution, and blood purity statutes. Instead of integration after their forced conversion, they were confronted with new hurdles that imposed permanent suspicion, enquiries, and persecution. Even for those who managed to pass the barrier of blood purity through bribery or social alliances, their acquired status of Old Christian could be challenged at any time. It is a typical case of racism, understood as prejudices concerning ethnic descent coupled with discriminatory action.¹² Anti-Judaism can be interpreted as a useful fantasy that facilitated the construction of identity among the aggressors, but it had dire consequences for the people who were victims of the process.¹³ The notions of lineage and blood in Iberia played a major role of identification and recognition. The Jewish community, politically subordinated and targeted at times of upheaval, became racialized as sharing the same blood and supposed attributes (or stereotypes) from generation to generation. The supposed attributes included dealing in falsehoods, dissimulation, greed, and destructive hate against Christians.¹⁴ This racialisation, which included the fear of retribution by the persecutors, was then projected onto their descendants who were forced to convert to Christianity. They were accused of carrying with them the beliefs of their ancestors, transmitted by the same blood and mother's milk, another important lineage marker.¹⁵

This social construction of New Christians by dominant social groups to exclude them from competition for resources had a decisive impact: for the first time there was a division, eventually accepted by the Iberian kings and the Church, against the universalist tradition of the Christian Church. The creation of a new ethnicity of religious origin within Christianity by political interests raises problems of analysis and conceptualisation. It is difficult to talk about community, “a body of people who live in the same place, usually sharing a common cultural or ethnic identity.”¹⁶ New Christians can be defined instead by diaspora, frequent changes to their place of residence, and a split in (or multiple) cultural and ethnic identities.¹⁷ On the other hand, New Christians retained family ties across borders and religions, sharing a certain nostalgia for the lost past under duress.¹⁸ They were more defined by others than by themselves, which complicates the analysis. Because of this reflection I decided to use the notion of ethnicity as a fluid set of features that contribute to identifying a social group with shared ancestry.¹⁹ In this case, the New Christians were first labelled and aggregated by their competitors in the context of power relations within Iberian societies. Yet they developed internal dynamics of desire for affiliation and belonging, together with their own historical memory and perceptions of kinship.²⁰

The focus of this book on the New Christian merchant elite requires understanding this background and the specific conceptual framework related to this group. The noun *elite* was part of the French early modern lexicon, but it only entered the English language in the late eighteenth century, with its meaning of the best, the selected members, of a group.²¹ It did not enter the Portuguese and Spanish languages until the nineteenth century. The inquisitors never used it, even if they were well aware of the distinctive economic power of the main merchants, financiers, and bankers. The involvement of this elite in intercontinental trade helps us to think about the meaning of globalization, conceived of here as a phenomenon that goes beyond cumulative or interdependent national histories.²² The notion of a network to identify interconnected systems of trade may be useful in this case if applied with caution;²³ most New Christian commerce was based on temporary partnerships, although the accumulation of associates and long-distance trade circuits may have configured intersecting lines. Study of the New Christian diaspora stimulates new reflection on the relationships between trading networks, access to capital, state formation, imperial practices, regulation of markets, and merchant cultures in different parts of the world.²⁴

The opposition between the established and the outsiders, pointed out by Norbert Elias and John Scotson in their study of internal migration in post-war England, when tensions arose in specific communities outside the centre of Leicester, may be applied to situations of racial divide.²⁵ New Christians were perceived by many Old Christians as outsiders, whose newly acquired equal rights following forced conversion enabled them to compete for

positions within the hierarchies of State and Church. Old Christian resentment forced many New Christians to migrate to other regions of Iberia, which meant they were perceived as outsiders in a double way—as former Jews and as migrants.

The issue of values, as principles or moral standards held by a social group or by good part of the society, must be taken on board. New Christians contributed to merchant culture with its values of competence, merit, trust, saving for investment, and seriousness in fulfilling a contract; but they were also attracted by the aristocratic values of lineage, status, and conspicuous consumption. They occupied a liminal situation at different levels. In Iberia there was more: blood purity functioned as the cornerstone of a value system created from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.²⁶ The extreme disruption produced by blood purity statutes has been well studied, but the long-term impact needs further analysis. Blood purity is considered by several historians to be one among several criteria of social hierarchy, the others being a noble or *hidalgo* background versus that of *pecheros* (taxed plebeians), clean hands versus manual work, and legitimate versus illegitimate birth.²⁷ It is possible to establish a hierarchy among these criteria in which *limpieza de sangre* does not come at the top. However, blood purity is a specifically Iberian criterion in early modern Europe, imposing a blurred caste divide across the three orders.²⁸

The difficulty here is to understand the exchange, transfer, or equivalence between the notion of religious purification, which developed in different parts of the world to protect communities from supposed impurity, and the notion of pure descent, which defined both external and internal social boundaries. Roberto Calasso showed how the notion of impurity pervaded Hindu tradition, explaining rituals of sacrifice, in which blood was overwhelmingly present, as a metonymy of life and atonement of the soul that guaranteed purification.²⁹ Mary Douglas called attention to the perception of impurity or pollution as matter out of place in different cultures. Contamination was a threat to life that linked to transitional states and interstitial positions.³⁰ This notion was internalised in Iberia to redefine hierarchies. The statutes of blood purity can be considered as rites of institution, which defined access to the main organisations.³¹ The main issue was the rejection of mixed-race people, who were identified with degradation due to contamination by supposedly lower races. The notion of pure descent, by contrast, promoted even poor Old Christians.

The liminal condition of New Christians needs to be better conceptualised here. *Liminal* is understood as something transitional or intermediate between two states, on a boundary or threshold. New Christians were positioned as outsiders coming from inside, what Georg Simmel would call “the stranger within.”³² Even if the majority accepted a normative behaviour as Christian—and many managed to pass the barrier to be considered Old

Christians—their ancestry, which became an increasingly long shadow simply due to demographics, was a permanent threat. Liminality raised interesting identification, labelling, and self-perception problems. It meant permanent fear and abuse, but it could also open new venues for social and intellectual experiment. In my view, this condition does not fit the approach of rites of passage linked to a life cycle, as was suggested by van Gennep, because all New Christians were by default perpetually marginalised. Closer to the idea of subversive possibilities created by a liminal experience highlighted by Victor Turner, the New Christians' social and religious status offers new possibilities for theoretical development.³³

The notion of identity is also important. It emerged in the sixteenth century from the Latin *idem*, meaning “the same,” and the late Latin *identitas*. It indicates the quality of sameness, the possibility of attributing to a person or a thing continuous and unchanging properties.³⁴ In the social sciences, the notion of identity was extended to sets of features (ideas, values, perceptions, behaviour) that define individuals, social groups, or political parties. Lévi-Strauss was sceptical about this notion, fearing it as a functionalist tool that would homogenise societies and erase differences and diversity.³⁵ Michel Foucault derided the imposing of historical identities as pretentious.³⁶ However, Foucault acknowledged that individual identity was the result of power relations exercised on bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, and wills.³⁷ Judith Butler's sharp criticism of the top-down approach followed by Foucault in *Surveiller et punir* is relevant for our argument. Butler highlights the possibility of resistance being fuelled by the subconscious under constraint, which supports the idea of agency among the different individuals and groups involved, generating opposition and alternative behaviour.³⁸

Henri Tajfel's focus on the relationship between the individual and the social group stressed the complexity of individuals' emotional feelings and attachment to the reference group. Tajfel showed that the dynamics of opposed perceptions are part of the definition of social hierarchies, which fuel discriminatory behaviour, show hostility towards other groups, and protect members of one's own group. Relationships of power are thus part of the processes of creating identity, processes that include defining the enemy, establishing forms of discrimination between and within groups, and ensuring the internalisation of upper-class values by the lower classes.³⁹

Pierre Bourdieu considered that social identity was defined by and through difference. In his view, the mobilisation of values, religious allegiance, political participation, scholarly titles, and professional standing was always relational and played on antagonism and imitation to define an identity that was never static or singular but rather hung in the balance.⁴⁰ However, this vision is not entirely adequate for use with early modern Iberia, an area subject to situations of extreme violence in which members of minorities were under constant threat of detention and torture. New Christians struggled both with perceptions

imposed on them and with self-perceptions, classifications, and identity crises, which partly explains the permanent flow of migration and reorganisation of life abroad within Sephardic communities.⁴¹

To sum up, identities can change. They are ever fluid and unstable: they involve a desire for affiliation and recognition and a feeling of belonging, but at the same time there are split identities and multiple identities.⁴² Identification as both a process of nomination and a process of constitution through power relationships is a related notion that addresses the fluidity of belonging.⁴³ This set of observations, which refuses any essentialised vision of identity, can serve for the analysis of diversity among New Christians in time and space. *Agency*, meaning the actions and intentions of specific agents or groups of agents that reveal their positions, goals, and self-perceptions, is a part of these processes of identity formation and identification that need to be approached from below.⁴⁴ The formative role of events, suggested by Erik Erikson, can be relevant from a collective point of view, underlining the usefulness of this category in historical analysis.⁴⁵ Finally, the notion of acts of identity, suggested by Erving Goffman, contributes to defining individual and collective positions in everyday life.⁴⁶ This notion can be useful to our argument, because the transformative power of circumventing the blood purity barrier, meaning discretely changing status from New to Old Christian, was a common practice that provided some protection but did not prevent further enquiries down the line, even within the same generation.

3. *Semantics*

The field of semantics offers an insight into the historically pervasive labelling created by dominant social groups to undermine converted Jews and their descendants. This labelling has been used by historians with varying degrees of reflection on its origins. Take, for example, the use of the word *marrano(a)*, widely used to denigrate New Christians in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iberia. Its origin is the Arab noun *muḥarram*, which meant “declared anathema.”⁴⁷ In Castilian, *marrano(a)* was used to designate a converted Jew, all of whom were presumed to be persisting in their old religion. By extension, it also signified “damned,” “dirty,” “impure,” and “rough.” Furthermore, it was used as a synonym for *pig*, which represented a double insult to converted Jews, as both a filthy animal and a requirement to confront the traditional food interdictions of Judaism.⁴⁸ In France, *marrano* or *marani* was used as an insult against Spaniards in general, but it was also used to designate those of Jewish or Muslim origin who were pretending to be Christians.⁴⁹ New Christians rarely used this adjective to designate themselves.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the adjective *marrano(a)* had been modified to form the noun *marranism*, which signified the outward profession of Christianity by Jews under threat. The noun was adopted by many historians

during the 1950s and 1960s and beyond, particularly by Benzion Netanyahu, I. S. Révah, and Jonathan Israel. It also appeared in encyclopaedias of Judaism, although in recent decades it has been less used. I find this acceptance of historical linguistic contamination by the politics of racialisation problematic, even if the use of *marrano(a)* and *marranism* became qualified and evolved over time.

The nouns *converso(a)* (converted) and *cristã(o) novo(a)* (New Christian) certainly served to underline recent conversion and define a caste of stigmatised outsiders with “stained blood,” in contrast to the established Old Christians, who were supposed to have pure blood. These nouns ended up being used by the converted Jews themselves under constraint, but though they were used with derogatory intention, they were less offensive than *marrano(a)*.⁵⁰ Because of the absence of other useful and identifiable linguistic taxonomy, I shall use the terms *New Christians* or *conversos* to indicate the population of converted Jews and their descendants.

It is difficult to find a balance, in historical research, between labels of identification thrust on minorities by dominant social groups, which certainly contributed to creating those minorities, and the self-perceptions of these minorities. In the case of New Christians, their designation as Jews was pervasive and used as a label to enforce a racial divide through the idea of perpetual religious beliefs maintained after conversion, which could lead to a formal accusation of apostasy. This labelling carried with it an explicit physical threat. The double accusation of *judío judaizante* (Judaizing Jew) that we find in so many trials meant that the accused were racially (or ethnically) Jews and had returned to their ancestral religion. But Jews they were in any case, produced by an historical fight for supremacy by Old Christians. It is this trap of repeating historical labels that historians, right up to the present day, have been unable to avoid in a consistent way. Even more difficult is to reconstitute self-perceptions among New Christians, although we find permanent protest to the king and pope against being labelled *marranos* or Jews.

Nation, as a noun applied to New Christians, is also problematic.⁵¹ It was used in late medieval and early modern Europe to convey the idea of a shared, collective, inherited language and culture located in a precise territory.⁵² New Christians were designated as a nation without having a distinct language (few of them retained any acquaintance with Hebrew) or being located in a specific territory. Portugal functioned as a main reference location after 1497 because of the massive forced conversion at that one date and in that one place, but larger communities existed in Castile, while New Christians eventually became scattered around the world. Historical memory, networks of kinship, and transfer of prejudices might explain the identification. The difficulty is increased because the noun *nation* could designate either New Christians or Portuguese, and often both together.⁵³

Northern Europeans, especially in the seventeenth century, equated Portuguese with Jews. In doing so, they ironically confounded Old Christians and New Christians, persecutors and persecuted, blurring the dividing line fuelled by many Old Christians, while accepting inquisitorial propaganda that New Christians were Jews. Historiography has not yet solved this difficulty.⁵⁴ We shall try to keep the waters clear and focus on the New Christians, but sometimes identification is not easy. New Christians intersected with Old Christians as merchants, but they also intersected with Jews and New Jews, as Yosef Kaplan named the Sephardic communities created in Northern Europe by New Christians.⁵⁵

4. *Method*

Biographies of New Christian businessmen have been drawn on by Caro Baroja, Domínguez Ortiz, I. S. Révah, James Boyajian, Carmen Sanz Ayán, Jonathan Israel, Herman Salomon, Claude Stuczynski, Fernanda Olival, and many other authors.⁵⁶ I have selected diversified and representative cases to overcome an essentialist approach based on the assumption that all New Christians were crypto-Jews. Because I am working across three centuries in different countries and continents, a key strategy is to reconstitute the story of several generations of the same family, or particular cases that help us understand changes at specific historical conjunctures or the conditions offered by specific locations. The cases must be relevant for the study of group assertion, external and internal rivalry, and exchange and interdependence with both Old Christians and Jewish communities.

Economic, political, and social significance are not the only criteria for the selection of cases; some cases have been chosen for their relevance to the study of gender, kinship, and strategies of reproduction. Forced conversion changed the gender dynamics within families, while the Iberian tradition of equitable inheritance had an impact on Sephardic communities, but these features must be better studied. Inequality within New Christian extended families also needs to be tackled if we are to understand mutual assistance and pooling of resources in cases of infertility. Relationships between New Christians and the Catholic Church also need to be addressed through the pursuit of spiritual search; participation in confraternities; membership of third orders and convents; access to ecclesiastical benefices and ecclesiastical career paths; and pious bequests and chapel endowments. These Church dealings are important if we are to understand the clusters of social positions achieved by New Christians. By the same token, relationships between New Christians and Jewish communities in different parts of the world must be taken on board.

The trials of the Inquisition are important sources in this research, because they give us information on kinship, business relations, property, behaviour, and decision-making. I am more interested in genealogical enquiries, inventories

of property, testimonies, and declarations of the accused than in sentences. This information needs to be weighed against that from other sources, particularly wills, inventories of property established after death to enable partition among heirs, contracts, royal records of tax farming, *asientos* (royal contracts), attribution of pensions, and investment in state bonds. Records of access to noble status, military orders, knighthood, or *hidalguia* promoted by the king, religious orders, cathedral chapters, or benefices are also significant for understanding social mobility.

Material culture has naturally been included in the study of New Christians merchants, but more can be done to reconstitute their lifestyle. The involvement of this group with long-distance trade meant familiarity with luxury commodities from different continents. The development of a sharp eye to recognise the quality of gem stones or gold and silver; a tactile sensitivity for Asian textiles; a capacity to discern the scent of perfumes, woods, and dyes; and a subtle recognition of new flavours would arguably inform a refined cosmopolitan taste. I shall pay attention to the clothing, food habits, and interior decor enjoyed by major New Christian merchants, as revealed by inventories of their property, which included maps, paintings, tapestries, exotic furniture, cutlery, glass, linen, textiles, and porcelain. What is at stake here is the shaping of taste by intercontinental trade, in which New Christians directly participated as a result of time spent in Asia, Africa, and the New World as young partners and merchant associates.⁵⁷

Paintings and literary texts have been studied on their own, but these cultural products can be better integrated into historical analysis. Literary and artistic sources are specific, defined by genre and tradition, but they can shed new light when placed in context and set against other historical sources. The purpose is to use these sources to catch New Christians (and New Jews) in the act of reflecting on exile, or the liminal situation in which they had been placed. These sources can illuminate the cultural environment of New Christian merchants, the sensibility this created, and how it reflected these merchants' social condition.

Understanding the legal and economic cultures in which New Christian merchants operated is crucial to analysing the context of their activities. The early modern period stimulated a notable production of treatises on contracts, exchange, and usury that reflected extensively on the practices of trade and shaped, to a certain degree, the legal framework. The most significant treatises are analysed in this book. Commercial culture, as exemplified in contracts, bills of exchange, business correspondence, documents granting powers of agent, accounting books and other records involving merchant associations, joint investment groups, temporary companies, customs houses, and the royal courts, is also important, and sources produced by this environment are used. The context of financial fluctuations over time and in various locations is important, because royal bankruptcies, for instance, could mean either losses or opportunities for New Christians.⁵⁸

Political action through legislation, consultation, petitions, regulation of the markets, and royal contracts will be scrutinised. *Arbítrios*, or written pieces of advice to kings—many of them in manuscript but also in printed form—are relevant if we are to understand the political debate in certain periods, mainly in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Through *arbítrios*, we can see how New Christian agency and Old Christian opposition worked, but we need to complement this source with pamphlets from the period to grasp the decisive moments of intense public debate on political, social, and economic reform.

5. *Scope*

The defining features of this book are its focus on the New Christian merchant elite, its long-term approach, and its intercontinental scope. It spans a period from the fifteenth century, when the New Christian merchants emerged from massive, forced conversion in Iberia, to the decline of this ethnicity in the eighteenth century. It includes the intersection between New Christians and Jewish communities, as well as integration, persecution, and resistance within the Christian world. The research encompasses Spain, Portugal, Italy, Northern Europe, North Africa, West Africa, the Americas, the Middle East, South Asia, and East Asia, since the New Christian merchants were a global elite. The analysis is based on the extensive and excellent bibliography available and on intensive research in eighteen archives and manuscript sections of public and private libraries in Portugal, Spain, the Vatican, Italy, the United Kingdom, Belgium, and Peru.

The book is structured both in a chronological and a thematic way. The purpose of this is to understand distinctive features in certain periods of time, particularly royal policies, business patterns, destinations for migration, and cultural and religious expression. There are bridges between these parts, and these are provided either by focusing on continuities in policies or by looking at successive generations of the same families. Temporal divisions are always arbitrary, so I have tried to find clusters of events that can function as markers rather than turning points, because there are always continuities and discontinuities, although new economic, political, and social configurations can be identified.

Part I is titled “Transitions” because I am seeking to understand transfers of capital and kinship between Jewish and New Christian elites in the fifteenth century and first half of the sixteenth century. Continuities in royal advisers and royal contracts are visible, while the arrival of New Christians in municipal and ecclesiastic offices was a novelty and arguably unleashed retribution from Old Christian elites. The impact of Jewish expulsion and inquisitorial prosecution of New Christians is analysed. The activity of New Christian merchants from Castile and Aragon is integrated into our story, while information from new archival research on Portuguese merchants is introduced. Continuities of overseas trade leading to new business developments in the Atlantic, the Indian,

and the Pacific Ocean is contrasted with breaks in continuity related to racial division and political events that created disruptions and encouraged emigration, primarily to Italy, North Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and Antwerp. Patterns of behaviour are followed through precise case studies. Important events with consequences, such as the riot of Toledo in 1449, the first wave of inquisitorial persecution in Spain, the Lisbon riot of 1506, and the voyage of David Reubeni to Portugal, are analysed. Part I is completed by a consideration of creativity, which includes a look at New Christian engagement with literary and artistic expression, and this is followed by an examination of the power struggle for the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, with a renewal of arguments from the fifteenth-century Castilian debate in favour and against New Christians.

Part II addresses the expansion of New Christian merchant networks in the Iberian world and in other parts of Europe, the Ottoman Empire, South Asia, and East Asia from the mid-sixteenth century to the 1600s, which includes consideration of the impact of the Iberian Union of Crowns in 1580. I start with a case study of contraband trade with Morocco in the mid-sixteenth century, followed by selected cases of the banker Simón Ruiz's associates, to understand interregional links and those operations of New Christian entangled with the interests of Old Christian merchants and financiers. New Christian migration, particularly to Northern Europe (Amsterdam and Hamburg), triggered by a new wave of inquisitorial persecution and new international conditions of acceptance of Jewish communities, is studied in its complexity. The different strategies of investment and social mobility, including noble status, pursued by New Christians are analysed in the chapter on property, which reflects on local conditions. Merchant cultures, literary and spiritual searches, and the debate around blood purity are analysed in the chapter on values, a notion comprising moral standards and social beliefs that is seldom used in historical analysis but is crucial to an understanding of conflicted views. This part concludes with the general pardon obtained by New Christian financiers in 1604–1605, an important historical event that had consequences.

Part III covers the period from the 1600s to the mid-seventeenth century, a period in which New Christian merchants asserted their presence as bankers in Madrid, created and developed Sephardic communities in Northern Europe, expanded their interests in the Spanish Empire and in Asia, and saw an exemption from property confiscation imposed by King John IV on the Inquisition in Portugal in 1649. "Resistance" is an obvious title for this part, which opens with a chapter on conflict exacerbated by the Inquisition, which required negotiation by the New Christian elite both in Madrid and in Rome. Periods of political transition, defined by the accession of new kings and new popes, unleashed requests from both sides of the dispute. The chapter on politics tackles a larger picture in which international war, Dutch competition in the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans, the decline of the Spanish Crown, and

the disruption of New Christian networks provoked by the restoration of the independence of Portugal in 1640 are addressed. The business strategies of New Christians in different parts of the world are analysed region by region, including the major issue of the slave trade in the Atlantic, the reinforcement of links to foreign merchants, and the backlash from Old Christian merchants installed as familiars of the Inquisition. This part is completed by a chapter on identities that tackles religious and political allegiances but also literary and artistic forms of expression.

Part IV spans a long period, from the 1650s to the 1770s, which moved from renewed persecution by the Portuguese Inquisition, leading to the tribunal's suspension by the pope from 1674 to 1681, successive conflicts in Spain, and the abolition of the distinction between New and Old Christians by the government of Pombal in 1773. The decline and disappearance of the New Christians as a recognisable ethnic group is the subject of this part. The new heights of inquisitorial persecution and their impact on merchants in the Iberian world and beyond are analysed through precise case studies, which show the development of strategies of evasion but also of ennoblement, both in Iberia and abroad. At the core of this part is the suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition, which played a major role in this story. The New Christian merchants, who had been heavily persecuted during the late 1650s, 1660s, and early 1670s, were confronted with the restoration of the tribunal without any breathing space being conceded. The Portuguese king's change of attitude concerning contracts and privileges is included in this analysis. The consequences for emigration are tackled by the chapter on the breakdown of the New Christian merchant families, largely pushed by relentless inquisitorial persecution both in Spain and Portugal from the 1700s to the 1740s, while foreign merchants became favoured by the Iberian kings. The decline of Sephardic communities in Northern Europe occurred at the same time as the assimilation of New Christians in Italy, while the assumption of Jewish status emerged in France. The last chapter addresses the persistence of some level of New Christian identity until the mid-eighteenth century, but the main phenomenon is this group's immersion in global society, followed by the ideological turn against blood purity, surprisingly more successful in Portugal than in Spain, favoured by a decisive shift in the state's assertion of its political and jurisdictional powers.

6. Historiography

In 1817, Juan Antonio Llorente, the first historian of the Spanish Inquisition, considered that the economic and social success of the New Christians had transferred to them the hatred previously directed against the Jews. In his view, the Inquisition had been created for political and financial reasons and was driven by a desire for extortion. Formal accusations of Judaism

targeted Jewish food and hygiene habits, not just religious beliefs.⁶⁰ Llorente was a former secretary of the Inquisition of Madrid who had extensive access to the archives, served the French government, and went into exile with the restoration of the Spanish monarchy. His arguments resonated with the thinking of the time. One generation later, Alexandre Herculano thoroughly researched the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal, focusing on the negotiations in Rome on behalf of the Portuguese king, John III, which the New Christians opposed. The wealth of material Herculano uncovered remains fundamental; he proved there had been pervasive corruption in the Eternal City that led to an increased use of extortion against New Christians.⁶¹

In the early twentieth century, Henry Charles Lea agreed, in general, with Llorente and Herculano, but his method was different: whereas the previous historians had analysed the main inquisitorial decisions in their social and political context, and the diplomatic clashes of the different interests at play, Lea engaged with individual trials. Rich detail emerged, but limited analysis reproduced the tribunal's racial prejudices that underlined the accusation of Judaism against New Christian victims.⁶² In the early 1920s, João Lúcio de Azevedo offered a comprehensive history of the New Christians in Portugal, from the late fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Despite anti-Jewish prejudices, this history suggested a critical vision of the Inquisition and established a solid institutional and historical narrative based on archival research. It was weakened by the virtual absence of life stories, but the analysis of the main events, including the suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1674–1681, set an excellent basis for future research.⁶³

The subsequent decades saw new approaches that enlarged understanding of New Christians as a minority with their own agency. In 1937, Marcel Bataillon published an important book on Erasmus and Spain, a model of carefully nuanced religious and intellectual history in which he showed the overwhelming presence of New Christians among Erasmians, mystics, and early spiritual movements—namely, the *alumbrados* (literally, the “enlightened”), who sought direct contact with God.⁶⁴ The information he collected on the participation of New Christians in the first generations of Jesuits was, in due course, extended.⁶⁵ More recently, this line of research inspired another important book by Stefania Pastore, who analysed the complexity of fluid and innovative spiritual quest among New Christians, whose ideas cannot be neatly mapped onto specific religious movements.⁶⁶

Bataillon's study was the first to integrate the story of discrimination against converted people of Jewish descent into the mainstream of Spanish history. The second historiographical move in this direction came in the 1940s and 1950s, from Américo Castro, who departed from the traditional view that Hispanic culture was characterised by a purely Christian background. Instead, he included Jewish and Muslim contributions.⁶⁷ Although Castro considered New Christians to be crypto-Jews, he opened an exciting area of research

concerning the literary developments of this ethnicity, a line pursued later by other scholars, particularly Stephen Gilman and Francisco Márquez Villanueva.⁶⁸ This perspective was reinforced by a powerful parallel vein of research done by the historian Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, who contributed to recognition of the historical importance of conversos as a social group. This historian's work addressed the economic and financial New Christian intervention in Spain, particularly during the reign of Philip IV, but he also included an investigation of the literary output of these people.⁶⁹

Julio Caro Baroja contributed work of the highest quality to this field with his substantial research on Jews in Spain from the late Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. It was marred by its title, which suggests that the author subscribed to the idea that all New Christians were crypto-Jews. However, Caro Baroja made an extraordinary effort to integrate both the Spanish and the Portuguese sides of this story, to engage with life stories, and to use a wide variety of archival sources, mainly trials. His is probably the most comprehensive history of New Christians in the Iberian world.⁷⁰

It should be said that Caro Baroja's problematic equating of New Christians with Jews was shared by most historians from the 1930s onwards, particularly by Cecil Roth, Yitzhak Baer, and Haim Beinart.⁷¹ More recently, Jonathan Israel unveiled an extraordinary set of case studies in Iberia, Northern Europe, Italy, and Iberian America relating New Christians to Sephardic communities, although accepting a New Christian plural religious identity.⁷² The flourishing of studies on Sephardic communities in the past fifty years, for example, those by Aron de Leone Leoni, Cristina Galasso, Yosef Kaplan, Miriam Bodian, Daniel Swetschinski, Michael Studemund-Halevy, Jorun Poettering, Edgar Samuel, Gérard Nahon, Evelyne Oliel-Grausz, Lionel Levy, José Alberto Tavim, Hugo Martins, and Francesca Trivellato, is crucial not only for Jewish history but also for the history of New Christians.⁷³

The convergence of Catholic and Jewish historiographies concerning the idea of New Christians as crypto-Jews was challenged in the 1950s and 1960s by António José Saraiva and Benzion Netanyahu.⁷⁴ These two historians shared the view that the Inquisition fabricated Jews, an idea that replicated a plausible argument originally formulated by the New Christians themselves. However, Saraiva considered the Inquisition to have been an instrument of feudal social retribution against the New Christians as an emergent bourgeoisie, a hardly convincing Marxist approach belied by the fact that common interests between merchants or bankers and noblemen are easy to prove. Although Saraiva's refusal to work with the inquisitorial sources is unacceptable, his critique of a positivist reading of the trials that had been accepted at face value must be taken on board.

Benzion Netanyahu approached the subject from an entirely different angle: he too rejected the idea of a continuing Jewish allegiance among New Christians, considering them as true Christians, who in many cases decided

on conversion without constraint. Netanyahu's theory of racism as an explanation for the persecution suffered by the New Christians became more convincing in time, due to the progress of historical studies on that issue; however, the idea of pure Christians, many of them converted of their own will, based on Jewish sources, is problematic. Criticism of exclusive use of Jewish sources related to inheritance and divorce matters lodged outside Iberia has already been levelled at Netanyahu's ideas. The argument of racism is sustainable, but it needs to be better explained in its variable historical context.

I. S. Révah rightly rejected António José Saraiva's denial of the religious dimension of New Christian history.⁷⁵ The two had a lively debate, in which Révah did not convincingly address Saraiva's criticism of a positivist approach to the sources, but he acknowledged plural identities among New Christians.⁷⁶ This line of research was developed by Nathan Wachtel, who systematically studied whole inquisitorial trials in context. Wachtel contributed to the creation of a much more nuanced image of New Christians, who were certainly constrained by the Catholic Church but could end up choosing a variety of religious behaviour, from orthodox to heterodox: at the margins of heresy, engaged in innovative spiritual quest, returning to Judaism, or even, at times, experimenting with Protestantism. Nathan Wachtel talked about a faith of remembrance, about efforts to retrieve lost doctrine and ritual, obscured by an inquisitorial focus on food habits and hygienic customs.⁷⁷ This important approach stimulated a new reflection on conditions and consequences of conversion.⁷⁸

A critique of the imaginary Jewish underground religion created by the Inquisition has been developed by David Graizbord, who points to the traditional absence of separation between the secular and religious spheres and between individual duties and a collective stance among Jews. By the same token, inquisitorial expressions such as the "religion of Moses" or "individual salvation under Judaism," which were integrated into daily life, need to be scrutinised.⁷⁹ This critique feeds into an old question: What were the possibilities of recovering Judaism within a strict Christian society, without rabbis or the Talmud? Graizbord focuses on split and problematic New Christian identities, showing constant processes of change from one religion to the other, hesitations, returns, and doubts that verged on agnosticism or atheism. This approach calls our attention to a much more flexible early modern world than we might envisage—a flexibility in which religious allegiance was not always set for life, manifested in a community submitted to forced conversion.

A legal and institutional framework based on blood purity defined boundaries, but it would be a colossal misjudgment to build an interpretation based on norms during the early modern period. How did the New Christians deal with rules of exclusion? How did they circumvent these adverse conditions? Under what circumstances could these norms be infringed? The work of

Enrique Soria and Ruth Pike, among other authors, has called attention to the significant number of New Christians bribing genealogists and subverting the testimonies of the enquiries into blood purity so that they could become Old Christians.⁸⁰ We also know, from the *libros verdes* of malicious genealogy, that many noble families were accused of being “contaminated” by Jewish blood. It is exactly this New Christian elite capacity for social promotion that needs to be properly assessed. But we cannot forget the opposite possible outcomes: failure to gain acceptance, fear of the consequences of exposure, loss of reputation, and ejection from previous positions in this atmosphere of systematic downgrading.

New Christian migration, mainly to the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, South Asia, and East Asia, has been one of the main issues tackled by historiography.⁸¹ The major periods of migration are becoming more clear, and although the number of people involved is still difficult to estimate, we have some overall figures for those who settled. The impact of New Christian migration on the creation and development of Sephardic communities is probably the most productive area, as I indicated earlier. Although there is significant work on the relationships between New Christians and Jewish communities, this topic needs to be better addressed for the eighteenth century. It is important to better understand this relationship, because common decline might be explained by common causes.

Finally, the merchant and financial activities of New Christians have been under scrutiny since the 1950s, with much of this study based on the correspondence of the banker Simón Ruiz.⁸² There is also good information on New Christian merchants in monographs on district tribunals and national histories of the Inquisition.⁸³ The importance of partnerships between New Christians and Old Christians has already been pointed out by David Grant Smith in the case of Brazil, and this kind of approach has been extended.⁸⁴ The crucial role of New Christian merchants in Asia has been studied by James Boyajian, who has reconstituted the links back to Lisbon and Madrid.⁸⁵ The financial investments of New Christians in Spain and Portugal have also been researched, as well as the communities’ commercial activities in specific periods of time.⁸⁶ Relationships of New Christians with foreign merchants have been tackled, but it is an area that requires more research.⁸⁷ The excellent work by Francesca Trivellato on the cross-cultural trade of the Sephardic community in Livorno should inspire new research on New Christians.⁸⁸ Trivellato refused, for instance, the automatic vision of intra-ethnic exclusive trust, calling attention to internal conflict and external links.

In general, it is necessary to draw together all these threads, including the important contexts of legal and economic thought, social and political practice, and intellectual and artistic expression, to build a more comprehensive history of the New Christian merchant elite, its rise, and its fall.

INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* indicate illustrations.

- abductions of New Christian children,
22, 333
- Abeacar, Isaac, 28
- Abeacar family, 47
- Abendana, Abraham (Fernão Dias
Mendes de Brito), 138
- Abendana, David (Fernão Dias Mendes
de Brito, homonymous), 349
- Abendana, Mosem (Diogo Dias Mendes),
131
- Abete, Isaac, 51
- Aboa, Jacob and Messa, 122
- Aboab, Abraham (António Faleiro), 349
- Aboab, Isaac (Henrique Gomes), 133
- Aboab, Jacob, 353
- Aboabi, Manuel, 131
- Aboaf, Elihau (Rui Fernandes Cardoso),
349
- Abraham, Miser, 131
- Abravanel, Henrique Fernandes, 47,
51-52, 53
- Abravanel, Isaac, 28, 47
- Abravanel, Judah, 27
- Abravanel, Judas, 51
- Abravanel, Leão, 149
- Abravanel, Samuel (Juan Sánchez), 29, 66
- Abravanel family, 47
- Abrunhosa, Gastão de, 176, 200
- Abrunhosa, Valério de, 131, 177
- Abulafia, Samuel ha-Levi, 27
- Academias morales de las musas* (Enríquez
Gómez), 309-10
- accomandita*, 170
- Acosta, Cristóbal (Cristóvão da Costa),
186, 468
- Acosta, Diego Perez de, 251
- Acosta, Duarte de, 263
- Acosta, Fernando Lopes de, 269-70
- Acosta, Filipe Martins de, 247
- Acosta, Jorge de, 269-70
- Acosta, Melchior Mendes de, 249
- Acosta (da Costa), Fernandes de, 247
- Acuña, Antonio de, 271
- Acuña, Francisco Lobo de, 248
- Adoration of the Shepherds, The* (Otto van
Veen), 289, 525n151
- Affaitati, Giovanni Battista, 53
- Afonseca, Manuel de, 442
- Afonseca e Albuquerque, Manuel de, 442
- Afonso V (king of Portugal), 28
- Afonso VI (king of Portugal), 357, 368, 371
- Afonso, Cardinal-Infante, 80, 84
- Afonso, Martim, 482n7
- Afonso de Sousa, Martim, 186
- Africa. *See* North Africa; slaves/slave
trade; West Africa
- agency and identity formation, 9
- Aguiar, António de, 399
- Aguiar, Francisco de, 408
- Aguiar e Acuña, Manuel de, 248
- Aguilar, Alonso de, 332
- Aguilar, García de, 332
- Aguilar, Manuel de, 270, 330
- Aguilar, Moses Rafael de, 354, 355
- Aguilar Rondón, Tomás de, 332
- Ahumada, Beatrice de, 32
- Aires, Fernandes de, 125
- Aires, Ines, 129
- Aires, Pedro de, 129
- Alarcão, Catarina de, 374
- Alarcón, Ana Maria Bobadilla de, 259
- Alarcón, Diego de, 56
- Alarcón, Juan de, 519n7
- Alarcón, Simón de, 427
- Albizzi, Francesco (cardinal), 385-86
- Albornoz, Bartolomé de, 171, 174-75
- Albuquerque, André de, 442
- Albuquerque, Feliciano de, 442
- Albuquerque e Aguilar, Manuel de, 441-44
- Albuquerque e Aguilar, Mariana Josefa, 441
- alcabalas*, 55, 328, 551
- Alcalá, Luis de, 172
- Alcaraz, Pedro Ruiz de, 87-88
- Alcázar, Luis de, 317

- Alcázar, Pedro del, 55, 56
Alcocer, Francisco de, 56
Aldobrandini, Giovanni Francesco, 132
Alemán, Mateo, 183–84, 468
Alemán family, 55
Alemo, Jorge Gomes de, 254, 274, 283, 284
Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de, 273
Alexander III (pope), 222
Alexander VI (pope), 22, 30, 459
Alexander VII (pope), 371
Alexander VIII (Pietro Ottoboni, pope), 391, 406–7
Alexandre, Caetano, 442
Alfaro family, 55
Alfonso VII (king of Galicia/León and Castile), 486n8
Alfonso X the Wise (king of Castile), 63
Aliaga, Luis de, 218, 226
aljamas, 27
Almada, Antão de, 164, 368
Almada, João de, 166
Almada family, 221
Almansa, Juan de, 56
Almeida, Francisco de, 217, 295
Almeida, Francisco de Barros de, 368
Almeida, Gregorio, 384
Almeida, Luís de, 125, 262
Almeida, Miguel de, 513n66
Almeida, Miguel Osório de, 408
Almeida, Nuno Leitão Pereira de, 432
Almeida, Simão Gomes de, 362
almojarifado, 26, 51, 54, 347, 431
Altieri, Cardinal, 391
Alumbra, Dona (Mor Soeira), 133
alumbrados, 16, 86–89, 177, 178, 179
Alva, Manuel de, 132
Álvares, Duarte, 107–8, 109, 110, 112
Álvares, Fernando, 488n52
Álvares, Isaac, 353
Álvares, Luís, 353, 361, 369, 377
Álvares, Rodrigo, 295
Álvares de Pina, Francisco (Jacob Cohen), 131
Álvares Pereira, Nuno, 166
Álvares Seco, Fernando, 154
Álvarez de Madrid, Rodrigo, 56
Álvarez Pereyra, Pedro, 427
America (António Ferreira Dourado), 440
Amorim, António, 339
Amsterdam: emergence as economic center, 102, 304; Hamburg, ties with, 293; Jewish community in, 138, 287, 290–92, 302, 305, 318, 328, 350–51, 355–56, 417, 533n103; New Christian migration to, 103, 138, 140, 234, 290; Portuguese synagogue in, 352
Añasco, Fernando de, 189
Anaya, Diego de, 60
Andrade, Beatriz de, 197
Andrade, Diogo de, 135
Andrade, Enrique de, 247, 265, 269, 272
Andrade, Francisco de, 197, 295
Andrade, Gaspar de, 295, 415, 543n93
Andrade, Henrique de, 249
Andrade, Jorge de, 288, 362
Andrade, Luís Gonçalves de, 353
Andrade, Manuel de, 217, 404, 409, 541n43
Andrade, Manuel Rodrigues de, 263, 280
Andrade, Mencia de, 265
Andrade, Pero de, 45
Andrade, Rodrigo de, 196, 197, 199, 217, 237, 349, 510n10
Andrade family, 128
Anes, Gomes, 53–54
Anes, Pero, 53
Anes, Vicente, 111
Angel, Antónia, 202
Angel, Gonçalo Rodrigues, 282
Angel, Jerónimo de Oliveira, 202
Angel, Jerónimo Fernandes, 202
Angel, Luis Gomes, 118
Angel, Melchior Gomes, 264
Angel, Rui Dias (or Ruy Diaz), 202, 223, 263, 280
Angel Family, 202
Angola. *See* slaves/slave trade; West Africa
Anidjar, Gil, 472n29
anti-*converso* feeling: early exemplars of, 60–61; radicalization of public discourse about, 216–18; religious outrages leading to, 233–34, 371; on restoration of Inquisition in Portugal, 398; riots, 3, 14, 22, 30, 40–41, 43–44, 59–62, 64, 65, 74, 79, 233, 234, 458–59; suspension of Inquisition in Portugal and, 373; texts expressing, 243–45. *See also* blood purity; Inquisition
anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism: historiography of New Christians and, 16; as

- racism, 5, 18, 77, 227, 301; Seville, anti-Jewish riot in (1391), 3, 21, 27; texts by Old and New Christians, 227–28, 243
- Antinori, Maria, 161
- Antioches Epiphanes, 310
- António da Fonseca, 295–96
- Antunes, Cátia, 114
- Antunes, Francisco, 272
- Antunes, Margarida, 197
- Antunes, Tomé, 281
- Antwerp: decline as economic center, 102, 304, 348; establishment of New Christians in, 57, 68, 70, 487–88n40; Habsburg efforts against New Christians in, 23, 59, 68, 75; Jewish community, lack of, 348; network facilitating migration to Ottoman Empire through Italy in, 68–74, 83, 122–23, 125; New Christian community in, 125–29, 127–28, 287–90, 289–92, 348–49; trade, commerce, and finance in, 287–90; Ximenes houses in, 158
- Antwerp Cathedral, chapel endowment at, 159
- Aponte, Pedro Gerónimo de, 190
- Apresentação, Luís da, 227
- Aragão, Duarte de, 347
- Aragão, Jerónimo de, 347
- Araújo, Antónia de, 368
- Araújo, Bento de, 339
- arbitrios*, 13, 207–8, 226, 229, 230, 233, 245, 260
- Arce, Isidro de, 237
- Arce y Reynoso, Diego de, 253
- Archer, Francis, 416
- Arias, Diego, 29
- Arias, Pedro de, 29
- Arias Davila, Juan, 29
- Aristotle, 91, 173
- Arnalte y Lucenda* (Diego de San Pedro), 94
- Arroyo, Antonio de, 426
- art and literature, 467–68; from 1490s to 1540s, 36, 37, 38, 39–41, 76, 91–96; from 1550s to 1600s, 136, 137, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 177, 182–84; from 1600s to 1640s, 209–10, 289–90, 289–92, 307–12, 314–18, 525n151; from 1650s to 1770s, 341, 342, 434, 440; Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary, in art, 265, 266, 315–19, 316; figurative tradition in Jewish Community, lack of, 91; limbo, descent of Christ into, in New Christian painting, 92, 136, 467; theater, 210, 310. *See also specific authors, artists, and works by title*
- Arte real para el buen gobierno de los reyes y principes* (Jerónimo de Ceballos), 229
- Ascension of Christ* (Bartolomé Bermejo), 93
- Asensio, Eugenio, 504n54
- asentistas*: from 1550s to 1600s, 234, 240, 245, 253, 261, 262, 263, 265, 279; from 1600s to 1640s, 234, 240, 245, 253, 261, 262, 263, 265, 279; from 1650s to 1770s, 328, 329, 331, 332, 335, 346, 374, 426, 427, 465; defined, 551
- Asia: from 1550s to 1600s, 121–25; from 1600s to 1640s, 258–62. *See also specific locations*
- asientos*, 12; from 1550s to 1600s, 115, 118–19, 146, 167; from 1600s to 1640s, 238, 239, 244, 247–49, 253, 254, 273, 278–80, 284; from 1650s to 1770s, 260, 331–32, 341, 415, 425, 427, 454, 455; defined, 551
- Ataide, Jorge de, 200
- Ataide, Pedro de, 388
- Ataide family, 221
- Augustine of Hippo, 222
- Augustinians, 160, 165, 180, 223, 276, 377
- autos da fé: from 1490s to 1550s, 34, 80, 487n31; from 1550s to 1600s, 124, 140, 141, 147, 181, 195, 197, 199; from 1600s to 1640s, 213, 215, 225, 230, 234, 239, 240, 252, 261, 301; from 1650s to 1770s, 328, 338, 366, 369, 371, 387, 399, 400, 402, 421, 422, 428, 436, 444, 449; absence of, under Roman Inquisition, 542n54
- Aveiro, Pantaleão de, 497n4
- Ávila, Alonso de, 180
- Ávila, Diego de, 428
- Ávila, Francisco de, 269–70
- Ávila, Juan de, 177, 180–81, 203
- Ávila, Martin Yánes de, 56
- Avis family, 84
- Ayala, Gaspar de, 214
- Ayán, Carmen Sanz, 11
- Azevedo, Álvaro de, 274, 288, 293
- Azevedo, André de, 288

- Azevedo, António de, 262
Azevedo, António Velho de, 442
Azevedo, Francisco de, 385, 390-91, 403, 409, 538n127
Azevedo, Francisco Soeiro de, 404, 408, 409, 541n43
Azevedo, Gaspar Borges de, 226
Azevedo, Gomes de, 362
Azevedo, João Lúcio de, 16, 400, 489n19
Azevedo, José Pacheco de, 439, 548n80
Azevedo, Manuel de, 141
Azevedo family, 341
Azpilcueta, Martin de, 173
Azpilcueta Navarro, Martin de, 136, 172-73
- Baeça, Fernão de, 259
Baeça (or Baeza), Pedro de, 56, 240, 253-54, 259-61, 283-84
Baer, Yitzhak, 17
Baeza family, 55
Baião, Francisco, 111, 112
banks and banking. *See* finance, banking, and money lending
Baptista, João, 217
Barberini, Francesco (cardinal), 390
Barbosa, Francisco, 214
Bardi, Giacomo dei, 146, 147
Bardi, Giovanni, 525n148
Bardi, Giuseppi, 525n149
Baronio ed Mantica, Cardinal, 155
Barreda, Diego de, 87
Barrera family, 55
Barreto, Alexandre de Abreu, 296
Barreto, António Moniz, 436
Barreto, Francisco, 123, 124
Barreto, João Barbosa, 408
Barreto, Simão, 226
Barrientos, Baltasar Alamos de, 226
Barrientos, Lope de, 63, 190
Barrionuevo, Jerónimo de, 328
Barros, Amaro de, 405, 406, 408
Barros, João Cabral de, 360
Barros de Caminha, Afonso, 286
Barthwell, Edward, 353
Baruch, Jacob/Isaac, 338
Basel, Council of (1434), 63, 486n11
Basilica, 170
Basque country/Basques, 90, 111, 112, 308, 410, 416, 427, 428
Bastidas family, 55
- Bastos, Vicente de, 337
Bataillon, Marcel, 16, 86-87, 89, 93, 504n54
Bautista Perez, João, 268
Bautista Pérez, Manuel, 251, 267-71, 279, 296, 302, 465, 518n93, 522n59, 522n61
Beacar, Abraham, 51
Beccaria, Cesare, 381
Beçudo, Isaac, 497n4
Beçudo, Mateus, 122, 497n4
Beinart, Haim, 17
Beira, Manuel Dias da, 131
Beja, Bento de, 388
Belmann, Henrique, 339
Belmonte, Manuel, 417
Benadeva, Pedro Fernández, 38
Benafaçam, Moses, 28
Benafaçam family, 47
Benathiehl, Jacob, 353
Benedict XIV (pope), 398
Benedictines, 87
Bentalhado family, 122
Benvenida, Signora (wife of Samuel Abrael), 66
Benveniste, Abraham (Agostinho Henriques), 149
Benveniste, Diogo Mendes, 47, 53
Benveniste, Gracia, 149
Benveniste, Mair (Rodrigo Nunes), 149
Benveniste, Reina (Marquesa Henriques), 72, 149
Benveniste family, 47, 53, 72
Bermejo, Bartolomé (Bartolomé de Cardenas), 91-93, 92, 93, 467
Bernadines, 427, 430, 442
Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, 343, 343-45
bills of exchange, 44, 45, 54, 73, 79, 113, 170-74, 259, 282, 286, 346, 353, 430, 467
Bird, William, 353
Bivar, Duarte Garcia de, 361, 373-74
Bixorda, Jorge Fernandes, 47
Bixorda, Jorge Lopes, 47, 48, 52
Black Death (1347-1351), 32, 188
blackmail, 148, 235, 239, 256, 328, 515n24
Blauwhof (Castle Logenhaghen, Steendorp), 288
blood cleansing, 40, 80, 109, 118, 123, 128, 144, 148, 189, 242, 461
blood purity, 22-23, 459-61; access to resources/offices and, 31-32, 189; anti-*converso* riots and, 30, 59,

- 61–62; *arbitrios* and, 207–8; Celorigo's proposed three-generation limit on, 220; change in ideological stance on, 421, 440–53; conceptual framework of, 7; continuity of statutes of, in 18th century, 420–21; counterarguments against, 63–64, 229; formal suppression of statutes on, 451; generational limits on, 220, 226, 240, 245; grievances in New Christian petition regarding, 380; imposition of statutes on, 3, 22–23, 30, 60–66, 77, 99, 188, 459; Inquisition and, 35–36, 65, 507–81n21; Italian absence of concern about, 135–36, 293; Jesuits and, 77, 90, 178, 188, 192; loss of exemption from, 402; *Mesa da Consciencia e Ordens*, certification by, 116, 256; mother's/Mary's milk associated with, 5, 315, 319, 467; papal denial/acceptance of statutes on, 3, 22, 30, 62, 65, 77, 222, 459; perpetuation of concept of, 326; public debate and conflict over, 1550s to 1600s, 188–93; as racist concept, 5, 30; radicalization of public discourse about New Christians and, 216; religious orders and, 188, 189, 192; triumph of ideology of, 245; universalist Christian tradition and, 6, 30, 64, 191, 220; Visigothic and medieval precursors to, 61–62, 63, 486n8
- Bluteau, Raphael, 306, 473nn49–50
- Bobadilla, Francisco de, 167
- Bobadilla, Nicolás, 177
- Bocarro, António, 262
- Bocarro, Fernão, 281
- Bocarro, Gaspar, 181, 262
- Bodian, Miriam, 17, 138, 471n20
- Bomdia, Diogo Martins, 140
- Book of Eparch*, 170
- Borges, Tristão, 111–12
- Botello, Francisco, 113
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 8
- Bouza, Fernando, 267
- Boyajian, James, 11, 19, 201
- Bragança, Alexandre de, 200
- Bragança, Daniel Rodrigues de, 133
- Bragança, Duke of, 28, 45, 53
- Bragança, Teotónio de, 203
- Brandani (Brandão), Ferdinando, 385–86, 386
- Brandão, Alexandre, 295
- Brandão, Alexandre Correia, 336
- Brandão, Ambrósio Fernandes, 272–73
- Brandão, António Vaz, 342, 385
- Brandão, Diogo, 153
- Brandão, Duarte, 389
- Brandão, Francisco Lopes, 263, 280
- Brandão, Francisco Machado, 281
- Brandão, Francisco Vaz, 295
- Brandão, Gaspar Dias, 353
- Brandão, Henrique Álvares, 253
- Brandão, Joana, 255, 346
- Brandão, João, 294, 295
- Brandão, Jorge Dias, 255, 275, 367, 389
- Brandão, Jorge Lopes, 280
- Brandão, Jorge Pires, 138
- Brandão, Jorge Rodrigues, 133
- Brandão, Leonor, 278
- Brandão, Luís, 280
- Brandão, Manuel Fernandes, 284
- Brandão, Pero Gonçalves, 261
- Brandão, Rodrigo Aires, 255, 284, 286, 333, 336
- Brandão, Rodrigo Pires, 293
- Brandão, Rodrigues Aires, 275–76
- Brandão, Rui Peres (Ishac Hoeff), 138
- Brandão family, 53, 348
- Brandão da Costa family, 466
- Braseley, Benjamin, 353
- Braudel, Fernand, 242
- Bravo, André Gomes, 404
- Bravo, Bento, 284
- Bravo, Bento da Silva (mid-17th century), 275
- Bravo, Bento da Silva (late 17th century) 361, 404–9
- Bravo, João Gonçalves, 295
- Bravo, Juan, 78
- Bravo, Miguel Gomes, 53
- Bravo, family. *See also* Correia Bravo
- Bravo family of Hamburg, 405
- Bravo da Silva, Bento, 416, 541n48, 543n94
- Brazil: from 1490s to 1540s, 48, 57; from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 125, 128, 137, 141–42, 143, 171, 193, 201; from 1600s to 1640s, 209, 234, 253, 255, 256, 265, 272–77, 280; from 1650s to 1770s, 327, 338, 339, 352, 354–55, 359, 368, 372, 411, 414, 421, 428, 433–40; banishment to Brazil, as inquisitorial punishment,

- Brazil (*continued*)
112-13, 256, 402, 430; Company of
Brazil, 209, 255, 256, 274-75, 286, 327,
338, 339, 359, 368; discovery of gold
and diamonds in, 428; Inquisition in,
253, 272-73, 421, 428, 433-40, 465-66;
Jews and Judaism in, 277, 292, 303-4;
Netherlands, occupation by, 234, 253,
255, 277, 292, 303-4, 354-55; periph-
eries, withdrawal of New Christians to,
421; trade and commerce in, 272-77
brazilwood (*pau-brasil*), 46, 48, 50, 214,
261, 273-74, 282, 336, 350, 462, 463, 551
*Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia
do judaismo* (Vicente da Costa Matos),
227
Briandos family, 221
Brito, António de, 333, 334
Brito, Gabriel de, 54
Brito, Isabel de, 48n53
Brito de Almeida, Manuel, 295
Brito do Rio, Diogo de, 433, 434, 435
Brito Foios, Estevão de, 388
Brodesiera, Filippo della, 384
Bucu, Fernão, 133
Bueno, Manuel Rodrigues, 362
Bueno, Simão Rodrigues, 248, 280
Buffalo, Ottavio del, 384
Butler, Judith, 8

Caballería, Alfonso de la, 27
Caballería, Benveniste de la, 27
Caballería, Gonzalo de la, 73
Caballería, Yehuda ben Levi de la, 27
Caballero, D. Leonor, 41
Caballero, Diego, 38, 39, 40
Caballero family, 55, 57
Cabedo, Gonçalo Mendes, 131
Cabral, António and Dionísio, 442
Cabral, António de Sequeira, 443
Cabral, Beatriz, 54
Cabral, Pedro Alves, 433
Cáceres, António, 239
Cáceres, António Dias, 125, 141, 214
Cáceres, Manuel de, 270
Cáceres (Dias Milão) family, 262
Cadiz, foreign merchants in, 414
Caffarelli, Alessandro, 384
Calandruci, Giacinto, 342
Calasso, Roberto, 7
Calatrava, military order of, 56, 331

Caldas, Diogo Nunes, 202
Caldas, Maria Álvares, 374
Caldas, Pedro Álvares, 359, 360, 362, 365,
368, 371, 372, 373-74, 376, 391
Caldeira, André, 150, 151
Caldeira, António, 129-30, 151
Caldeira, António Nunes, 153, 267
Caldeira, Beatriz, 116, 150, 151
Caldeira, Bento Rodrigues, 151
Caldeira, Braz Nunes, 296
Caldeira, Diogo, 496n70
Caldeira, Diogo Rodrigues, 151
Caldeira, Duarte, 129-30, 151
Caldeira, Fernando/Fernão Rodrigues,
115, 147
Caldeira, Filipa, 115
Caldeira, Francisco, 150, 151, 230
Caldeira, Gonçalo Rodrigues, 115
Caldeira, João, 150, 151
Caldeira, Leonor, 115, 150, 151
Caldeira, Luis, 115
Caldeira, Luís Álvares, 133, 497n94
Caldeira, Manuel, 110, 115-18, 117, 147,
150-52, 267, 333, 496n80, 496n82
Caldeira, Maria, 151
Caldeira, Paulo, 141, 150
Caldeira, Rodrigo, 116, 150, 151, 230
Caldeira, Rodrigo Álvares, 118, 497n94
Caldeira de Brito, Vicente, 283
Caldeira family, 113, 117, 119, 128, 149,
150-52
Calderón, Rodrigo, 226
Calhandra, Dr., 133
Callado de Noroña, Sebastián, 427
Calvinists and Calvinism, 89, 138, 292,
302-4, 354, 398
Calvo, Pedro, 221
Camacho, Manuel Fernandes, 284
Câmara, Martim Gonçalves da, 200
Camelo, Bento Pereira, 336
Camelo, Brás, 213
Campaña, Pedro de, 38, 40, 41
Campelo, Manuel Gonçalves, 364
Campos, Jacinto de, 408
Campos, João de, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113
Canjuel, João, 413
Cano, Melchor, 91, 177, 504n54
Capponi, Francesco, 167
Capponi, Niccolò, 167
captives, ransoming, 112
Capuchins, 126, 130, 181, 343, 344, 499n28

- Carafa, Gian Pietro (later Pope Paul IV), 33, 81, 132, 185
Cárcel del amor (Diego de San Pedro), 94, 95
Cardoso, Alfonso, 248, 263
Cardoso, Diego, 248, 249
Cardoso, Diogo Lopes, 202
Cardoso, Gonçalo, 293
Cardoso, José Guedes, 443
Cardoso, Luís Pinto, 441
Cardoso, Manuel, 262
Cardoso, Manuel Mendes, 202
Cardoso, Pedro, 111
Cardoso, Rui Fernandes, 293
Cardoso, Rui Fernandes (Elihau Aboaf), 138, 349
Caribbean. *See* West Indies/Caribbean
Carlos II (king of Spain), 331, 411
Carlos III (king of Spain), 451
Carlos IV (king of Spain), 451
Carlos, Diogo, 293
Carlos, Francisco, 361, 362, 535n18
Carmelites, 135, 179, 227, 318, 408, 468
Carneiro, Jorge, 140
Caro Baroja, Julio, 11, 17, 235, 253, 331, 420, 425, 426
Carrafa, Jorge Bautista, 270
Carranza, Bartolomé, 136, 177
carreira da Índia: from 1490s to 1540s, 49, 50, 53; from 1550s to 1600s, 116, 123, 129, 130, 150, 171, 199, 201; from 1600s to 1640s, 222, 227, 228, 245, 254, 258, 259, 261, 262, 268, 273, 282–83, 296, 511n28; from 1650s to 1770s, 342, 351, 511n28; defined, 551
carrera de Indias: from 1490s to 1540s, 59; from 1550s to 1600s, 102, 171; from 1600s to 1640s, 229, 237, 262, 263, 273, 296; from 1650s to 1770s, 410, 416, 463; defined, 561
Carrillo, Antonio, 425
Carrillo family, 426
Carrión family, 57
Cartagena, Alfonso de (Alfonso García de Santa Maria), 29, 63–64, 190, 227
Cartagena de Indias, 247, 249, 252, 262, 264, 267–70, 272, 342, 518n93
cartography and navigation, 184–85, 468
Carvajal, Luis de, 140, 141
Carvajal family, 140
Carvalho, António Fernandes, 336
Carvalho, Álvaro de, 113
Carvalho, António, 337
Carvalho, Antonio de Ribeiro, 248
Carvalho, Diogo da Costa, 275
Carvalho, Francisco Tinoco de, 261, 342
Carvalho, Henrique de, 156
Carvalho, João Saraiva de, 431
Carvalho, Manuel, 138
Carvalho, Manuel Dias de, 444
Carvalho, Manuel Ferreira de, 415
Carvalho, Manuel Homem de, 277
Carvalho, Miguel, 281
Carvalho Chaves, Francisco, 431
Carvalho e Mendonça, Paulo de, 452
Casa da Índia: from 1490s to 1540s, 48, 50, 52, 69, 73, 484n85; from 1550s to 1600s, 171; 1600s–1660s, 216, 260; from 1650s to 1770s, 463; defined, 551
Casa da Mina, 48
Casa da Moeda, 50, 58
Casa de Contratación, 171, 229, 246–47, 250, 254, 263, 463, 551
Casa Museo del Greco, 27
Casado, Manuel, 408
Casco, Duarte, 484n85
Castelo Branco, João Rodrigues de (Amatus Lusitanus), 185, 468
Castiglione, Baldassare, 83, 308
Castillo, Pedro de, 200, 211–12
Castillo, Juan del, 89
Castro, Abraham Israel de (Jácome da Costa Brandão), 349
Castro, Américo, 16–17, 93, 491–92n61
Castro, André de (David Namias), 187
Castro, António Serrão de, 362, 370, 399
Castro, Baltasar de, 426
Castro, Bento de, 349
Castro, Bento de (Baruch Namias), 187
Castro, Francisco de, 253, 256
Castro, Francisco Mendes de, 261
Castro, Isaac de, 277, 355
Castro, João de, 184
Castro, José de, 426
Castro, Manuel Fernandes, 408
Castro, Manuel Mendes de, 354
Castro, Martim Álvares de, 509n141
Castro, Pedro de, 315, 316
Castro, Rodrigo de, 349, 468
Castro, Rodrigo de (David Namias), 187
Castro, Uriel da, 349
Castro e Silva, Filipa de, 389

- Castro e Silva, Luísa de, 389
Castro family, 221
Catarina (queen regent of Portugal), 39, 108, 110, 118, 144
Catarina of Bragança (Catherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II of England), 256, 346, 353, 368, 369, 411
Catherine of Lancaster (queen of Spain), 29
Catholic Church: blood purity, papal denial/acceptance of statutes on, 3, 22, 30, 62, 65, 77, 222, 459; changing blood status from New to Old Christian, 128; Diogo de Assunção's denials of doctrines of, 180–81; forced conversion of Jews, conciliar condemnation of, 82; Gallican Liberties, 397–98; Inquisition in Portugal, papal resistance to establishment of, 79–81; inquisitors elected as popes, 33; jurisdictionalism, 451, 453; papal infallibility, doctrine of, 398; Portugal, church hierarchy in, 509n149. *See also* chapel endowments; suspension of Inquisition in Portugal; *specific Councils*, e.g. Lateran III; *specific popes*; *specific religious orders*
Cavalcanti (Italian banker), 73
Cazalla, Bernardino and Pedro, 87
Cazalla, Juan de, 87
Cazalla, Maria de, 87, 88
Cazalla family, 87, 89
Cea, Manuel de, 284
Ceballos, Jerónimo de, 229
Celain, Juan López de, 89
La Celestina (Fernando de Rojas), 95
Cellorigo, Martín González de, 218–20, 512n36
censal, 27
censos al quitar, 171
Cepeda, Alonso Sánchez de, 32, 179
Cernache, Rodrigo Vaz, 135
Cerqueira, Cristóvão, 107, 108
Cerqueira, Luís, 262
Cervantes, Miguel de, 64, 307–8, 315
César, Vasco Fernandes, 440
Cesarino, Duke Giuliano, 157
Chacão (or Chacón), Agostinho Coronel, 284, 352–53
Chacão (or Chacón), Francisco Botelho, 250, 275, 283–84
Chacão, João da Fonseca, 286
changing status from New to Old Christian, 4, 5, 9, 18–19, 128
chapel endowments: 1490s–1550s, 38, 38–41; from 1550s to 1600s, 136, 137, 145, 146, 152, 153, 155–56, 159, 160, 499n38; from 1600s to 1640s, 223, 237, 261, 265, 266, 289, 295; from 1650s to 1770s, 342–43, 343, 385
Archduke Charles (later Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI), 417–18
Charles II (king of England), 256, 346, 353, 398, 411
Charles V (Holy Roman emperor), 23, 33, 56, 57, 67–70, 74, 75, 77–78, 84, 89, 91, 95, 102, 106, 108, 178, 263, 487n27
Chaves, António Rodrigues, 276
Chaves, Diogo de, 361, 362, 399, 535n18
Chaves, Jorge Mendes de, 248
Chaves, Luísa Maria, 361
Chaves, Manuel Moreno de, 282
Chaves, Pedro Cabral de, 442
Chaves, Simão Rodrigues, 361, 362, 399, 535n18
Chaves de Carvalho, Diogo de, 429–31
Chaves family, 439
Chiclana, Ángel, 95
children. *See* minor/children
Chillón, Antonio Mendes, 249
China, 123, 124, 129, 171, 260, 289, 510n18
Christ, Order of: from 1490s to 1550s, 1, 53, 80, 81; from 1550s to 1600s, 111, 116, 117, 118, 147, 150, 160, 163, 188, 496n82; from 1600s to 1640s, 230, 240, 256, 257, 261, 264, 277; from 1650s to 1770s, 361–62, 369, 374, 376, 401, 403, 404, 413–15, 439, 442
Christ after the Flagellation Contemplated by the Christian Soul (Velázquez), 314
Christ in the House of Martha and Mary (Velázquez), 314
Christina of Sweden, 187, 348, 349, 350, 384, 389
Cibo, Cardinal, 391
circumcision, 2, 66, 123, 129, 133, 138, 148, 234, 255, 450
Cisbón family, 55
Clavius, Christopher, 184
Clement VII (pope), 66, 84, 176, 382–83, 508n129
Clement X (pope), 387, 388
Clemente, Gaspar, 255

- Clusius, Carolus, 186
Cochin (or Kochi), 50, 52, 121-24, 186,
262, 411, 497n3, 510n18
cochineal, 100, 122, 167, 171, 193, 250, 263,
269-70, 344, 350, 462
Codignac, Michel de, 1, 471n2
Coelho, Domingos, 404
Coelho, Júlio, 361
Cofem, Yusuf, 52
Cohen, David, 130
Cohen, Jacob (Francisco Álvares de Pina),
131
Cohen, Joseph (Jerónimo Henriques),
237, 516n33
Cohen, Mosem, 131
Colarte, Pedro, 415
collective detentions, 217, 325-26
Colonna, Cardinal, 384, 391, 393
Colonna, Lorenzo Antonio, 384
*Colóquio dos simples e drogas e coisas
medicinais da Índia* (Garcia d'Orta),
186
Columbus, Christopher, 243
*Comercio impedido por los enemigos de
esta monarquía* (José Pellicer de Ossau
y Tovar), 243-44
commenda, 170
commercial law, 169-75
Company of Brazil, 209, 255, 256, 274-75,
286, 327, 338, 339, 359, 368
Company of India, 372
composiciones, 37, 56-57
confessionalization of European states,
59, 99, 485n1
confiscation of property: abolition of
exemption for Portuguese New Chris-
tians, 357; exemption for Portuguese
New Christians, 14, 38-40, 80, 209,
255, 327, 368; financing of royal court
and, 511n28; grievances in New Chris-
tian petition regarding, 379; reestab-
lishment of Inquisition, complaints
of New Christians about recovery of
property after, 399; renting out con-
fiscation of property from Moriscos,
510n2
confraternities. *See specific confraternities*
consolato del mare, 170
contract law, 170, 171, 173
contracts. *See asentistas; asientos*
Contreras, Gaspar de, 249
conversions: Amsterdam, New Christians
joining Jewish community in, 290-92;
Diogo de Assunção, as New Christian
martyr, 181, 224; of foreign Protestants
to Catholicism, in Spain and Portugal,
413; to Islam, 2, 83, 123, 192; James
II of England's conversion to Catholi-
cism, 398; migrations of New Chris-
tians to join Jewish communities,
129-30; New Jews (New Christians
reverting to Judaism), 11, 12, 123, 124,
203, 292, 299, 302, 303, 305, 349,
526n3; Ottoman Empire, turning to
Judaism or Islam in, 71-74, 122, 123,
128, 129; in Paz family, 1-2, 83; of
Diogo Pires (later Shlomo Molkho)
to Judaism, 67; polemic against New
Christians by Jews converting to
Catholicism, 227; property/wealth
accumulation and reversion to Juda-
ism, 147-50; public reversions/conver-
sions to Judaism, 181-82; reconver-
sions of New Christians from Judaism
back to Christianity, 129-30, 132, 134,
369; *Romance al divín mártir Judá
Creylene* (Antonio Enriquez Gómez),
311; Seville, following anti-Jewish riot
in (1391), 3; of Gil Vax Bugalho and
Beatriz Vaz (Old Christians) to Juda-
ism, 81. *See also* forced conversions
conversos, as term, 3, 10, 473n50. *See also*
New Christian trading elite
Cook, John, 353
Córdoba, Alonso de (Diego López), 428
Córdoba, anti-New Christian riots in
(1473), 30
Córdoba, Antonio de, 189
Córdoba, Hernando de, 56
Córdoba, Rodrigo de, 55
Córdoba family, 55, 426
Coronel, Abraham, 78
Coronel, David Seneor (Duarte Saraiva),
354
Coronel, Duarte Gomes, 296
Coronel, Fernán Hernández, 55-56
Coronel, Fernán Núñez (Abraham
Seneor), 28, 78, 479n14
Coronel, Fernão Peres, 361
Coronel, Jacob (Gonçalo Lopes Coutinho),
349
Coronel, Manuel, 248

- Coronel, Maria, 78
Coronel, Nicolau, 40
Coronel family, 118
Coronel Quirós, Diego López de Castro Paz, 425–26
Corpus Iuris Civilis, 170
Correa, Pedro Fernandes, 239
Correia, António Dias, 433
Correia, Belchior Mendes, 439–40
Correia, Henrique, 122
Correia, João Nunes (also Juan Núñez Correa), 141, 229
Correia, Manuel, 182, 344, 444–46, 447, 549n100
Correia, Miguel Lopes, 388
Correia, Simão, 122
Correia, Violante, 278
Correia Bravo, André (Marquis), 361, 404–9
Correia Bravo, António, 373, 391, 404–6, 408–9, 520n16, 541n40
Correia Bravo, António (grandson, Marquis), 406–9
Correia Bravo, Carlos, 404
Correia Bravo, Francisco, 404, 405–9
Correia Bravo, Leonardo, 404
Correia Bravo, Maria, 404
Correia Bravo family, 341, 404–9, 466
Correia de Sá, Salvador, 274, 336
Correia family, 128
Corte na aldeia (Francisco Rodrigues Lobo), 308–9
Corte Real, Catarina, 150
Il cortegiano (Castiglione), 83, 308
Cortés, Hernando, 55
Cortissos, Abraham Senach, 417, 418
Cortissos, Joseph, 417, 418
Cortizos, Manuel, 280, 328
Cortizos, Manuel José, 331
Cortizos, Sebastián, 331
Cortizos de Villasante, Manuel, 331
Costa, Afonso da, 282
Costa, Álvaro da, 353, 408
Costa, Álvaro Lopes da, 279
Costa, Ana da, 367
Costa, António Henriques da, 337
Costa, Baltasar da, 372, 377
Costa, Bartolomeu da, 134
Costa, Belchior da, 113
Costa, Bento da, 334
Costa, Cristóvão da (Cristóbal Acosta), 186, 468
Costa, Duarte da, 331
Costa, Duarte Nunes da (Jacob Curiel), 291–92, 297, 350, 515n9
Costa, Fernandes de (Fernandes de Acosta), 247
Costa, Fernando Mendes da, 353
Costa, Francisca da, 196
Costa, Francisco da, 135, 152, 153
Costa, Francisco Nunes da, 361
Costa, Henrique Gomes da, 265
Costa, Jerónimo Nunes da (Moses Curiel), 350, 353, 408, 417
Costa, João Barbosa da, 415
Costa, João da, 138, 442
Costa, Leonor Guterres da, 434
Costa, Luís da, 361
Costa, Manuel Álvares da, 138
Costa, Manuel da, 362
Costa, Manuel Rodrigues da, 286, 359–60
Costa, Miguel Carneiro da, 408
Costa, Miguel Teles da, 431, 432
Costa, Nuno da, 132, 134
Costa, Pedro da, 221–22
Costa, Rui da, 295
Costa, Simão da, 295
Costa, Uriel da, 313, 349
Costa Brandão, Fernão (Fernando) da, 295, 296
Costa Brandão, Fernão da, 386
Costa Brandão, Jácome da (Abraham Israel da Castro), 349
Costa Brandão, Jerónimo da, 294
Costa Brandão, Manuel da, 294, 295, 385
Costa Brandão family, 341
Costa family. *See also specific entries at* Curiel
Costa Henriques, Francisco da, 337
Costa Martins, Manuel da, 359, 360–62, 364, 366, 369
Cota, Alfonso, 61
Councils of the Church. *See specific Councils, e.g. Lateran III*
Coutinho, António de Azevedo, 405
Coutinho, Branca, 54
Coutinho, Cristóvão de Sousa, 226–27
Coutinho, Fernando (bishop of Algarve), 78
Coutinho, Francisco Sousa, 254
Coutinho, Gonçalo Lopes, 293
Coutinho, Gonçalo Lopes (Jacob Coronel), 138, 349
Coutinho, Gonçalo Vaz, 264, 267

- Coutinho, Joana, 347
Coutinho, João Rodrigues, 264, 267, 281
Coutinho, D. Luís, 166
Coutinho, Manuel, 406
Coutinho, Manuel de Melo, 361
Coutinho, Marco António de Azevedo, 450
Coutinho, Pedro Borges, 152
Coutinho, Sebastião, 406
Coutinho family, 221
Covarrubias, Sebastián de, 306
Crasto, Catarina de, 259
Crasto, Diogo de (later Crasto do Rio), 80, 116–18, 144–48, 163, 237
Crasto, José de, 373–74
Crasto do Rio, Antónia, 145
Crasto do Rio, Brites, 145
Crasto do Rio, Duarte, 145
Crasto do Rio, Luís de, 145, 146, 148
Crasto do Rio, Maria, 146, 163
Crasto do Rio, Martim, 118, 145, 510n1
Crasto do Rio family, 149
Craveira, Antónia, 361
Crespo, Francisco, 237
cristãos novos, 3, 10. *See also* New Christian trading elite
Cristo de la Paciencia, whipping of, 233, 234
Croce, Baldassare, 136
Cruz, Isabel da, 164, 165
crypto-Jews, New Christians regarded as, 11, 16, 17–18, 235, 450
Cuidad Real, anti-New Christian riots in (1474), 30
culinary and dietary practices, 196–97, 300, 381, 511n18
Cum ad nil magis (papal bull, 1536), 82
Cunha, André de Sousa da, 431
Cunha, Baltasar da, 368
Cunha, Lopo Dias da, 512n30
Cunha, Luís da, 217, 447–51
Cunha, Nuno da, 444, 549n100
Cunha, Paulo Lopes da, 511n29
Curationum Medicinalium Centuria Septem (Amatus Lusitanus), 185
Curiel, David (Lopo da Fonseca Ramires), 291–92, 297
Curiel, Jacob (Duarte Nunes da Costa), 291–92, 297, 350, 515n9
Curiel, Moses (Jerónimo Nunes da Costa), 350, 353, 408
Damião, Cosme, 202
Dante, 94
David, Lanfran, 249
De Imitatione Christi (Thomas à Kempis), 86
De locis theologicis (Melchor Cano), 177
De origen de villanos que llaman christianos viejos (Salucio), 192
De universa mulierum medicina (Rodrigo de Castro), 187
de Witte, Emanuel, 352
Declaration of Independence, concept of happiness in, 512n36
decline (1650s–1770s), 15, 325–26, 455–56, 465; art and literature, 341, 342, 434, 440; blood purity, change in ideological stance on, 421, 440–53; Brazil, New Christian community and inquisitorial trials in, 354–55, 421, 433–40; Castile, persecution in, 328–33; finance, banking, and money lending, 342, 350, 351, 354, 385, 386–87, 416–18, 421; foreign merchants and financiers in Portugal and Spain, 416–18; immersion of New Christian identity in global society, 420–22, 456; Italy, New Christian community in, 340–48, 403–9; Northern Europe, New Christian community in, 348–54; Portugal, inquisitorial trials in, 333–40, 421, 428–33, 547n65; reestablishment of Portuguese Inquisition (1681), 326, 327–28, 359, 394, 395–403, 418–19; Spain, persistence of New Christian presence and inquisitorial trials in, 421, 422, 422–28; trade and commerce, 339–40, 348–55, 409–18; War of Spanish Succession, 5, 128, 394, 409–19. *See also* suspension of Inquisition in Portugal
Decretales (Gratian), 82
Decretals (Gregory IX), 82, 106
Deleuze, Gilles, 477n6
Delgado, Francisco Manuel, 361
Delgado, José, 426
Delicado, Antonio, 468
Delicado, Francisco, 95
della Rovere, Marco, 82
Demonstración evangélica y destierro de ignorancias judaicas (Luís da Apresentação), 227

- Descent of Christ into Limbo* (Bartolomé Bermejo), 92, 467
- Descrição do terreno ao redor de Lamego* (Rui Fernandes), 135
- desembargadores do Paço*, 46
- Desembargo do Paço*, 81, 401
- Devotio Moderna*, 86, 94
- Deza, Diego de, 36
- Diálogo entre Discípulo e Mestre*
 Catechizante (João Batista d'Este), 227
- Dias, André, 111
- Dias, António, 125
- Dias, Branca, 139
- Dias, Damião, 131
- Dias, Duarte, 131, 133
- Dias, Francisco, 119, 133, 346
- Dias, Gaspar, 131, 133
- Dias, Gaspar Fernandes, 140
- Dias, Gregório António, 337
- Dias, Jorge, 165, 284
- Dias, Leonor, 147
- Dias, Luís, 141
- Dias, Manuel, 139, 377, 378
- Dias, Mécia, 139
- Dias, Miguel, 111
- Dias, Nuno, 119
- Dias, Rodrigo, 515n25
- Dias, Vitoria, 215, 510–11n18
- Dias da Cunha, António, 217, 224
- Dias da Cunha, Lopo, 217, 224
- Dias de Andrade, Diogo, 149
- Dias de Santiago, Bento, 125, 273
- Dias Mendes, Diogo (Mosem Abendana), 131
- Dias Milão, Henrique, 141, 213–14, 300, 349, 510n10, 510n18
- Dias Milão family, 125
- Dias Milão (Cáceres) family. *See also* Milão, 262
- Dias Santiago, Bento, 133, 141
- Dias Santiago, Miguel, 133, 141, 288
- Dias Vaz, Manuel, 353
- Dias Vaz family, 349
- Diaz de Espinosa, Francisco, 426
- Diaz de Soria, Antonio, 427
- Diccionario da lingua portugueza* (Antonio de Morais Silva), 306
- dietary and culinary practices, 196–97, 300, 381, 511n18
- Dinis (king of Portugal), 25
- Dinis, Álvaro, 214, 293
- Dinis, Álvaro (Semuel Jahya), 138, 349
- Dinis, Ana, 349
- Dinis, Filipe, 133, 349
- Dinis do Porto, Filipe, 141
- Dinis family, 215
- Diogo de Assunção, as New Christian martyr, 181, 224
- Discurso acerca de la justicia y buen gobierno de España en los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (Salucio), 191–92
- Discurso sobre la limpiosa de los linages de España* (Aponte), 190
- Domingos de São Tomás, 448
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio, 11, 17, 93, 235, 508n123
- Dominicans: *alumbrado* movement and, 87; blood purity, arguments against, 63–64; blood purity and, 188, 189; on commercial law, 173; confraternities of, 155; St. Vincent Ferrer, 29; Goa, Inquisition in, 124; Immaculate Conception, opposition to cult and doctrine of, 315, 318, 529n70; Jesuit *ratio studiorum* and, 178; Bartolomé de las Casas, condemnation of slavery by, 90–91; Lisbon riot (1506), 44; New Christian patronage of, 179, 378; New Christians as, 133, 177; Portuguese inquisition and, 44–45, 333; Ximenes family and, 160, 164, 165, 167
- Dominico, Micer, 133
- Don Quixote* (Cervantes), 307–8, 315
- Donis, Ambrosio, 331
- Donis, Ventura, 331
- Dormido, Daniel, 352
- Dormido, Manuel Martínez (David Abra- vanel Dormido), 352
- Dormido, Solomon, 352
- Douglas, Mary, 7
- Dourado, António Ferreira, 440
- Doutrina catholica para a instrução e confirmação dos fiéis e extinção das seitas supersticiosas e em particular do judaismo* (Ximenes de Aragão), 227
- dowries: from 1490s to 1550s, 38, 46, 50; from 1550s to 1600s, 115, 145, 146, 149, 151, 153, 156, 161–65, 168, 174, 182, 198; from 1600s to 1640s, 227, 237, 241, 256, 271, 276, 278, 279, 287, 302; from 1650s

- to 1770s, 336–38, 340, 342, 346, 351, 368, 369, 377, 384, 388, 406, 408, 418, 445
- Drago, Costanza Del, 342
- Drago, Francesco Del, 342
- Drago, Manuel, 131, 133, 134
- dry exchange, 172
- Duarte (king of Portugal), 183
- Duarte, Afonso, 196
- Duarte, Francisco, 131, 202, 264, 282
- Duarte, Jerónimo, 119, 196, 295
- Duarte, Luís Fernandes, 140
- Duarte, Manuel, 119
- Duarte, Sebastián, 271
- Duarte, Sebastião (or Sebastián), 251, 269
- Duarte family, 128, 349
- Dumond, Louis, 472n28
- Duncombe, Charles, 353
- Duro, Manuel, 330
- Dutch. *See* Netherlands
- Dutch East India Company, 207
- Dutch West Indies Company, 275, 292
- dyeing industry, 12, 48, 55, 112, 205, 269, 349, 429, 437, 547n65
- Eanes, Álvaro, 217
- Eanes, Dinis, 53
- edicts of grace, 65, 87, 208, 232–33, 322, 490n42
- Egido da Viterbo (cardinal), 66
- Egido, Teófanos, 420, 423
- Elias, Norbert, 232
- Eliseo, Carmelite, son of Bishop Martinho of Funchal, 135
- Elvas family, 118, 119
- Eminente, Francisco Baez (or Vaz), 332
- Eminente, Francisco Baez, 426
- Eminente, Juan Francisco, 416, 426
- Enchiridion* (Erasmus), 88–89
- endogamy of New Christian families, 4, 72, 128, 190, 433
- England: Asia, Dutch and English competition in, 259; Catholicism, James II's conversion to, 398; colonial exploration of North America by, 207; expulsion of Jews from, 32–33, 480n31; Jewish community in London, 293, 318, 351–54, 356, 410, 425; mercantilist policies in, 410; navy, rise of, 411; Portugal and Spain, English merchants and financiers in, 359, 410–17
- English East India Company, 207
- Enrique de Paz, 271
- Enrique IV (king of Spain), 29
- Enríquez, Beatriz, 247
- Enríquez, Diego, 247
- Enríquez, Fadrique, 87
- Enríquez, Jorge, 328
- Enríquez, Manuel, 253
- Enríquez León, Diego, 167
- entailments: from 1490s to 1550s, 15, 52, 482n13; from 1550s to 1600s, 102, 144, 151, 157, 160–68, 171, 174, 175; from 1600s to 1640s, 237, 282, 287, 302, 524–25n148; from 1650s to 1770s, 347, 371, 379, 404, 406, 409, 430, 431, 447; *fidecommesso*, 171, 379, 384, 385, 551; *mayorazgo*, 171, 174, 221, 551; *morgado*, 52, 144, 151, 163, 164, 171, 221, 347, 431, 438, 482n13, 552
- Epistolario spiritual para todos los estados* (Juan de Ávila), 180
- Epítome genealógico* (Vila Real), 313
- Erarios*: proposal, 229
- Erasmus, Desiderius, and Erasmism, 16, 88–90, 97, 177–78, 180
- Ergas, Isaac, 122
- Ergas family, 498n7
- Erikson, Erik, 9
- Espina, Alonso de, 65
- Espírito Santo, Francisca do, 338
- Espírito Santo, Gracia, 217
- Espírito Santo, Maria do, 156
- Estaço, Aquiles, 135
- Estado da Índia*, 80, 121, 123, 124, 201, 259, 262, 305, 322, 481n58, 551
- Este, João Batista de, 227
- Esteves de Pina, Duarte, 284
- Estremoz, André Rodrigues de, 264
- ethnic group, New Christians viewed as, 5–6
- Eugenius IV (pope), 60
- Évora, anti-*converso* riots in (1504), 43, 59, 65
- Ex omni fide* (papal brief, 1663), 371
- Execracion contra los judios* (Quevedo), 243
- expansion (1550s–1600s), 14, 101–3, 205–6; art and literature, 136, 137, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 177, 182–84; blood purity, public debate and conflict over, 188–93; case studies (*See specific persons and families by name*); financial networks,

- expansion (*continued*)
105, 114–20; Iberian Union of Crowns, effects of, 193–96, 257; innovations of from 1550s to 1600s, 175–87; Inquisitorial appeals and push for general pardon, 196–203; merchant culture and commercial law/practice, 169–75; migration, 14, 102–3, 121–43 (*see also* migrations of New Christians); political thought, 175–76; property and wealth accumulation, 144–68 (*see also* property and wealth accumulation); religious plurality and spiritual searching, 103, 177–82; scientific, medical, and scholarly contributions, 184–87; trade networks, 102–3, 105–14; values, 169
- expulsions, 32–34; Brazil, banishment to, as inquisitorial punishment, 112–13, 256, 402, 430; from England, France, Italy, and Germany, 32–33, 480n31; institutionalized discrimination against/persecution of New Christians and, 34–35; of Moriscos (1609–1614), 193, 216, 228, 313, 315, 318, 469; New Christians, debates over expulsion of, 228, 371, 514n79; of New Christians abjuring in forma to Portuguese Inquisition, 371, 400–401, 421, 449; Portugal, expulsion of Jews and Muslims from (1496), 3, 22, 458, 478n11; resurgence of Jewish historical writing in 16th century and, 480n40; social earthquake caused by, 60–61; Spain, expulsion of Jews from (1492), 3, 21, 458
- Falcão, Manuel Alves, 405
- Faleiro, André, 288
- Faleiro, António, 131, 288, 515n9
- Faleiro, António (Abraham Aboab), 349
- Faria, Domingos Pereira de, 368
- Faria, Gonçalo, 138
- Faria, João, 138
- Faria, Manuel Severim de, 234
- Farnese, Alessandro (cardinal), 84, 85, 134, 152
- Faro, Duarte, 338
- Faro, Madalena de, 160, 347
- Faro, Manuel, 338
- Faro, Miguel Rodrigues, 441
- Febos, Bartolomé, 236, 239–41
- Febos, Jorge Coelho, 362
- Feo, Rui Botelho, 295, 296
- Ferdinand of Aragon, 27, 123
- Fernán Díaz de Toledo, 62, 63, 64
- Fernandes, Álvaro, 279
- Fernandes, André, 111
- Fernandes, António, 69, 70
- Fernandes, Diogo, 125
- Fernandes, Domingos, 196
- Fernandes, Duarte, 125, 223, 247, 248, 261, 263, 268, 269, 278, 279, 282, 514n3
- Fernandes, Gaspar, 256
- Fernandes, Guilherme, 71
- Fernandes, Inês, 51
- Fernandes, Jerónimo, 135, 247
- Fernandes, Jorge, 111, 135
- Fernandes, Leonor, 51, 123
- Fernandes, Luís, 290
- Fernandes, Luís, 69
- Fernandes, Manuel, 196, 372, 376, 377, 383, 392, 531n47, 536n66
- Fernandes, Mateus, 140
- Fernandes, Miguel, 132
- Fernandes, Pantaleão, 336
- Fernandes, Rui, 135
- Fernandes Cação, Sebastião, 140
- Fernandes das Póvoas, Diogo, 80
- Fernandes de Elvas (or d'Elvas), Álvaro, 275, 282
- Fernandes de Elvas, António, 118, 119, 158, 165, 166, 202, 264, 265, 267, 283
- Fernandes de Elvas, Diogo, 165
- Fernandes de Elvas, João, 202
- Fernandes de Elvas, Jorge, 165, 202, 286
- Fernandes de Elvas family, 158, 202, 288
- Fernandes family, 128
- Fernandes Mendes, Baltasar, 217, 335, 532n67
- Fernandes Mendes, Henrique, 333–35, 339, 532n67
- Fernandes Nunes, Abraham, 354
- Fernandes Pina, Diogo, 156
- Fernandes Seco, António, 131, 132
- Fernandes Trancoso, Simão (Abraham Israel), 131
- Fernandes Vitória, Diogo, 125
- Fernández, Alonso, 55
- Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 185–86, 468
- Fernández Suárez, Luis, 269
- Fernández Tinoco, Diego, 332
- Fernández family, 55
- Fernando IV (king of Castile), 27
- Fernando VI (king of Spain), 451
- Ferraz, Gaspar, 182

- Ferreira, António, 249
Ferreira, Fernão de, 54
Ferreira, Francisco, 129
Ferreira, Francisco Pais, 365
Ferreira, João, 197
Ferreira, Jorge Fernandes, 415
Ferreira, Luzia, 197, 198, 508n132
Ferreira, Manuel, 402
Ferreira, Miguel, 281
Ferrer, St. Vincent, 21
Ferro, Daniel (Fernando Mendes), 132
Ferro, Luísa, 331
Ferro Tavares, Maria José, 497n4
fidalgos status in Portugal, 40, 48, 80, 109, 116, 118, 144, 150, 160, 166, 229, 402, 403
fidecompresso, 171, 379, 384, 385, 551
Figueiredo, Luís de, 283
Figueiredo, Manuel, 52
Figueiredo, Pedro de, 405
finance, banking, and money lending, 463–64; from 1490s to 1550s, 29–32, 43–58, 100; from 1550s to 1600s, 105, 114–20; from 1600s to 1640s, 207, 209, 226, 228–29, 232, 241–45, 278–81; from 1650s to 1770s, 342, 350, 351, 354, 385, 386–87, 416–18, 421; in Amsterdam, 350, 351; Banco di Santo Spirito, Rome, 294, 342, 385; Bank of Hamburg, 349; bankruptcies/suspension of payments by Spanish Crown, 188, 194, 232, 278, 331; bills of exchange, 44, 45, 54, 73, 79, 113, 170–74, 259, 282, 286, 346, 353, 430, 467; credit arrangements, 170; *erarios* proposal, 229; in Europe beyond the Pyrenees, 287–96; foreign financiers in Portugal and Spain, 416–18; Iberian Union of Crowns, opportunities presented by, 194–95; Jewish involvement in, 26–28; in Lisbon, 281–86; in Madrid, 278–81; merchant culture and commercial law/practice, 169–75; *Monti di Pietà* and *misericórdias*, 26, 153, 154, 167, 173, 229, 258–59, 436, 478n4; Sara-bia trial and, 238; usury, 12, 26, 170–74, 203, 244; women involved in, 278–79, 354. *See also asentistas; asientos*; property and wealth accumulation
Flanders: from 1490s to 1550s, 28, 33, 52, 57; from 1550s to 1600s, 140; establishment of New Christian community in, 33; Portugal and Spain, Flemish merchants and financiers in, 410–17. *See also* Antwerp
Flon, Bartolomé, 416
Florence: cathedral of Santa Maria dei Fiori in, 162; New Christian community in, 128, 131–33, 157–63, 166, 287, 346–47. *See also* Italy
Fonseca, António da, 122, 132, 135–36, 137, 152–57, 217, 237, 337
Fonseca, António Dias da, 296
Fonseca, Baltasar da, 354
Fonseca, Diogo da, 293
Fonseca, Filipa da, 156
Fonseca, Francisco da, 156
Fonseca, Francisco de, 153
Fonseca, Gabriel da, 295
Fonseca, Gabriel de, 343, 345
Fonseca, Hakham Isaac Aboab da, 354
Fonseca, Jácome da, 135
Fonseca, Jerónimo da, 152, 153, 155–57
Fonseca, Justina da, 156
Fonseca, Luís, 294
Fonseca, Luís da, 155, 295
Fonseca, Manuel, 294
Fonseca, Manuel da, 156, 295
Fonseca, Manuel Fernandes da, 153, 154–55, 155
Fonseca, Miguel Henriques da, 399
Fonseca, Rodrigo, 132
Fonseca, Rodrigo da, 156
Fonseca, Violante da, 152, 156
Fonseca de Miranda, António de, 155
Fonseca Piña, Antonio, 332
Fonseca Piña, Leonardo, 332
Fonseca Piña, Simón de, 332
Fonseca Pina, Simón (Simão) de, 247, 248
Fonseca family, 134–35, 152–57, 466
Fontes, Manuel da Costa, 95
forced attendance at Catholic sermons, 3, 21
forced conversions, 458–60; Catholic conciliar condemnation of, 82; Cellorigo's estimate of number of, 219; gender dynamics altered by, 11, 179; genealogical obsession and, 479n26; Jewish community, disrupting spiritual framework of, 85; lack of integration following, 5, 6–7, 90; mass forced conversions in Iberia, 3, 10, 13, 21, 34, 99–100; opportunities initially provided by, 458; religious plurality and, 18; superficiality of faith imposed via, 299

- Fortalitium fidei* (Alonso de Espina), 65
Foucault, Michel, 8
fourth estate, New Christians viewed as, 62, 63
France: expulsions of Jews from, 32–33, 480n31; Gallican Liberties, 397–98; Huguenots, expulsion of, 303; mercantilist policies in, 410; Nantes, revocation of edict of (1685), 398; New Christian and Jewish communities in, 102, 136–37, 142–43, 213, 236, 303, 355, 410, 425; Portugal and Spain, French merchants and financiers in, 410–17; royal financiers, French as, 416; Sarabia enquiry extending to, 236, 238
Francês, Afonso, 53
Francês, Bartolomeu, 295
Francês, João Baptista, 295
Francês, Manuel Bocarro (Jacob Rosales), 293
Francês, Miguel, 277
Francês family, 128
Franchi, Antonio de, 284
Francisca de Salamanca, 87
Franciscans: *alumbrado* movement and, 87; blood purity and, 188, 189; on commercial law, 172; Diogo de Assunção, as New Christian martyr, 181, 224; Goa, Inquisition in, 124; Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary, cult and doctrine of, 315, 318, 529n70; Inquisition and, 130, 214; judaizers, on New Christians as, 64–65; New Christian patronage of, 146, 152, 165, 179, 377; Poor Clares, 152, 156; Ximenes family and, 165, 167
Francisco, Gaspar, 353
Francisco, João, 542n58
Don Francisco de Aragon, 71
Franco, António Dias, 131
Franco, António Rodrigues, 349
Franco, Francisco Lopes, 288
Franco, José Nunes, 406
Franco, Luís, 130
Franco, Luís Dias, 275
Franco, Luís Lopes, 362
Franco, Mateus Lopes, 275
Franco, Pedro, 366
Franco de Albuquerque, Pedro, 284
Franco y Feo, Francisco Lopes, 349
Franco family, 349
Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678), 417
free movement of peoples, 176, 220, 228, 233, 382–83
freedom of conscience. *See* religious tolerance
Freire, Jerónimo, 131
Freire, Jerónimo (Jacob Peregrino), 140
Freire, Paulo Antunes, 284
Freire, Pedro Lupina, 365
Freitas, Gaspar de Abreu de, 333–36, 387
Fróis, Leonardo, 138
Fróis Nunes, Manuel, 430
Fuente, Constantino Ponce de la, 89
Furetière, Antoine, 473n49
Furna, Francisco Fernandes, 275
Furtado, Costa, 353
Furtado, Duarte, 131
Furtado de Mendonça, Heitor, 141
Furtado de Mendonça, Lopo, 150
Furtado family, 135
Gaceta de Madrid, 416
Galasso, Cristina, 17
Galego, Santenc Gomes, 281–82
galleys, sentencing to, 3, 112, 216, 259, 432, 437
Gallican Liberties, 397–98
Galvão, Duarte, 50
Galvão, Fernando, 295
Galvão, Rodrigo, 295
Gama, Francisco Soeiro da, 359
Gama de Pádua, António da, 403–4
Gama de Pádua, António Ranuntio (Raimundo) Filipe da, 403, 409, 541n43
Gama de Pádua, Fernando da, 403
Gama de Pádua, José da, 403
Gama de Pádua, Manuel da, 256, 275, 286, 297, 359, 360, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 390, 391, 403, 534n6
Gama de Pádua family, 375, 402–3, 465
Gamboa, António Casado de, 408
Gamboa, Bartolomeu de, 368
Garcês, Henrique, 138
Garcia, Bartolomeu, 139
Garcia, Manuel, 139
Garcia, Valentim, 261
García de Mora, Marcos, 62–63, 64
Gato, Juan Álvarez, 94, 467

- Geddes, Michael, 543n82
- gender: forced conversions, gender dynamics altered by, 11, 179; Portugal, inheritance law of equal division in, 46, 145, 146, 278, 302, 482n13; property/wealth accumulation and upward social mobility, women's involvement in, 145, 151, 166; spiritual movements, female participation in, 87, 179; trade and finance, female involvement in, 278–79, 336, 339, 354; transmission of tradition, role of women in, 301–2
- general pardons: 1533 pardon, 82; 1547 pardon, 140; 1604–1605 pardon, negotiations for, 14, 102, 141, 169, 177, 196–203, 208, 508n139; 1604–1605 pardon, reactions to, 211–16; 1621 requests for/arguments against, 223, 228–29; 1627 edict of grace as, 208, 232–33, 322, 490n42; 1670s request for, 325; Cellorigo proposing, 219; suspension of Inquisition in Portugal and, 357, 358, 365, 370–72, 378, 383
- gente de nação*, 473n51
- Germany: expulsions of Jews from, 32–33, 480n31; Portugal and Spain, German merchants and financiers in, 57–58, 410–17, 485n102. *See also* Hamburg
- Gheresi, Cesare, 364
- Gibraleón, Micer García de, 37, 38
- Gil, Fernão, 262
- Gil, Juan, 56, 89
- Gilman, Stephen, 17, 93
- Giraldes (Giraldi), Nicolau, 146
- Giraldi bankers, 73, 135
- Giraldio (Giraldi), Lucas, 107, 108, 110, 129
- Girón de Alarcón, García, 192
- Giudice, Francesco del (General Inquisitor), 423, 451
- Goa. *See* Índia/Goa
- Godines, Filipe, 289–90, 291, 525n155
- Godines, Francisco, 288
- Godines, João, 202
- Godinho, Miguel, 283
- Godinho, Sebastião Touro, 295, 296
- Godinho (or Godines) family, 128
- Goes, Francisco de, 157
- Goffman, Erving, 9
- Góis, Damião de, 1, 69
- Góis, Francisco Trigueiro, 408
- Goldberg, David Theo, 540n6
- Gomes, Afonso, 200, 203
- Gomes, Ana, 130
- Gomes, António, 155, 156
- Gomes, Branca, 276
- Gomes, Diogo, 122–23, 282
- Gomes, Fernão, 49
- Gomes, Fernão *das nau*, 130
- Gomes, Florença, 276
- Gomes, Francisco, 113
- Gomes, Guiomar, 215
- Gomes, Henrique, 141
- Gomes, Henrique (Isaac Aboab), 133
- Gomes, Isabel, 435
- Gomes, João, 484n85, 488n52
- Gomes, Manuel, 119, 362
- Gomes, Maria, 125
- Gomes, Miguel, 225, 513n66
- Gomes, Pedro, 125
- Gomes da Mata, António, 223, 227, 289–90, 290
- Gomes da Mata, Duarte, 360
- Gomes da Mata, Luís, 255, 286, 289
- Gomes da Mata family, 221, 227
- Gomes da Silva, Rui, 116
- Gomes de Elvas, António, 118, 201, 223
- Gomes de Elvas, Brás, 281, 283
- Gomes de Elvas, João, 201
- Gomes de Elvas, Luis, 118, 119
- Gomes de Elvas, Luís, 119, 201
- Gomes de Elvas, Manuel, 118, 119, 198, 201, 203, 221, 511n24
- Gomes de Elvas, Melchior, 223
- Gomes de Elvas Coronel, Luís, 166, 227
- Gomes de Elvas Coronel family, 195
- Gomes de Elvas family, 118
- Gomes de Moura, João, 385
- Gomes do Bemfazer, Diogo, 133
- Gomes Homem, António, 385
- Gomes Homem, Baltasar, 383, 384, 385, 386, 428n127, 532n71
- Gomes Homem family, 341, 466
- Gomes Rodrigues, Pedro, 203
- Gómez, Antonio, 426
- Gómez, Antonio Enríquez, 309–12
- Gómez, Jacob, 353
- Gómez, Pedro, 262
- Gómez de Salazar, Diego, 270, 329, 332
- Gonçalves, Antónia, 337

- Gonçalves, Diogo, 73
Goncalves, Fernão, 53
Gonçalves, Jacques, 353
Gonçalves, Paulo, 262
Gonçalves de Lima, Diogo, 131
González, José, 226
González de Cellorigo, Martín, 175
González Rolán, Tomás, 486n8
Gordilha, Gonçalo Fernandes, 47
Goris, J. A., 487n40
Gottifredi, Girolama, 342
Gouveia, anti-*converso* riots in (1528), 79
Gouveia, António de, 135
Gouveia, Francisco Velasco de, 233
Gouveia, Manuel de, 227
Goyeneche, Juan Francisco de, 416
Graizbord, David, 18, 301, 302
Gramaxo, António Nunes, 268, 269, 280
Gramaxo, Jorge, 249
Gramaxo, Luís Fernandes, 262
Granada, Luis de, 180
Gratian, 82
Gregorian calendar, 184
Gregory IX (pope), 82, 106
Gregory XIII (pope), 154
Grimaldi, Francesco, 342
Grotius, Hugo, 138
Guedelha, Jacob (João Ribeiro), 138
Guedelha, Pedro Nunes, 415
Guevara, Niño de, 507–8n121
guilds of merchants, 170–71
Guimarães, António de Castro, 364
Guinea. *See* slaves/slave trade; West Africa
Gulfe, William, 353
Gusmão, Brites de, 404
Gusmão, Doroteia de, 366
Guterres, João, 275, 336
Gutiérrez de Coca, Francisco, 271
Gutiérrez Nieto, Juan Ignacio, 235
Guzmán, Diego de, 192
Guzmán de Alfarache (Mateo Alemán), 183–84

Halevi, Abraham, 487n24
Haliczer, Stephen, 423, 427
Hamburg: Amsterdam, ties with, 293;
Bank of Hamburg, 349; Jewish community in, 293, 297, 302, 305, 318, 349–50, 355–56; New Christian migration to, 102, 138, 215; Portugal and Spain, foreign merchants and financiers in, 410–17
Hamomo, Mose, 62
Hamon, Moses, 121, 497n2
Hanseatic League, 414
happiness, in Declaration of Independence, 512n36
Haro, Cristóbal de, 57, 485n102 (with the brother Diego)
Hasse, André, 414
Hasse, Pedro, 414
Henriques, Agostinho (Abraham Benveniste), 149
Henriques, Angela, 217
Henriques, Bento, 153
Henriques (Cabilho), Bento, 133
Henriques (Mogadouro), Branca, 366
Henriques (Mogadouro), Brites, 364–65, 366
Henriques (Mogadouro), Diogo Rodrigues, 360, 361, 365
Henriques, Duarte Dias, 141, 262, 264, 268, 273, 278
Henriques, Francisca, 153
Henriques, Gregório Gomes, 361
Henriques, Guiomar, 268, 271
Henriques, Inês, 217
Henriques, Isabel, 269, 271
Henriques, Jerónimo (Joseph Cohen), 237, 516n33
Henriques, João, 153
Henriques, João Vaz, 268
Henriques, Leonor, 72, 148, 149
Henriques, Manuel, 295
Henriques, Manuel da Fonseca, 249
Henriques, Manuel da Silva, 362
Henriques, Marquesa (later Reina Benveniste), 72, 149
Henriques, Nuno, 72, 73–74, 109, 118, 147–50, 488n53, 496n82
Henriques, Peter, Jr., 354
Henriques, Rafael, 353
Henriques, Sarah, 354
Henriques, Simão Rodrigues, 353
Henriques, Violante, 72, 148, 149
Henriques (Mogadouro), Violante, 366
Henriques de Leão, Diogo, 161
Henriques de Leão family, 288
Henriques Ferreira, Álvaro, 437
Henriques Ferreira, Diogo, 437

- Henriques Ferreira, Francisco, 437
Henriques Ferreira, João, 436, 437
Henriques family, 72–74, 75, 128, 132, 147–50, 438
Henry IV (king of France), 313
Henry VIII (king of England), 59, 71
Henry/Henrique (cardinal-regent and then king of Portugal), 39, 40, 84, 102, 107, 135, 178, 198, 260
Herculano, Alexandre, 16, 79, 489n19
Hernández, Francisca, 87
Hernández, Jeronimo de, 267
Herrera, Domingos de, 248, 517n79
Herrera family, 55
Heusch (Hus), Alexander, 409
Heusch family, 413
hidalgua. See nobility
hide industry, 46, 55, 100, 110, 193, 205, 250, 269, 309
História de Menina e Moça (Bernardim Ribeiro), 183
Historia de los amores de Clarea y Florisea, y de los trabajos de Ysea (Núñez de Reinoso), 182–83
Historia General y Natural de las Indias (Fernández de Oviedo), 185
Hoeff, Ishac (Rui Peres Brandão), 349
Holy Family, The (Anon., patrons and coat of arms of Rodrigues de Évora family), 159
Holy Sacrament, confraternity of, 367
Homem, António, 224–26, 396, 537n100
Homem, Diogo, 184–85
Homem, Gaspar, 135
Homem, Lopo, 184
Hope of Israel, The (Menasseh ben Israel), 251
Horneby, Joseph, 353
Hubrecht, Hubert, 416
Huerga Criado, Pilar, 195
Huguenots, 303
Hurtado de Mendonza, Juan, 44–45
Hus (Heusch), Alexander, 409
Iberian Union of Crowns (1580), 14, 31, 77, 102, 169, 176, 188, 193–96, 206, 257, 275
ibn Yahya family, 50–51
identities of New Christians, 8–9, 103, 209–10, 298; early modern nation-states and, 302–6; immersion in global society, 420–22, 456. See also religious plurality and spiritual searching; art and literature
Ignatius of Loyola (Iñigo de Loyola), 90, 177, 445
Illescas family, 55, 57
Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary: in art, 265, 266, 315–19, 316, 317; chapel of San Pablo, Seville Cathedral, 265, 266; cult and doctrine of, 209, 315–19, 323, 529n70; woman of the apocalypse, identification with, 316, 316–17
In coena domini (papal bull), 106, 107
India/Goa: Company of India, proposal for, 372; exclusion of New Christians from offices in Goa, 40, 481n58; Inquisition in, 122–24, 143, 178, 253, 262, 273; Jesuits in, 178; New Christian offers regarding, in return for general pardon (1672), 372; trade and settlement in, 50, 57, 178, 201, 228, 508n134
indifference regarding religion, 303
Ineffabilis Deus (papal bull, 1854), 315
infallibility, papal, 398
Inguez, Juan, 111
inhabilitados, 65
Innocent X (pope), 343
Innocent XI (pope), 387, 388–89, 391, 392, 394, 396–98, 400, 405, 424, 539n146
innovation, concept of, 175–76
Inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos (Enríquez Gómez), 311–12
Inquisition, 459–61; from 1600s to 1640s, high plateau of trials and prosecutions in, 216, 223–26, 230, 233–41, 250–57; from 1650s to 1770s, data for, 327–40, 359–70; *alumbrados* and, 86, 87, 88, 89; appeals of convictions and push for general pardon, 196–203; arguments against, 76, 81–85, 177–78; arguments for, 81; blood purity statutes and, 35–36, 65, 507–8n121; in Brazil, 253, 272–73, 421, 428, 433–40, 465–66; in Castile (from 1650s to 1770s), 328–33; collective detentions, 217, 325–26; consequences of conviction by, 37–38; corruption in, 225–26, 379–80, 382, 388, 511n24; crypto-Judaism as creation of, 17, 18; de Paz family and, 1–2; denunciations

Inquisition (*continued*)

and confessions to, 299–300, 337, 339, 361–62, 380; early New Christian elites prosecuted by, 29, 30, 32, 34–42; in eighteenth-century Portugal, 421, 428–33, 547n65; in eighteenth-century Spain, 420–21, 422, 422–28; election of Charles V as Holy Roman emperor, consequences of, 77–78; establishment in Portugal (1536), 3, 14, 23, 38–40, 59, 60, 66, 67–68, 75, 78–81; establishment in Spain (1478), 3, 14, 23, 34–35, 76–78, 459; excommunications/executions, decline in, 428–29; expulsion of New Christians rejected by, 228, 514n79; in Goa, 122–24, 143, 178, 253, 262, 273; gradual reductions of, 450–53; heretical Old Christians as targets of, 76–77; historiography of New Christians and, 15–16; Iberian Union of Crowns, effects of, 193–96; Immaculate Conception and, 316; in Italy (from 1650s to 1770s), 342–46; Jesuits and, 124, 225; Jewish, interrogated New Christians declaring themselves to be, 364–65; in Low Countries, 70; Moriscos as targets of, 76; Muslims, trade with, 106, 107, 110–13; New Christians of Jewish origin especially targeted by, 23, 33, 34–35, 76, 301; notable persons, turn to regular persecution of, 187, 223–26, 233; Ottoman Empire, denunciations of New Christians migrating to, 121–23; popes, inquisitors elected as, 33; in Portugal (1650s–1770s), 333–40; reestablishment of, in Portugal (1681), 326, 327–28, 359, 394, 395–403, 418–19; retribution as rational for activities of, 197, 198, 202, 203, 208, 214, 259, 370, 390, 403; Reubeni visit and, 60, 67–68, 75, 79; Roman Congregation, creation of (1542), 59; in Spanish America, 250–52, 262, 270–71; sumptuary decree against New Christians, 371–72; witch frenzy compared, 300–301. *See also* autos da fé; confiscation of property; general pardons; suspension of Inquisition in Portugal; torture

Interior Castle (Teresa de Ávila), 179

Isabel (princess of Aragon, married to Manuel of Portugal), 22, 478n11

Isabel of Castile, 29

Isabel (empress of Charles V), 487n27

Isabel de la Cruz, 87

Isabel de Farnesio (queen of Spain), 423

St. Isabel of Portugal, canonisation of, 224

Isidro, André Lopes, 338

Isidro, Ishac Baruch (Manuel Rodrigues Isidro), 349

Isidro, Manuel Rodrigues, 293, 338, 532n67

Isidro, Simão, 338

La isla de Monopantos (Quevedo), 243

Islam. *See* Muslims

Israel, Abraham (Simão Fernandes Trancoso), 131

Israel, Jonathan, 10, 11, 17, 40, 303, 314, 409, 418, 481n59

Israel, Joseph, 131

Italy: Antwerp network facilitating migration to Ottoman Empire through, 68–74, 83, 122–23, 125; blood purity, absence of concern about, 135–36, 293; expulsions of Jews from, 32–33; Jewish community in, 293, 302, 305, 355; lack of distinction between Old and New Christians in, 135–36, 294–95, 383; Livornine/Leghorn laws, 161; New Christian community in, 340–48; New Christian migration to, 121–23, 128–36, 142, 152–57, 155, 213, 305, 340–41, 403–9; Roman Congregation of the Inquisition, creation of (1542), 59; Rome, sack of (1527), 95; royal financiers, Italians as, 416; trade, commerce, and finance in, 293–96. *See also specific locations ius commune* (common law), 169–70

Jacques of Bordeaux, 130

Jaén family, 57

Jahya, Semuel (Álvaro Dinis), 138, 349

James II (king of England), 398, 412

Jansenists, 398, 451

Japan: New Christians in, 124, 125, 229, 262; Portuguese reaching, 101

Japanese community in Portugal, 197, 508n132

Jauregui, Juan de, 316, 317

Jerez family, 55, 57

St. Jerome, 180

Jeronimites, 22, 29, 30, 65, 188, 459

Jerusalem (ship), 364

- Jesuits: blood purity statutes and, 77, 90, 178, 188, 192; endowments for colleges of, 162, 433, 434, 435; general pardon of 1604–5 and, 200; Ignatius of Loyola, spirituality of, 90; Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary, cult and doctrine of, 315, 317, 318, 529n70; Inquisition and, 124, 225; Jansenists versus, 398; New Christian involvement in, 16, 177–78, 180, 262, 445; reestablishment of Portuguese Inquisition and, 400; school of Salamanca and, 91; suppression of, 451; suspension of Portuguese Inquisition and, 357, 358, 359, 372–73, 376–78, 383; Ximenes family and, 160, 162, 167
- Jewish rituals and festivals, New Christian celebrations of, 43, 124, 224, 293, 300, 381, 396
- Jews and Judaism: *alumbrados* departing from tradition of, 88; crypto-Jews, New Christians regarded as, 11, 16, 17–18, 235, 450; demographics in Iberia, 21, 22, 477n4; figurative tradition in art, lack of, 91; forced conversions disrupting spiritual framework of, 85; India, petition to allow settlement in, 228; map of New Christian and Sephardic communities, *xx*; Portuguese equated with, 11, 446; racialization of, 5, 18, 77, 227, 301, 395, 396–97, 459; religion, Christian nature of concept of, 301; trading and financial elite in Iberia, 25–28. *See also* anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism; conversions; expulsions; relations between Jews and New Christians; *specific locations of Jewish communities*
- John II (king of Castile), 22, 61
- John II (king of Portugal), 22, 28
- John III (king of Portugal), 16, 40, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 66–67, 69–71, 73–75, 78–85, 102, 106–9, 116, 118, 147, 150, 152, 154, 176, 186, 198, 382, 494n16
- John IV (king of Portugal), 14, 253, 254, 255, 256, 274, 283, 284, 296, 312, 327, 335, 350, 368, 377
- John V (king of Portugal), 449
- Jorge, Diego, 262
- Jorge, Diogo, 69
- Jorge, Filipe, 133
- Jorge, Francisco, 140
- Jorge, Sebastião, 406
- Jorge family, 119, 128
- Prince Joseph (later Joseph I, king of Portugal), 421, 448, 450
- Joseph ben Solomon ben Shoshan, 27
- Juan de Austria, 122
- Juan I (king of Castile), 29
- Juan II (king of Castile), 29
- judaizers, New Christians viewed as, 64–65
- judios judaizantes* (Judaizing Jews), 239
- Julius III (pope), 185
- Junta dos Tres Estados*, 312
- jurisdictionalism, 451, 453
- Jusarte, Pedro, 377
- Justinian (Byzantine emperor), 170
- Kaplan, Yosef, 11, 17, 526n3
- Keynes, John Maynard, 170
- Kitchen Maid with the Supper at Emaus* (Velázquez), 314
- Kochi. *See* Cochín
- La Peyrère, Isaac de, 314
- Lacerda, José Galvão, 405
- Lacerda, Miguel, 198
- Ladrón de Guevara, Fernando, 263
- Lahos de Tapia, Pedro, 115
- Lamberto, João, 413
- Lamberto, Sebastião, 413
- Lamego, anti-*converso* riots in (1528), 79
- Lamego, António Rodrigues, 236, 239, 264, 279
- Lamego, Duarte Rodrigues, 335–36
- Lamego, Manuel Rodrigues, 262, 264
- las Casas, Bartolomé de, 90–91
- Latam, Isaac, son of Moisés (Lourenço Vasques), 47
- Lateran III (Council, 1179), 106
- Lavagna, Michele de, 157
- law: commercial law, 169–75; defences of New Christians based on, 218–23; inheritance law in Portugal, 46, 145, 146, 278, 482n13; *ius commune* (common law), 169–70; Leghorn/Livornine laws, 161; natural law, 221. *See also* political and legal thought
- Layne, Diego, 177
- Lazarillo de Tormes*, 183, 468
- le Gras, Guillaume, 111
- Lea, Henry Charles, 16

- Leal conselheiro* (King Duarte of Portugal), 183
- Leão, Álvaro de, 140
- Leão, António Dias, 361
- Leão, António Mendes de, 336, 337
- Leão, Cristóvão, 152
- Leão, Diogo de, 275
- Leão, Duarte de, 140
- Leão (León), Duarte Rodrigues de, 248
- Leão, João Lopes de, 366
- Leão, Jorge, 74
- Leão, Jorge de, 140
- Leão, José Garcia de, 336
- Leão, Manuel de, 337
- Leão, Manuel Lopes de, 361
- Leão, Mateus Mendes de, 338
- Leão, Miguel Lopes de, 361, 388
- Leão, Miguel Pereira de, 337
- Leão, Miguel Vaz de, 388
- Leão, Rodrigo Vaz de, 361
- Leão family, 128, 140, 438, 439
- Leghorn/Livornino laws, 161
- Leitão, Diogo Lobo, 140
- Leitão, Francisco, 225-26
- Leitão, Jerónimo Soares, 361
- Leite, Inácio, 333, 336
- Leite, Vasco, 52
- Leite family, 53
- Lemos, António Vaz de, 362
- Lemos, Pedro Fernandes, 360, 373-76
- Lencastre, Lourenço de, 405
- Lencastre, Pedro de, 371, 373
- Lencastre, Veríssimo de, 388, 390, 405
- Lenowitz, Harris, 67
- Leo VI the Wise (Byzantine emperor), 170
- León, Jorge Antunes de, 247
- León, Lope Ponce de, 190
- León, Luís de, 177, 180, 203
- Leoni, Aron de Leone, 17, 487n40
- Lerma, (Cardinal-)Duke of, 193, 200, 212, 226
- lèse-majesté, 44, 61, 74, 176
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 8
- Levy, Lionel, 17
- lex mercatoria*, 170, 502n3
- libros verdes* genealogies, 19, 37, 190, 507n107
- Lima, Ana de, 389
- Lima, António Manuel de, 438, 439
- Lima, Diogo, 234, 515n9
- Lima, Francisco de, 360
- Lima, Manuel Francisco, 436
- Lima, Pascoal Cordeiro, 336
- Lima, Pascoal Cordeiro de, 365
- Lima/Peru: from 1490s to 1550s, 57; from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 141, 194; from 1600s to 1640s, 251-52, 268-72
- limbo, descent of Christ into, in New Christian painting, 92, 136, 467
- liminality of New Christians, 6-8, 76, 96, 103, 468-69
- limpieza de sangre*. *See* blood purity
- linajudos*, 190
- Lindo, Jerónimo, 119, 497n94
- Lisboa, André de, 130
- Lisboa, Diogo Lopes de, 250
- Lisboa, João da Silva de, 278, 280
- Lisboa, João Rodrigues de, 286
- Lisbon: earthquake of 1755, 412; foreign merchants in, 359, 411-14; riot of 1506, 14, 23, 40-41, 43-44, 65; Santa Engrácia, theft of liturgical plate and consecrated hosts from, 233-34; "Terreiro dos Ximenes" in, 158; trade, commerce, and finance in, 281-86. *See also* Portugal
- literature. *See* art and literature; *specific texts and authors*
- Livornine/Leghorn laws, 161
- Livorno, New Christian/Jewish community in, 142, 161, 207, 213, 274, 294, 299, 340, 348, 353, 355, 364, 419, 426, 427, 445. *See also* Italy
- Livro das plantas das fortaleza* (Bocarro), 262
- Livro do lançamento da cidade de Lisboa de 1565*, 115
- Livros de Chancelaria*, 46
- Liz, Francisco de, 353
- Llereda, Diego de, 222
- Llorente, Juan Antonio, 15-16, 474n60
- Lloyd, Ana Paula, 358, 387
- Loaísa, Cardinal, 38
- Lobo, Juan, 56
- Lobo, Miguel, 308, 528n43
- local office, *conversos* excluded from. *See* blood purity
- Lombrosi, David, 132
- London. *See* England
- Loperuelo, Juan de, 91
- Lopes, Aleixo, 139
- Lopes, Ana, 129, 158, 162

- Lopes, António, 152
Lopes, Baltasar, 131
Lopes, Catarina, 158
Lopes, Cristóvão, 217, 511–12n30
Lopes, Eduardo, 153, 156
Lopes, Fernando, 279
Lopes, Francisco, 132, 139
Lopes, Gonçalo, 337, 482–83n16
Lopes, João, 132
Lopes, João Moreno, 362
Lopes, Matias, 275
Lopes, Miguel, 152
Lopes, Paulo, 131
Lopes, Rui, 119, 131, 132
Lopes, Simão, 153
Lopes da Costa, Duarte (Jacob Tirado), 138, 141
Lopes da Gama, Jorge, 256
Lopes da Silva, Fernão, 342
Lopes da Silva, Manuel, 224
Lopes da Silva, Rui, 284, 342–46, 385
Lopes da Silva family, 341, 466
Lopes de Évora, Rui, 201
Lopes de Elvas family, 262
Lopes Dias, João, 427
Lopes Duro, Gaspar, 330
Lopes Henriques, António, 437
Lopes Henriques, Manuel, 436–37
Lopes Homem, Francisco, 141
Lopes Homem, Manuel, 141
Lopes Homem family, 290
Lopes Homem/Lopes Pereira family, 138
Lopes Pereira, António, 290
Lopes Pereira, Diego, 330
Lopes Pereira, Diogo, 330
Lopes Pereira, Domingos, 337
Lopes Pereira, Francisco, 270, 329–30, 399
Lopes Pereira, Gaspar, 262
Lopes Pereira, Gaspar, 399
Lopes Pereira, Manuel, 237
Lopes Pereira, Manuel, 354
Lopes Rivito, Diogo, 132
Lopes Vale, Diogo, 330
Lopes family, 158
López, Diego (Alonso de Córdoba), 426
López, Gil, 87
López, Juan, 55
López de Fonseca, Diego, 271
López de Laguna, Francisco, 427
López de Noronha, Manuel, 272
López de Padilla, Lorenzo, 132–33
López de Ubeda, Francisco, 307
López Gavilán, Pedro, 55
López Gómez, Juan, 330
Lorco, Antonio, 132
Loro, Rodrigo de, 55
Loronha, Fernão de, 47–48, 50
los Cobos, Francisco de, 56
Louis XIV (king of France), 397, 398, 411, 415, 418, 449
Lourenço, Miguel, 178
Lourenço, Vicente, 109, 111, 112, 113
Lourenço de Aguiar, Gonçalo, 431
Low Countries. *See* Netherlands
La lozana andaluza (Delicado), 95–96
Luca, Giovanni Battista de, 398
Lucchini, Filippo, 167
Lucena, Petronilla de, 88
Lucero (inquisitor), 78
Luís, Antónia, 136, 152, 153
Luís, Diogo, 132
Luisa Gabriela de Saboia (queen of Spain), 423
Luisa de Guzmán (queen regent of Portugal), 256, 377
Lumen ad revelationem gentium (Alonso de Oropesa), 64
Luna, Álvaro de, 22, 62, 64
Luna, Beatriz de (Beatriz Mendes; later Gracia Nasi), 53, 70–72
Luna, Brianda de, 71–72
Lusitanus, Amatus (João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco), 185, 468
Luther, Martin, 89
Lutherans and Lutheranism, 88, 89, 138, 349, 543n85
El Macabeo (Silveira), 311
Macanaz, Melchor Rafael de, 423, 451
Macau: New Christians in, 124–25, 141, 262; Portuguese settlement in, 101
Maccabees, revolt of, 310–11
Macedo, Helder, 183
Macedo, Manuel de Aguilar de, 441, 442
Machado, Antonio Álvares, 417, 418
Machado, João, 353
Machado, João Batista, 415–16
Machado, Manuel, 284
Machorro, Jorge Fernandes, 134
Machorro (Mochorro), Jorge Fernandes, 133
Machorro (Mochorro), Joseph, 133
Maciel, Domingos, 364

- Madeira: New Christians in, 150, 201, 282, 283, 284; sugar production and trade in, 28, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 106, 113, 119, 483n30; wine trade in, 338, 411
- Madeiros, Manuel, 131
- Madrid: *Gaceta de Madrid*, 416; trade, commerce, and finance in, 278–81
- Madrid, Marcos de, 56
- Magalhães, Manuel de Sousa, 368
- Magalhães Godinho, Vitorino, 52, 108, 115, 484n67
- Magriço, Salvador Pires, 281
- Maia, Diego da, 414
- Maia (Maier or Meyer?), Pedro da, 413–14
- Mainell, Isaac, 353
- Maio, Manuel, 339
- Malacca, 115, 124, 125, 259, 260, 411, 497n3
- malagueta* (red pepper) trade, 48, 49, 50
- Maldonado de Silva, Francisco, 251
- Maldonado family, 55
- Malheiro, Francisco, 359, 360
- Malheiro, Gaspar, 275, 286
- Malheiro, Manuel, 286
- Mallorca, 451
- Mañero, David, 528n37
- Manhós, Afonso, 284, 344
- Manhós family, 345
- Manila. *See* Philippines
- Manrique, Alonso, 36, 88, 180
- Manrique, Duarte, 53
- Manrique, Valério, 155
- Manuel (king of Portugal), 16, 40, 43–45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 54, 78, 82, 84, 109, 219, 478n11
- Manuel, Simão Lopes, 338
- Marchione, Bartolomeo, 48
- Marcus Aurelius (Roman emperor), 361
- Margaret of Austria, 68
- D. Maria (infanta of Portugal), 116
- Maria of Aragon, 60, 84
- Mariana of Austria, 377
- Mariana, Juan de, 192
- Mariana, Rodrigo, 132
- Marianos (religious order), 165
- Marie Françoise of Savoy (queen of Portugal), 411
- Marques Cardoso, Luís, 270
- Márquez, Antonio, 88
- marranos* and *marranism*, as terms, 3, 9–10, 44, 306, 473nn48–49. *See also* New Christian trading elite
- marriage: denunciations of New Christians as Jews as bar to, 157; endogamy of New Christian families, 4, 72, 128, 190, 433; of foreign merchants to Portuguese women, 413; intermarriages of Old and New Christians, 4, 52, 116, 160, 161, 201, 221, 229, 272, 360, 371, 440–41, 522n69; trade, commerce, and finance of husbands, women involved in, 278–79; between uncle and niece, in Ximenes family, 161, 164; against wishes of family, 145, 146. *See also* dowries
- Madre Marta of Toledo, 87
- Martínez, Alonso, 265, 266
- Martínez family, 57
- Martínez Millán, José, 422, 423
- Martinho of Funchal, 135
- Martins, António Mendes, 429
- Martins, Diogo, 111
- Martins, Francisco, 48, 337
- Martins, Hugo, 17
- Martins, Lourenço Pestana, 361, 365
- Martins, Pedro, 108, 111, 112–13
- Martins, Salvador Vaz, 280
- Martins family, 365, 439
- Martins Manuel, Francisco, 360
- Mary, Immaculate Conception of. *See* Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary
- Mary of Hungary, 68, 69, 83
- Mascarenhas, Crispim, 431
- Mascarenhas, Fernando de (Count of Torre), 277
- Mascarenhas, Fernando Martins, 216, 217, 228
- Mascarenhas, João de, 284, 286
- Mascarenhas, João Rodrigues, 43–47
- Mascarenhas, Luís de Lemos, 344
- Mascarenhas, Pedro, 368
- Mascarenhas, Pedro de, 186
- mathematics, 184–85, 468
- Matos, Baltasar Rodrigues de, 275, 286
- Matos, Jorge de, 167
- Matos, Luís de Góis de, 286
- Matos, Manuel Rodrigues de, 286
- Matos, Nuno Álvares de, 286
- Matos, Vicente da Costa, 227
- Matoso, João Vieira, 368, 401
- Mauroy, Henri, 189
- Maximilian (Holy Roman emperor), 68
- Maximiliano, Jorge, 405

- Maynard (English consul), 543n82
mayorazgo, 171, 174, 221, 551
Medeiros, Domingos de, 256
Medeiros, Manuel de, 125
medical, scientific, and scholarly contributions, 184–87, 468
Medici, Caterina de', 160, 164
Medici, Cosimo I de', 128
Medici, Ferdinando I de, 161
Medici, Raffaello, 160
Medici family, 142, 166, 525n149
Medicis, Marie de, 187
Medicus-Politicus (Rodrigo de Castro), 187
Medina, Bartolomé de, 189
Medina, David de, 354
Medina, Domingos Baltanás, 189
Medina, Gabriel de, 353, 354, 364, 365–66, 427
Medina, Gabriel Luis de, 432
Medina, Joseph de, 353
Medina, Manuel Martim, 339
Medina, Rafael Luis de, 432
Medina, Solomon, 353
Medina, Solomon de, 418, 544n107
Medina d'Azevedo, Ester de, 418
Medina del Campo fair, 45, 55, 172
Medina family, 55
Medrano, Antonio de, 87
Fr. Melchor, 87
Mello, Evaldo Cabral de, 272–73
Melo, David Abenatia, 293
Melo, Fernão Álvares (David Abenatar Melo), 290–91, 303, 474n56
Melo, Francisco Manuel de, 234
Melo, Henrique de, 54
Melo, Manuel Pereira de, 536n66
Melo, Martim Afonso de, 347, 360
Memorial sobre la nobleza (1632), 242–43
Mena, Francisco de, 56
Menasseh ben Israel, 251
Mendes, Álvaro, 125–28, 133, 515n26
Mendes, Ana (later Reina), 53, 71–72
Mendes, André, 388
Mendes, António Vaz, 261–62
Mendes, Beatriz (Beatriz de Luna; later Gracia Nasi), 53, 70–72
Mendes, Beatriz (daughter of Diogo Mendes and Brianda de Luna), 71
Mendes, Bendana, 133
Mendes, Clara, 404
Mendes, Diogo, 54, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73
Mendes, Fernando, 354
Mendes, Fernando (Daniel Ferro), 132
Mendes, Filipa, 72
Mendes, Francisco, 47, 52, 53–55, 70–72, 284, 484n85, 488n42
Mendes, Francisco Lopes, 388
Mendes, Gabriel, 277
Mendes, Gonçalo, 47, 71
Mendes, Gregório, 286
Mendes, Heitor, 119, 130–31, 133, 134, 135, 153, 202, 339
Mendes, Isabel, 339
Mendes, Jorge Francisco, 131, 133
Mendes, Luís, 130
Mendes, Mateus, 337
Mendes Bravo, Heitor, 138
Mendes Brito, Francisco Dias, 328–29
Mendes da Costa, Diogo, 432
Mendes de Almeida, António, 284, 337, 353
Mendes de Almeida, Simão, 284, 353
Mendes de Brito, Ana, 328
Mendes de Brito, Diogo, 256
Mendes de Brito, Fernão Dias (Abraham Abendana), 138
Mendes de Brito, Fernão Dias (David Abendana), 349
Mendes de Brito, Francisco Dias, 256
Mendes de Brito, Heitor (*see also* Heitor Mendes), 118–19, 138, 198, 220, 229, 328, 349
Mendes de Crasto, Francisco, 431–32
Mendes de Vasconcelos, Álvaro, 150
Mendes de Vasconcelos, Luís, 116, 150
Mendes family, 53, 68–72, 75
Mendes Henriques family, 341
Mendez de Acuña, Manuel, 272
Mendez Enríquez, Luis, 270
Mendonça, Afonso Furtado de, 510n1
Mendonça, Isabel de, 347
Mendonça, Isabel Noronha de, 160
Mendonça, Maria de, 347
Mendoza Dukes of Infantado, 88
Mendoza y Bobadilla, Francisco de (cardinal), 190
Menéndez Pelayo, 95
Meneses, Cristóvão Pereira de, 442
Meneses, Diogo de, 282
Meneses, Francisco de, 224
Meneses, Francisco de Sá de, 220
Meneses, Manuel de Magalhães de, 388
Meneses, Rodrigo de, 360, 373

- Meneses, Sebastião César de, 225, 255
Mercado, Tomás de, 173–74
Mercado de Noroña, Manuel, 426
mercantilist policies in northern Europe, 410, 411, 465
Mercator, 184, 468
Mercenas, Diego, 132
merchants. *See* New Christian trading elite; trade and commerce
Mercure de Portugal, 312
Mesa, Fernando Arias de, 264
Mesa, Francisco de, 362
Mesa, João (or Juan) Rodrigues de, 247, 256, 269
Mesa, Manuel de, 362
Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, 116, 256
Mésenguy, François-Philippe, 451
Mesquita, Angela de, 435
Mesquita, Bento de, 248
Mesquita, Gaspar Dias de, 275
Mesquita, João Soares de, 435
Mesquita, Pedro de, 256
Mesquita family, 53, 438
messianic movements, 59, 67, 85, 87, 182, 487n24
Metelo, Gaspar Veloso, 442
Mexia, Martim Afonso, 199
Mexico: from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 125, 141, 174, 194; from 1600s to 1640s, 251–52, 258, 259, 269, 270, 272, 296–97, 321; from 1650s to 1770s, 342, 427, 462, 465
Micas, Agostinho Henriques, 71, 72
Micas, Bernardo (Samuel Nasi), 71, 72
Micas, João (later Yosef Nasi, Duke of Naxos), 71–72, 182
migrations of Jews: expulsions from Western Europe and, 32–34; map of New Christian and Sephardic communities, *xx*; to Portugal from Spain, after 1492, 28. *See also specific places*
migrations of New Christians, 14, 102–3, 121–43, 463–67; anti-*converso* pamphlet attacking, 243–44; Antwerp network facilitating migration to Ottoman Empire through Italy, 68–74; continuity of, through end of 18th century, 420; early modern state political allegiances and, 302–6; to Eastern Mediterranean and Asia, 121–25; within Europe, 125–38; free movement of peoples, principle of, 176, 220, 228, 233, 382–83; after general pardon of 1604/5, 213; historiography of, 19; Jewish communities, joining, 129–35; map of New Christian and Sephardic communities, *xx*; naturalization of foreigners in Spain, 245–50; to Portugal from Spain, 65, 78; after reestablishment of Portuguese inquisition, 403–9, 407; religious convictions and, 299; sensational trials of 1630s leading to, 234, 238; to Spain from Portugal, 195–96; in transition period (1490s–1540s), 21, 23, 33–34. *See also specific places*
Miguel, Nicosia Salvador, 492n67
Milão, Ana de, 196–98, 202, 214, 215, 217, 349, 510n10
Milão, André, 349–50
Milão, António Dias de, 214
Milão, Beatriz, 349
Milão, Beatriz Henriques de, 214
Milão, Fernão Lopes de, 214, 215
Milão, Francisco, 349–50
Milão, Gomes Rodrigues de, 214–16
Milão, Isabel, 349
Milão, Isabel Henriques de, 214
Milão, Leonor Henriques de, 214, 215
Milão, Manuel, 349–50
Milão, Manuel Cardoso, 141
Milão, Manuel Cardoso de, 214
Milão, Paulo, 215
Milão family. *See also* Dias Milão, 213–15
military orders: foreign merchants joining, 413–14. *See also specific orders*
milk and blood purity, 5, 315, 319, 467
Miller Atlas (1519), 184
minor/children: abductions of, 22, 333; compulsory baptism of Christians' children, 82; dying during expulsions, 34; Inquisitorial treatment of, 379–80, 396; whipping of Cristo de la Paciencia, claims made by child regarding parents about, 233, 234
Miranda, Francisco de, 425, 426
Miranda, Jacob Fernandes, 353
Miranda, Jacob Henriques de, 353
Miranda, Manuel Mendes de, 248
Miranda, Sá de, 182
Miranda family, 426
misericórdias, 26, 153, 258–59, 436, 478n4

- Mochorro (Machorro), Jorge Fernandes, 133
- Mochorro (Machorro), Joseph, 133
- Molina, Luís de, 91, 222, 503n29
- Moneda, Juan Bautista de la, 167
- money lending. *See* finance, banking, and money lending
- Moniz, Pero, 139
- Monroy, Bernardo, 267
- Monsanto, Luís Correia, 263
- Monsanto, Marcos Fernandes de, 248, 262, 263, 278, 279, 280, 284
- Montalto, Filipe de, 187, 468
- Montalvo, Alfonso Díaz de, 63
- Monte Alegre, Manuel de, 271
- Monteiro, Pedro Fernandes, 255
- Montesinos, Bartolomé, 332
- Montesinos, Diego Felipe, 332, 425
- Montesinos, Fernando de, 328, 332
- Montesinos, Manuel, 332
- Monti di Pietà*, 26, 153, 154, 167, 173, 229
- moradias do rei*, 28, 45, 48, 52, 277
- Morais, António de, 442
- Morais, Antonio Rodrigues de, 335
- Morais, Gaspar, 442
- Morais, Jerónimo Rodrigues de, 337
- Morais, Luís de, 353
- Morais, Manuel Fernandes de, 274, 284, 335, 336
- Morais, Marcos de Góis de, 248
- Morais Sampaio, Pedro de, 141
- Morais (Moraes) Silva, Antonio de, 306, 473n51
- Morais family, 335
- Morales, Beltran de, 389–90
- Morales, Cristóbal de, 38
- Morales, Hernando de, 119
- Morales de Elvas family, 118
- Moreira, António Joaquim, 400, 487n31
- Morelli, Benedetto, 48
- Moreno, Jeronimo, 286
- Moreno, Jorge, 360
- morgado*, 52, 144, 151, 163, 164, 171, 221, 347, 431, 438, 482n13, 552
- Moriscos, 31, 76, 112, 114, 193, 197, 216, 228, 230, 308, 313, 315, 318, 397, 469, 510n2
- Morocco: from 1490s to 1550s, 23, 40, 52; from 1550s to 1600s, 106–8, 110–15, 132; from 1650s to 1770s, 417
- Mota, Aldonça da, 433, 434, 435
- Mota, Manuel de, 408
- Moura, António Diogo Martins de, 406
- Moura, João Gomes de, 385
- Moura Manuel, Manuel de, 388
- mozarabes*, 192
- Muñoz, Luis de, 181
- Murça, Gaspar Dias, 134
- murder of Manuel da Costa Martins, 362
- Muslims: conversions to Islam, 2, 83, 123, 192; dietary and culinary traditions of, 300; expulsion from Portugal (1496), 3, 22; *mozarabes* (Christians in Muslim Spain), 192; Ottoman Empire, New Christians turning to Judaism or Islam in, 71–74, 122, 123; racist prejudices against, 300; Reuben's proposed alliance to fight, 60, 66–68, 75; trade with, 106–14, 494n14. *See also* Moriscos
- Nabo, Gaspar Rodrigues, 433
- Nabo, Pero Rodrigues, 262
- Nadal, Jerónimo, 177
- Nagasaki. *See* Japan
- Nahon, Gérard, 17, 499n39
- Namias, Baruch (Bento de Castro), 187
- Namias, David (André de Castro), 187
- Namias, David (Rodrigo de Castro), 187
- Nantes, revocation of edict of (1685), 398
- Naples, New Christian community in, 293–94. *See also* Italy
- Nardo, Gonçalo Rodrigues, 334
- Nasi, Gracia (Beatriz de Luna/Beatriz Mendes), 53, 70–72
- Nasi, Joseph or Yosef (João Micas, Duke of Naxos), 2, 71–72, 182
- Nasi, Samuel (Bernardo Micas), 71, 72
- Nasi family, 47, 68–72, 75, 149
- nation: early modern states, 302–6; as ethnic term, 10, 473–74n52
- Native American slavery, las Casas condemning, 90–91
- natural history, 184, 185–86
- natural law, 221
- naturalization of foreigners in Spain, 245–50
- nau Bretoa*, 48
- Navarro, Azpilcueta, 221
- Navarro, Francisco, 294
- Navarro, José, 132
- Navarro, Manuel Nunes, 253
- Navarro, Manuel Rodrigues, 262
- Navarro, Moses, 354
- Navas de Tolosa, battle of (1212), 27

- navigation and cartography, 184–85, 468
- Negro, David de, 28, 73
- Negro, Gabriel de, 51, 68, 72–73, 148
- Negro, Luís Vaz de, 47, 50–51, 52
- Negro, Pedro Álvares de, 51
- Negro family, 47
- Netanyahu, Benzion, 10, 17–18, 485n2
- Netherlands: Anglo-Dutch wars, 411; Asia, Dutch and English competition in, 259; Brazil, occupation of, 234, 253, 255, 277, 292, 303–4, 354–55; Dutch East India Company, 207; Dutch West Indies Company, 275, 292; Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678), 417; French territorial expansion and, 411, 417, 418; Habsburg wars with, 102, 193, 194, 209, 238, 245, 274, 287, 349, 389, 409, 413, 419, 464; Iberian peace with, 257, 274, 350, 411, 413, 418; Jewish community in, 33, 34, 102, 302, 304, 448; mercantilist policies in, 410, 465; migration of New Christians to, 70, 220, 229, 234; migration to Americas from, 292, 304; navy, rise of, 411; Portugal and Spain, Dutch merchants and financiers in, 410–17; ship construction in, 254; transfer of capital to, 220, 244, 445; wool exported from Portugal to, 431. *See also* Amsterdam
- Neto, David, 138
- Neto, Diogo Fernandes, 70
- New Christian trading elite, 1–19, 457–69; abolition of distinction between Old and New Christians (1773) in Portugal, 5, 326, 421, 452–53; art and literature, contributions to, 467–68 (*see also* art and literature); changing status from New to Old Christian, 4, 5, 9, 18–19, 128; chronological/geographic scope, 13–15; conceptual framework and social identity, 5–9; decline (1650s–1770s), 15, 325–26, 455–56 (*see also* decline); defined, 1, 552; demographics, 4, 23, 471n10, 478nn14–15; expansion (1550s–1600s), 14, 101–3, 205–6 (*see also* expansion); finance, banking, and money lending, involvement in, 463–64 (*see also* finance, banking, and money lending); historiography of, 15–19; identities of, 8–9, 103, 209–10, 298 (*see also* identities of New Christians); impact of, 466–67; intermarriage with Old Christians, 4; liminality of, 6–8, 76, 96, 103, 468–69; map of New Christian and Sephardic communities, *xx*; methodological approach, 11–13; migrations of, 14, 102–3 (*see also* migrations of New Christians); poor New Christians and, 239–40; race/ethnicity and, 5–6; religious plurality and spiritual searching of, 17–19, 468–69 (*see also* religious plurality and spiritual searching); resistance (1600s–1640s), 14–15, 207–10, 321–23 (*see also* resistance); rise and fall of, 1–5; terminology for, 9–11; trade and commerce, involvement in, 461–63 (*see also* trade and commerce); transitions (1490s–1540s), 13–14, 21–24 (*see also* transitions); values of, 7, 169
- New Jews, 11, 12, 123, 124, 203, 292, 299, 302, 303, 305, 349, 526n3
- Nicholas V (pope), 381
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 477n6
- Nine Years War (1688–1697), 417
- Nirenberg, David, 60, 479n26, 492n61
- Nithard, Johann Eberhard, 377
- nobility: *alumbrado* movement and, 87–88; arguments about Jewish ancestry of, 63; debates over access to, 241–43; defined, 7; *fidalgos* status in Portugal, 40, 48, 80, 109, 116, 118, 144, 150, 160, 166, 229, 402, 403; *libros verdes* genealogies, 19, 37; Muslims, trade with, 107–9, 114; New Christians obtaining status of, 30, 32, 109, 123, 128, 179; records of access to, 12
- Nóbrega, Manuel da, 178
- Nogueira, Álvaro Nicolau, 432
- Nogueira, André Álvares, 354
- Nogueira, Estevão, 111
- Nolete, Joan de, 271
- nonius*, 184
- Noronha, D. Afonso de, 160, 166, 502n47
- Noronha, Ana de, 150
- Noronha, António de Matos de, 200
- Noronha, Catarina de, 150
- Noronha, Francisco de, 368
- Noronha, Juliana de, 286
- Noronha, Sebastião de Matos de, 225
- Noronha, Simão Lopes de, 247

- Noronha family, 53
- North Africa: from 1490s to 1550s, 21, 23, 26, 28, 33, 34, 54, 57, 58, 73, 100; from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 102, 105, 106–14, 171, 193; from 1600s to 1640s, 281–82, 293, 303, 313; from 1650s to 1770s, 368, 425, 463, 464; Jewish communities in, 106, 495n64
- Nostra Virtutum, confraternity of, 155
- Novinsky, Anita, 272, 275, 548n80
- Nunes, António da Gama, 359, 360
- Nunes, António Rodrigues, 353
- Nunes, Apolónio, 184
- Nunes, Bartolomeu, 249
- Nunes, Branca, 153
- Nunes, Carlos, 118
- Nunes, Fernando, 295
- Nunes, Fernão, 276
- Nunes, Francisco, 113
- Nunes, Francisco Carvalho, 353, 354
- Nunes, Gaspar, 140
- Nunes, Henrique, 72, 73–74, 109
- Nunes, Henriques (Firme Fé), 78–79
- Nunes, Isabel, 141
- Nunes, Jerónimo, 140, 147, 149
- Nunes, Lucrecia, 279
- Nunes, Manuel, 214, 295
- Nunes, Manuel Rodrigues, 284
- Nunes, Mateus, 133
- Nunes, Pedro, 184, 468
- Nunes, Pedro Areas, 184
- Nunes, Rodrigo, 361
- Nunes, Rodrigo (Mair Benveniste), 149
- Nunes, Rui, 119
- Nunes, Sebastião, 275, 286, 361
- Nunes, Teotónio, 153, 155
- Nunes, Vicente, 139
- Nunes Belmonte, Duarte, 138
- Nunes Caldeira, Blas, 295
- Nunes Caldeira family, 341
- Nunes Carvalho, Francisco, 438
- Nunes Chaves, Francisco, 337
- Nunes Chaves, José, 432
- Nunes Correia, João (or Juan Núñez Correa), 199, 200, 202, 203, 237, 262, 268, 500n61, 509n159, 515n26
- Nunes de Leão, Duarte, 176
- Nunes de Matos, João, 141
- Nunes de Matos, Manuel, 141
- Nunes del Cano, Rodrigo, 399
- Nunes Gramaxo, Antonio, 249
- Nunes Henriques, Diogo, 295
- Nunes Pereira, Pedro, 184
- Nunes Righetto, Henrique, 118, 130, 147–50, 305, 496n82, 500n7
- Nunes Sanches, Ana, 384
- Nunes Sanches, Artemisia, 384
- Nunes Sanches, Catarina, 384
- Nunes Sanches, Dianora, 341, 384, 385
- Nunes Sanches, Francisco, 284, 295, 296, 341–42, 383, 384–85, 409
- Nunes Sanches, Gonçalo, 384, 538n122
- Nunes Sanches, Gracia, 384
- Nunes Sanches, Vincenzo, 342
- Nunes Sanches family, 466
- Nunes family, 72–74, 75, 147–50, 438
- Núñez, Cristóbal, 480n41
- Núñez Coronel, Fernán, 30
- Núñez Correa, Juan. *See* João Nunes Correia
- Núñez de Andújar, Luis, 56
- Núñez de Reinoso, Alonso, 182–83, 468
- Núñez Sarabia, Enrique, 236, 238, 284
- Núñez Sarabia, Juan, 202, 234–38, 509n159
- Núñez family, 57
- Obradó, Maria Pilar Rábade, 30
- Odescalchi, Livio, 384
- Old Christians: abolition of distinction between Old and New Christians (1773) in Portugal, 5, 326, 421, 452–53; changing status from New to Old Christian, 4, 5, 9, 18–19, 128; Inquisition, heretical Old Christians as targets of, 76–77; Japanese woman in Portugal defining herself as, 197; as literary villains, 64, 373; reassertions of institutional power by, 208; Sarabia and Febo claiming to be, at Inquisitorial trials, 340. *See also* relations between Old Christians and New Christians
- Oliel-Grausz, Evelyne, 17
- Olival, Fernanda, 11
- Olivares, Count-Duke of, 226, 232–35, 237, 238, 243, 247, 253, 516n38
- Olivares, Duarte Dias de, 280
- Olivares, Jácome de, 121–22, 497n3
- Olivares, Pedro Gomes de, 361, 367
- Oliveira, Afonso Serrão de, 275

- Oliveira, António de, 335, 336–37
Oliveira, Brites de, 335
Oliveira, Diogo Luís de (Count of Miranda), 277
Oliveira, Diogo Vale de, 337
Oliveira, Francisco de, 337
Oliveira, João Serrão de, 361
Oliveira, José de, 335
Oliveira, Leonor de, 335, 531n47
Oliveira, Luís de, 335
Oliveira, Miguel de, 335
Oliveira, Nicolau de, 334, 335, 336–37
Oliveira, Policarpo de, 333–39, 368, 531n47
Oliveira family, 335
Oliveros, Diego Pablo de, 427
Oliveros Acosta y Meneses, Miguel de, 427
Olivi, Peter John, 170
Ollala de Rosas, Bartolomé, 156
Optica intra philosophiae et medicinae aream (Montalto), 187
Ormuz, 123, 124
Oropesa, Alonso de, 64
Orsini, Virginio (cardinal), 390
Princess Orsini, 423, 426, 450, 461
Orta, Catarina de, 186–87
Orta, Filipe Martins (or Felipe Martínez) de, 248, 263, 280
Orta, Garcia de, 186–87, 468
Orta, Henrique de, 295
Orta family, 186–87
Ortiz, Francisco, 56, 87
Ortiz family, 87
Osório, Bento, 284
Osório, Jerónimo, 82
Ossau y Tovar, José Pellicer de, 243–44
Osuna, Francisco de, 87
Ottoboni, Pietro (cardinal; later Pope Alexander VIII), 391, 406–7
Ottoman Empire: Antwerp network facilitating migration through Italy to, 68–74, 83, 122–23, 125; converting to Judaism or Islam in, 71–74, 122, 123, 128, 129; New Christian migration to, 121–23
Paceto, Afonso Peres, 388
Pacheco, Diego López (Marquis of Villena), 87–88
Pacheco, Filipe Denis, 279
Pacheco, Francisca Gomes, 278
Pacheco, Gaspar, 80, 275, 286
Pacheco, Isabel Denis, 278
Pacheco, Mor, 80
Pacheco de Tapia, Alonso, 427
Pais, Cristóvão, 109, 111, 113
Paiva, Diego de, 247, 248
Paiva, Diogo de, 280
Paiva, Francisco de, 280
Paiva, Gaspar de, 284, 384
Paiva (Pavia), Gian Francesco, 132
Paiva, José Pedro, 373
Paiva, Pedro Franco de, 415
Palaçano, Duarte Fernandes, 47
Palaçano, Guedelha, 28
Palaçano, Tristão, 47
Palaçano family, 47
Palaciano, Gracia de, 91
Palácios, Pedro de (Jehosua de Palácios), 293, 349
Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de, 272
Palma, Diogo, 494n16
Palma, Juan de, 55
Palma, Manuel de, 384
Palma family, 57
Panama, 141, 251
Panciatichi family, 347
Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan, 316
papacy. *See* Catholic Church; *specific popes*
papal infallibility, doctrine of, 398
Pardo, Álvaro, 111
Pardo, Domingos Rodrigues, 133
Pardo, João Lopes, 361
Pardo, João Rodrigues, 133
Pardo, Manuel Lopes, 361
Pardo, Pedro, 111
Pargiter, John, 353
Partidas of Alfonso X the Wise, 63
partnerships, temporary, 105–6, 112, 114
Pasariño (Passarinho), Alfonso Rodrigues, 248, 249, 269, 272
Pasariño (Passarinho), Gaspar Rodrigues, 248, 249, 269, 272, 278, 284, 288–89, 304, 349
Pastore, Stefania, 16, 88, 89
Pate, Thomas, 336
Patón, Jeronimo, 528n37
pau-brasil. *See* brazilwood
St. Paul (Paul of Tarsus), 30, 64, 191, 381
Paul III (pope), 84
Paul IV (pope; Gian Pietro Carafa), 33, 81, 132, 185
Paul V (pope), 212, 294

- Paulo, Duarte, 155
Pavia (Paiva), Gian Francesco, 132
Paz, António de, 295
Paz, Brites de, 52
Paz, Cristóvão de, 296
Paz, Diego de, 427
Paz, Diogo de, 1, 51, 52, 53
Paz, Duarte de, 1-2, 47, 52, 53, 82-83, 85, 121
Paz, Felipe de, 427
Paz, Fernando de, 52
Paz, Filipa de, 153, 250
Paz, Francisco de, 337, 338-39
Paz, Henrique de, 295, 296
Paz, Isabel de, 159
Paz, Isidro de, 52
Paz, João de, 47, 52-53, 141, 288
Paz, Jorge de, 261
Paz, Justa de, 135
Paz, Leonor de, 259
Paz, Leonor Mendes de, 435
Paz, Luis Correia de, 368
Paz, Don Luís de, 155
Paz, Manuel de, 247-48, 261, 265, 278, 279
Paz, Manuel Dias de, 284
Paz, Maria de, 52
Paz, Don Rodrigo de, 155
Paz, Sebastián Antonio de, 427
Paz, Tomás de, 52
Paz, Tomé Pegado de, 1-3, 83, 121-22, 154, 497n4
Paz da Silveira, Jorge (de), 248, 272, 278, 280
Paz e Silva, Pascoal da, 404, 409, 541n43, 542n58
Paz family, 1-3, 119, 128, 134-35, 158, 280
pecherias (taxes on plebeians), 7, 31
Pedro I of Castile, 27
Prince Pedro (Portuguese regent, later King Pedro II of Portugal), 326, 357-58, 371, 372, 376, 388, 400, 401, 419, 449
Pedrossen, Pedro, 413
Pelagianism, 180
Penitenzieria Apostolica, 108
Penso, Ana Maria, 367, 403
Penso, Estevão Rodrigues, 140
Penso, Fernando de Morales, 402-3
Penso, Fernão Rodrigues, 284, 286, 336, 351, 359, 361, 362, 367-70, 399, 401-2, 533n108, 535n34
Penso, Mariana de Morales, 367, 403
Penso, Sara, 533n108
Penso family, 465
Perdigao, Heitor Nunes, 482n7
Pereda, Felipe, 315, 318
Peregrinação (Fernão Mendes Pinto), 308
Peregrino, Jacob (Jerónimo Freire), 140
Pereira, Alexandre Soares, 435
Pereira, António Fernandes, 368
Pereira, Blanca, 329
Pereira, Diogo de Aragão, 284
Pereira, Francisco, 200
Pereira, Gomes, 111
Pereira, Henrique, 160, 163
Pereira, Jacob, 417
Pereira, João Álvares, 155
Pereira, Jorge, 255
Pereira, Lourenço, 278
Pereira, Luís Álvares, 295, 296
Pereira, Manuel, 405
Pereira, Manuel Coelho, 336
Pereira, Manuel Duarte, 333
Pereira, Maria, 365
Pereira, Matias, 184
Pereira, Pascoal, 408
Pereira, Pedro Álvares, 228-29
Pereira, Rodrigo, 153
Pereira, Rui Fernandes, 134
Pereira, Madam Salvador, 448
Pereira, Simão, 278
Peres, Fernando, 153
Peres, Jerónimo Nunes, 384
Peres, Luís, 68
Peres, Richard, 338
Peres, Simão Soares, 248
Peres Vergueiro, Afonso, 341, 385
Peres Vergueiro, Francisco, 383, 385
Peres Vergueiro, Gaspar, 404, 409, 541n43
Peres Vergueiro family, 341, 466
Pérez, Agustín, 247
Perez, Béatrice, 62-63
Perez, Francisco, 269
Pérez, Melchor, 132
Pérez Coronel, Fernán, 30
Pérez de Montalban, Alonso, 132
Pérez Ferreiro, Elvira, 190
persecution of New Christians. *See* Inquisition
Peru. *See* Lima/Peru
Pessoa, Ana, 368, 369
Pessoa, António Gomes, 275
Pessoa, Brites, 351, 367

- Pessoa, Isaac (Manuel Gomes Pessoa), 351
Pessoa, Jerónimo Gomes, 367,
Pessoa, Jerónimo Gomes (Abraham Israel
Pessoa), 275, 284, 351, 367, 533n108
Pessoa, José, 361
Pessoa, Moses, 533n108
Pestana, Filipa, 362
Pestana, Martinho, 369
Peter II (king of Portugal). *See* Prince Pedro
Philip II (king of Spain and later Portugal),
102, 115–16, 119, 128, 135, 146, 177, 191,
193, 194, 198, 199, 214, 250, 290
Philip III (king of Spain and Portugal),
115, 166, 191, 193, 194, 196, 199, 200,
202, 203, 212, 216, 218, 223, 250, 313,
315, 322, 413, 444, 511n28
Philip IV (king of Spain and Portugal), 17,
115, 216, 226, 230, 232, 234, 253–54, 261,
278, 280, 283, 290, 322, 331, 332, 511n28
Philip V (king of Spain), 411, 415, 416, 417,
421, 422, 423, 425
Philip Wilhelm (Palatine prince), 346
Philippines: from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 125;
from 1600s to 1640s, 258, 262, 269,
296, 322
La pícaro Justina (López de Ubeda), 307,
528n37
Pike, Ruth, 19
Pimenta, Diogo Bernardes, 255
Pimenta, João da Costa, 390
Pimentel, Álvaro, 47–50, 133, 483n30
Pimentel, António, 425–26
Pimentel, António da Silva, 284
Pimentel, Garcia, 49, 138
Pimentel, Jerónimo Serrão, 256
Pimentel, Manuel (Isaac Abeniacar), 290
Pimentel family, 133, 425–26
Pina, André Gomes, 141
Pina, Duarte Esteves, 293
Pina, Miguel Fernandes, 53
Pina, Pedro de, 132
Pina, Sebastião Francisco de, 361
Pina Freire, Pero de, 131
Pineda, Juan de, 315–16
Pinedo, Ventura de, 416
Pinheiro, Simão Lopes, 217
Pinheiro da Veiga, Tomé, 163
Pinhel, António Rodrigues, 334, 337, 531n56
Pinhel, Simão Rodrigues, 140
Pinto, António, 135, 136, 152, 294
Pinto, Blas de Paz, 269, 270
Pinto, Diogo Lopes, 282
Pinto, Duarte, 196
Pinto, Fernão Mendes, 308, 468
Pinto, Francisco Rodrigues, 262
Pinto, Francisco Vaz, 135
Pinto, Gil Lopes (Abraham Pinto), 351
Pinto, Henrique de Paz, 366
Pinto, Henrique de Vaz, 362
Pinto, Jorge Tomé, 141
Pinto, Rachel de, 351
Pinto family, 349
Pinto Ferreira, Tomás, 440
Pinto Ferreira family, 439
Piper, Arnau, 339
Pires, Diogo (later Shlomo Molkho), 66–68
Pires, Gomes, 147
Pires, Manuel, 74
Pires de Távora, Lourenço, 135, 497n4
Pisa, David da, 66
Pisa, New Christian community in, 131–33,
347. *See also* Italy
Pius V (pope), 33
Plasencia family, 57
Plaza, Daniel de la, 415
Poettering, Jorun, 17
Pohl, Hans, 118
Polanco, Juan Alfonso, 177
Politica Angelica, Segunda Parte
(Enríquez Gómez), 311
political and legal thought, 469; from 1550s
to 1600s, 175–76; from 1600s to 1640s,
312–14; abolition of distinction between
Old and New Christians (1773) in
Portugal, 5, 326, 421, 452–53; blood
purity, change in ideological stance on,
421, 440–53; nation-states, early
modern, 302–6. *See also* law
Pollexfen, John, 353
Pomar y Mainar, Tomás de, 416
Pombal, Marquis de, 326, 448, 452, 453
Pomegranate, Confraternity of, 316
Poor Clares, 152, 156
Porto, Manuel Rodrigues do, 262
Porto, Miguel Vaz do, 134
Portugal: abolition of discrimination
against New Christians in (1773), 5,
326, 421, 452–53; ban on inquiring
into religion of New Christians, 40,
43, 44; case studies of merchants of

- (1490s–1540s), 43–55; Catholic hierarchy in, 509n149; eighteenth-century inquisitorial trials in, 421, 428–33, 547n65; expansion of trade and settlement by, 101, 102; expulsion of Jews and Muslims from (1496), 3, 22, 458, 478n11; *fidalgos* status in, 40, 48, 80, 109, 116, 118, 144, 150, 160, 166, 229, 402, 403; foreign merchants and financiers in, 410–18; Iberian Union of Crowns (1580), 14, 31, 77, 102, 169, 176, 188, 193–96, 206, 257, 275; inheritance law in, 46, 145, 146, 278, 302, 482n13; Inquisition, establishment of (1536), 3, 14, 23, 38–40, 59, 60, 66, 67–68, 75, 78–81; Inquisition, prosecutions by (1650s–1770s), 333–40; Inquisition, reestablishment of (1681), 326, 327–28, 359, 394, 395–403, 418–19; Japanese community in, 197, 508n132; Jews, Portuguese equated with, 11, 446; migration of Jews from Spain to, 28; migration of New Christians from Spain to, 65, 78; migrations of New Christians to Spain from, 195–96, 213; navigation and cartography in, 184–85; New Christians regarded as Portuguese, 303; peripheries, withdrawal of New Christians to, 421; restoration of independence (1640), 3, 207, 208, 233, 245–46, 280, 304; transitions in (1490s–1540s), 22–23. *See also* suspension of Inquisition in Portugal
- Portugal, Domingos Antunes, 360
Possevino, Antonio, 192
Postulat a nobis (papal brief), 200
postura general of Barcelona, 56
Prado, Juan de, 314
Praise of Folly, The (Moriae Encomium; Erasmus), 88
Prester John, 66, 67
Preto, Francisco Lopes, 429
Prieto, Francisco Garcia, 248
primogeniture, 145, 146, 147, 151, 162, 163, 166, 167, 171, 524–25n148
privileges of New Christians, 208
property and wealth accumulation, 144–68; of Caldeira family, 150–52; by Diogo Crasto do Rio, 144–46; debts, 146, 147, 153; denunciations of New Christians as Jews, inheritance affected by, 156–57; by António da Fonseca, 152–57, 155; institutional endowments, 153, 156, 162, 165; of Nuno/Henriques family, 147–50; Portugal, inheritance law of equal division in, 46, 145, 146, 278, 302, 482n13; primogeniture, 145, 146, 147, 151, 162, 163, 166, 167, 171, 524–25n148; reversion to Judaism and, 147–50; sources of information for, 144; of Ximenes family, 157–67, 158, 159. *See also* chapel endowments; confiscation of property; entailments
- Protestantism: *alumbrosos* and, 88, 89; Calvinists and Calvinism, 89, 138, 292, 302–4, 354, 398; Hamburg region, New Christians attracted to, 102; Huguenots, 303; Lutherans and Lutheranism, 88, 89, 138, 349, 543n85; merchants and sailors, Protestant, in Portugal and Spain, 413, 543n85; Nantes, revocation of edict of (1685), 398; New Christians experimenting with, 18, 89; rise and development of, 59
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 243
public office, *conversos* excluded from. *See* blood purity
Puerto, Pedro Lopes de, 249
Pulgar, Hernando del, 29
purity of blood. *See* blood purity
- Quaresma, António Ribeiro, 408
Queimado, Vasco, 482n7
Queñas, Rodrigo de, 494n16
Quental, António de, 153
Quental, Justina de, 153
Quental, Manuel do, 135
Quevedo, Francisco de, 243
Quintal, Manuel do, 295–96
Quintal family, 341
Quintano y Bonifaz (General Inquisitor), 451
Quinteiro, Francisco Rodrigues, 364
- Racional discurso sobre os desacertos de Portugal* (Manuel Correia), 444–46, 450
racism and racialization of Judaism, 5, 18, 77, 227, 301, 395, 396–97, 459
Ragusa (Dubrovnik), 2, 133, 134, 185
Ramires, Fernando, 153

- Ramires, Lopo da Fonseca (David Curiel), 291-92, 297
- Ramos, Manuel, 336
- Ramusio, Giambattista, 67
- Rangel, Manuel Dias, 296
- ransoming captives, 110, 112, 150, 292, 308, 408
- ratio studiorum*, 177-78
- Ray, Jonathan S., 480n39
- Rebello, Duarte, 295
- Rebello, João, 248
- receptoría y pagaduría*, 30
- reestablishment of Portuguese Inquisition (1681), 326, 327-28, 359, 394, 395-403, 418-19
- Reimão, João Malheiro, 286
- Reinel, Jorge, 184
- Reinel, Manuel, 149
- Reinel, Pedro, 184
- Reinel, Pedro Gomes, 264, 267
- Reinel, Vicente, 108
- relations between Jews and New Christians: in Brazil, 277; continuities between New Christian and Jewish financiers and merchants, 30; familial relations of, 3, 4, 6; in Italy, 293; migrations of New Christians to join Jewish communities, 129-35, 138; in northern Europe, 421-22; persecution, effects of, 34
- relations between Old Christians and New Christians: abolition of distinction between Old and New Christians (1773) in Portugal, 5, 326, 421, 452-53; changing status from New to Old Christian, 4, 5, 9, 18-19, 128; in Company of Brazil, 275; defences of New Christians by Old Christians, 218-23; intermarriages, 4, 52, 116, 160, 161, 201, 221, 229, 272, 360, 371, 440-41, 522n69; in Italy, 135-36, 294-95, 383; in Lisbon, 286; resentment of New Christians by Old Christians, 35; trade partnerships, 19, 53, 105-6, 112, 114
- relations between rich and poor New Christians, 239-40
- religious outrages: Odivelas, desecration of parish church of (1671), 371; Santa Engrácia, Lisbon, theft of liturgical plate and consecrated hosts from, 233-34; whipping of Cristo de la Paciencia, 233, 234
- religious plurality and spiritual searching, 17-19, 468-69; from 1490s to 1550s, 76, 85-91; from 1550s to 1600s, 103, 177-82; from 1600s to 1640s, 209, 229, 235, 237, 239, 299-302; *alumbrados*, 16, 86-89, 177, 178, 179; Christian nature of concept of religion, 301; convents, social world of, 166; crypto-Jews, New Christians regarded as, 11, 16, 17-18, 235; *Devotio Moderna*, 86, 94; Erasmus, Desiderius, and Erasmism, 16, 88-90, 97, 177-78, 180; Duarte Gomes Solis on New Christian religiosity, 229; indifference, 303; limbo, descent of Christ into, in New Christian painting, 92, 136, 467; messianic movements, 59, 67, 85, 87, 182, 487n24; migration and, 299; David Reubeni, visit of, 14, 59, 66-68, 75, 79; salvation in one's own religion, belief in, 303; Sarabia trials, evidence from, 235, 237, 239; state confessions and multiple religious identities, 302-6. *See also* Catholic Church; chapel endowments; conversions; Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary; Jews and Judaism; Muslims; Protestantism; *specific religious orders and confraternities*
- religious tolerance: Luís da Cunha on freedom of conscience for Jews, 449; Dutch Brazil, Catholics, Calvinists, and Jews in, 234, 253, 255, 277, 292, 303-4, 354-55; Protestant merchants and sailors, 413, 543n85; Vila Real, on freedom of conscience, 313
- Rem, Johann, Gabriel, and Philip, 57
- Rem, Lukas, 485n102
- Resende, João Duarte de, 368
- Resende, Luís Vaz de, 274
- Resende, Pedro Homem de, 225
- resistance (1600s-1640s), 14-15, 207-10, 321-23; anti-Jewish texts by Old and New Christians, 227-28; art and literature, 209-10, 289-90, 289-92, 307-12, 314-18, 525n151; defence of New Christians, 218-23; general pardon of 1604-1605, reactions to, 211-16; general pardon of 1627 disguised as edict of grace, 208, 232-33, 322, 490n42; Duarte Gomes Solis, 1622

- petition of, 228–29; identity and, 298;
Inquisitorial trials of New Christians,
216, 223–26, 230, 233–41, 250–57;
naturalization of foreigners in Spain,
245–50; political thought, 312–14; Por-
tuguese independence, restoration of
(1640), 3, 207, 208, 233, 245–46, 280,
304; published debates over trade and
banking by New Christians, 241–45;
radicalization of public discourse about
New Christians, 216–18; religious plu-
rality and spiritual searching, 209, 229,
235, 237, 239, 299–302; royal reforms,
226; Santa Engrácia, Lisbon, theft of
liturgical plate and consecrated hosts
from, 233–34; Sarabia trials, 234–41;
trade and commerce, 207, 209, 217,
228–29, 241–45, 258–97 (*See also* trade
and commerce; *specific locations and*
enterprises); whipping of Cristo de la
Paciencia, 233, 234
- retribution against New Christians, 5, 13,
17, 94, 95, 197, 198, 202, 203, 206, 208,
214, 259, 370, 390, 403, 458
- Reubeni, David, 14, 59, 66–68, 75, 79
- Révah, I. S., 10, 11, 18, 225, 487n31
- Revelo, Francisco, 53–54
- Ribadeneira, Pedro de, 177, 178, 192
- Ribeiro, Agostinho, 408
- Ribeiro, Bernardim, 182, 183, 469, 505n74
- Ribeiro, Duarte Álvares, 275
- Ribeiro, Gabriel, 131
- Ribeiro, Gaspar, 249
- Ribeiro, João, 122
- Ribeiro, João (Jacob Guedelha), 138
- Ribeiro, Jorge, 361
- Ribeiro, Manuel Lopes, 441
- Ribeiro, Manuel Pais, 336
- Ribeiro, Pedro, 361
- Ribeiro, Simão, 365
- Ribeiro Sanches, António Nunes, 446–48,
450
- Ribeiro Torrado, Bento, 333, 336, 353, 368
- Richelieu, Cardinal, 312, 313
- Rio, Baltasar del, 38
- Robledo, López de, 249
- Robles, Gaspar de, 353
- Robles, Miguel de, 425
- Rocha, Gonçalo, 53
- Rocha, Luís Álvares da, 370
- Rodrigues, Alfonso, 353
- Rodrigues, André, 197
- Rodrigues, António, 337
- Rodrigues, Belchior, 108
- Rodrigues, Bento, 107–10, 112, 113, 115–18,
117, 147, 494n32, 496n72
- Rodrigues, Carlos, 134
- Rodrigues, Diogo, 113, 132, 133
- Rodrigues, Domingos, 405
- Rodrigues, Duarte, 53
- Rodrigues, Fernão, 286
- Rodrigues, Filipa, 339
- Rodrigues, Francisco, 361
- Rodrigues, Gabriel, 334
- Rodrigues, Gabriel Fonseca, 294
- Rodrigues, Gaspar, 286
- Rodrigues, Guiomar, 80, 151
- Rodrigues, Henrique, 214
- Rodrigues, Isabel, 132, 215
- Rodrigues, Jerónimo, 131, 132
- Rodrigues, João, 364
- Rodrigues, Jorge, 51
- Rodrigues, Leonor, 131, 132
- Rodrigues, Lopo, 125
- Rodrigues, Manuel, 125, 128
- Rodrigues, Marquesa, 353, 354, 364
- Rodrigues, Miguel, 334, 337
- Rodrigues, Nicolau, 46, 125
- Rodrigues, Paio, 53
- Rodrigues, Rafael, 334, 337
- Rodrigues, Roque, 353
- Rodrigues, Rui Lopes, 125
- Rodrigues, Simão, 125–28, 177
- Rodrigues Castro brothers, 328
- Rodrigues da Costa, Francisco, 438–39
- Rodrigues da Costa, Gaspar, 439
- Rodrigues da Costa, João, 439
- Rodrigues da Costa, Jorge, 328
- Rodrigues da Veiga, Isabel, 128, 157
- Rodrigues de Elvas, Francisco, 119
- Rodrigues de Elvas, Manuel, 223, 268, 514n3
- Rodrigues de Elvas family, 158
- Rodrigues de Évora, António, 202
- Rodrigues de Évora, Gonçalo, 202
- Rodrigues d'Évora, Graça, 128
- Rodrigues de Évora, Gracia, 158
- Rodrigues de Évora, Lopo, 119, 282
- Rodrigues de Évora, Manuel, 128, 158
- Rodrigues de Évora, Simão, 128, 158, 159,
161, 289, 525n151
- Rodrigues de Évora family, 119, 125–128,
158, 159, 288

- Rodrigues de Lisboa, Bento, 288
Rodrigues de Lisboa, Diogo, 147, 250, 253-54, 267, 268, 279, 283, 284
Rodrigues de Lisboa family, 128
Rodrigues da Loja, Fernão, 110
Rodrigues de Matos, Baltasar, 283
Rodrigues de Oliveira, Matias, 249
Rodrigues do Brasil, Simão, 261
Rodrigues Henriques, Diogo, 362, 364, 399
Rodrigues Lobo, Francisco, 308-9, 468, 528n43
Rodrigues Marques, António, 353, 354, 361, 364, 373-74, 376, 406
Rodrigues Marques, Cristóvão, 360, 388
Rodrigues Marques, Diogo, 353-54, 361, 364, 376-77
Rodrigues Marques, Isaac, 354
Rodrigues Mascarenhas, António, 46-47, 483n16
Rodrigues Mascarenhas, João, 43-47, 53, 482n7
Rodrigues Mogadouro, António, 353, 359, 360, 361, 362-67, 363, 373, 377, 399
Rodrigues Mogadouro, Francisco, 362, 365
Rodrigues Mogadouro, Pantaleão, 361, 365
Rodrigues Mogadouro family. *See also* Henriques (Mogadouro) and Rodrigues Marques, 353, 363, 364, 365, 427, 465
Rodrigues Moñino, Antonio, 487n31
Rodrigues Navarro, Manuel, 125
Rodrigues Serra, Francisco, 288
Rodrigues Serra family, 128
Rodrigues Ximenes, Gracia, 160-61, 162
Rodrigues family, 113, 115
Rodriguez Borges, Alfonso, 253
Rodriguez Bueno, Simón, 272
Rodriguez del Castillo, Tomás, 426-27
Roelas, Juan de, 315Z
Rojas, Fernando de, 94-95, 467, 492n67
Roldán, Diego, 353
Romance al divín mártir Judá Creyente (Antonio Enríquez Gómez), 311
Romanus Pontifex (papal brief; 1681), 394-99
Rome: attraction of New Christians to, 340-41; Banco di Santo Spirito, 294, 342, 385; Basilica di San Lorenzo, chapel of Annunciation, 343, 345; Mausoleum of Augustus/Palazzo Soderini, 408; New Christian community in, 133-36, 294-96, 340-46, 403-9; Palazzo Fonseca (now Hotel Minerva), 154, 155; Palazzo Núñez Sánchez, 341, 342; reestablishment of Portuguese inquisition and migration to, 403-9; sack of (1527), 95; Saint Peter's Basilica, 342; Sant'Antonio degli Portoghesi, church of, 407; Sant'Isidoro of the Irish Capuchins, chapel of Santo Isidro, 342-43, 343, 344. *See also* Italy; San Giacomo degli Spagnoli
Rondinelli, Pietro, 48
Rose, Constance Hubbard, 182-83
Rosales, Juan de, 270
Rossi, Giovanni Antonio de, 342
Roth, Cecil, 17, 487n31
Rovelasco, João Batista, 131
Rowland, Robert, 4
Rubini (Italian banker), 416
Rueda, Lope de, 87
Ruiz, Cosme, 264
Ruiz, Simón, 14, 19, 101, 114-20
Ruiz de Pessoa, Simón, 270
Ruiz Ibáñez, José Javier, 317

Saadi dynasty, Morocco, 106
Sabatini, Gaetano, 317
Sabbath, Saturday honored as, 300, 381
Sacramento, Laura do, 541n45
Saint Anthony of the Portuguese (Santo Antonio), Confraternity of, 135-36, 154, 295-96, 341, 407
Saint Jerome, Order of (*See* Jeronimites)
Saint John (Malta), Order of, 116
Saint Stephen/Santo Stefano, Order of, 128, 160, 161, 162, 166, 167, 287, 347, 525
Salamanca, school of, 91
Salazar, Hernando de, 226
Saldanha, Filipa, 145
Salimbeni, Alamanno Bartolini, 161
Salomon, Herman, 11, 487n40
Salucio, Agustín, 177, 190, 191-92, 460, 517n57
Salvado, João, 108, 111, 112
salvation in one's own religion, belief in, 303
Sampaio, António Fernandes de, 262
Sampaio, Beatriz de, 248, 278
Samuel, Edgar, 17
San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, Piazza Navona, Rome: Chapel of the Resurrection, 136, 137, 155-56, 295, 499n38; Confraternity of the Resurrection at,

- 155, 156; Fonseca family patronage of, 154, 155
- Sanches, Aires, 125, 262
- Sánchez, Alvar, 55
- Sánchez, Juan (Samuel Abravanel), 29, 66
- Sánchez de Toledo, Juan (grandfather of St. Teresa of Ávila), 32, 179
- Sancho IV (king of Castile), 27
- Sanctissimi Sacramenti, confraternity of, 155
- Sande, Duarte, 125
- Sanderus, Antonius, 288
- Sandoval, Geronima de, 515n24
- sangre limpieza*. See blood purity
- San Pedro, Diego de, 94, 467
- Santa Clara, Gabriel de, 130
- Santa Cruz, Pedro de, 56
- Santa Cruz family, 56
- Santa Fé, Henrique de, 72
- Santa Maria, Gonzalo de, 29
- Santa Maria, José de, 221
- Santa Maria, Pablo de (Solomon ha-Levi), 29, 63, 227
- Santa Maria da Graça* (ship), 50
- Santa Severina (cardinal), 134
- Santiago, Filipa, 404
- Santiago, Order of, 64, 125, 189, 257, 265, 277, 343, 346, 385
- Santissima Ressurreccion, Confraternity of, 136, 294–95, 296, 385
- Santo Domingo, Sor Maria de, 87
- Santos Caria, João dos, 406, 408
- Sanz Ayán, Carmen, 331
- São Carlos, João de, 442
- São Francisco, Filipa de, 217
- São Miguel* (ship), 50
- Sapaio, Afonso Lopes, 47
- Sapaio, Bento, 28
- Sapaio family, 47
- Sarabia, Diego de, 253
- Sarabia, Enrique Núñez, 236, 238, 284
- Sarabia, Juan Núñez, 234–41, 264, 278, 279, 335, 515n24, 515n26, 516n39
- Saraiva, António José, 17, 18
- Saraiva, Domingos, 442
- Saraiva, Duarte (David Seneor Coronel), 354
- Saraiva, Mauricio, 442
- Saraiva, Sebastião, 442
- Saravia de la Calle, Luis, 172
- Sarmiento, Pedro, 22, 61, 64
- Sarzedo, Álvaro Gomes, 339
- Sarzedo, António Gomes, 339
- Sasportes, David, 352
- Saturday honored as Sabbath, 300, 381
- saudade*, 183
- Saudade, Maria da Cruz da, 374, 541n45
- Schaub, Jean-Frédéric, 318
- Schwartz, Stuart, 303
- scientific, medical, and scholarly contributions, 184–87, 468
- sealing wax, trade in, 52, 107–8, 110, 112, 171, 551, 552
- Sebastian/Sebastião (king of Portugal), 39–40, 102, 116, 144–45, 150, 166, 178, 184, 198
- Segreboni, Carlo, 501n34, 501n37
- Segura family, 55
- Selaya (inquisitor), 79
- Sempiterno regi* (papal bull, 1533), 82
- Seneor, Abraham (Fernán Núñez Coronel), 28, 78, 479n14
- Seneor, Isaac (Manuel Teixeira), 350
- Sepúlveda, Gonzalo Núñez de, 247, 265, 266
- Sequeira, Gaspar Vaz de, 361
- Sequeira, Domingos de, 361, 368
- Sequeira, Isaac, 353
- Sequeira, Manuel, 403, 541n41
- Sequeira, Manuel de, 361
- Sequeira family, 439
- Serguidi, Francesco, 525n149
- Serguidi, Francesco Maria, 525n149
- Serguidi, Maria Ximenes, 525n149
- Serguidi, Selvaggia, 525n149
- Sermón* (Diego de San Pedro), 94
- Sernigi (Italian merchant), 57–58
- Serra, Francisco da, 286
- Serralvo, Manuel Fernandes, 133
- Serrão, Afonso, 141
- Serrão, Beatriz, 159
- Serrão, Filipe, 361
- Serrão, Francisco Soares, 256
- Serrão, João, 46
- Serrão, Jorge, 159
- Serrão, Manuel, 68
- Serrão, Pedro, 399
- Serrão, Pero Lopes, 286
- Serrão, Tomé, 73
- Serrão family, 158
- Servet, Miguel (Michael Servetus), 89
- Sestieri, Lea, 487n24
- Setúbal, Baltasar Lopes de, 140

- Seville: anti-Jewish riot in (1391), 3, 21, 27;
anti-New Christian riot in (1465), 3, 21,
27; foreign merchants in, 414; Immaculate
Conception of Virgin Mary, cult
and doctrine of, 315; Inquisition start-
ing in, 35; New Christian community
in, 55; slave trade and, 262–68
- Seville Cathedral: chapel de la Purificación,
38, 39–41; chapel de las Doncellas, 36,
37, 38; chapel of San Pablo, sculpture
of Immaculate Conception, 265, 266;
tomb of Baltasar del Rio, chapel of
Nuestra Senora de la Consolacion, 38
- Sforza, Cardinal, 154
- Siliceo, Juan Martínez (archbishop of
Toledo), 23, 65, 77, 178, 459
- Silva, Alexandre de, 388
- Silva, António Teles da, 286
- Silva, Branca da, 255, 256, 346
- Silva, Branca de, 389
- Silva, Catarina da, 150, 255
- Silva, Clara da, 404, 407
- Silva, Diogo da, 346
- Silva, Diogo Pinto da, 255
- Silva, Duarte Brandão da, 389–90
- Silva, Duarte da, 238, 254–57, 274, 275,
283, 284–86, 285, 296, 300, 304, 335,
338, 342, 345–46, 352, 367, 369, 370,
372, 374, 385, 389–90
- Silva, Feliciano da, 182
- Silva, Francisco da, 389
- Silva, Francisco Dias da, 255, 256
- Silva, Francisco Maldonado da, 302
- Silva, Francisco Nicolau da (count), 257,
345, 346, 383, 385, 406, 407, 409
- Silva, Henrique Rodrigues da, 262
- Silva, Joana da, 255, 257, 346
- Silva, João da, 255, 256
- Silva, Juan de, 269
- Silva, Juana de, 235
- Silva, Lopes Dias da, 353
- Silva, Luís Paulino da, 431
- Silva, Manuel da, 345
- Silva, Manuel da Costa, 429
- Silva, Manuel Dias da, 342, 343–46
- Silva, Miguel da (cardinal), 73, 83–85
- Silva, Serafina da, 255
- Silva, Simão Henriques da, 255
- Silva, Tomás da, 281
- Silva y Mendoza, Diego de (Marquis of
Alenquer), 217, 220–21
- Silva family, 345, 466
- Silveira, Álvaro da, 250, 257
- Silveira, Ana, 276
- Silveira, Beatriz de, 346
- Silveira (Silvera), Beatriz da (baroness), 278
- Silveira, Brites da, 345
- Silveira, Diogo da, 275, 280, 295
- Silveira, Diogo Lopes de, 339
- Silveira, Domingos, 339
- Silveira, Duarte da, 275
- Silveira, Fernão Jorge da, 261
- Silveira, Francisco da, 261
- Silveira, Gaspar da, 295
- Silveira, Gil Góis de, 281
- Silveira, João Vaz, 336
- Silveira, Jorge Paz da, 278, 280
- Silveira, Miguel de, 311
- Silveira, Pedro (de) Baeça da, 260–62, 268,
274, 283, 284, 406, 520n16, 521n45
- Silveira de Albuquerque, Alvaro da, 430
- Silveira family, 259, 280
- Silvera, José de, 427
- Silvera family, 464
- Simmel, Georg, 7
- Sixtus V (pope), 128, 161
- Slave Market in Recife* (Zacharias Wagner),
142
- slaves/slave trade, 15, 462–63, 466; from
1490s to 1550s, 28, 46, 54, 55, 82, 100,
477n6; from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 116–19,
124, 125, 140–43, 142, 171, 173, 174, 176,
193, 197, 205; from 1600s to 1640s,
237, 245, 249, 254, 262–71, 273, 274,
279, 281, 283, 284, 287, 296, 303, 321,
518n93; from 1650s to 1770s, 338, 364,
367, 381, 382, 393, 395, 415, 418, 434,
439, 440, 445; criticisms of, 90–91, 174
- Smith, David Grant, 19
- Snow, Jeremy, 353
- Soares, André, 282, 370
- Soares, Diogo, 123–24
- Soares, Duarte Brandão, 262, 278, 279, 280
- Soares, Fernão, 141
- Soares, Gonçalo Pinto, 255
- Soares, Jerónima, 338
- Soares, Jerónimo, 384, 387, 391–92, 539n146
- Soares, Lopo, 124
- Soares, Mariana, 436
- Soares, Simão, 247, 248, 262, 263, 268,
278, 280, 283
- Soares Sampaio, Gaspar and Manuel, 202

- Soares family, 370
Sobral, João Álvares, 442
Sobral, Manuel Álvares, 442
Sobral e Albuquerque, António de, 441
social hierarchy, 7–8. *See also* nobility
social identity of New Christians. *See*
 identities of New Christians
Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
sodomy, accusations of, 224, 512n59
Soeira, Guiomar, 359, 534n6
Soeira, Mor (Dona Alumbre), 133
Soeiro, Fernão, 240
Soeiro, Francisco, 362, 403
Soeiro, Simão, 133
Soeiro family, 128
Solance, Bernardo de, 426
Solis, Brianda de, 186
Solis, Duarte Gomes, 115, 202, 228–29,
 514n84
Solis, Duarte Pires, 234, 262
Solis, Francisco Fernandes de, 248–49,
 272, 332, 522n64
Solis, Francisco Gomes, 362
Solis, Helena Rodrigues, 267
Solis, Henrique, 233–34
Solis, Jorge Rodrigues, 115, 199, 267, 282
Solis, Rui Gomes, 362
Solis, Simão Pires, 233–34
Solis, Simão Rodrigues, 277
Solis de Fonseca, Diego, 154
Solis family, 115, 118, 119, 186, 262
Solomon ha-Levi (Pablo de Santa Maria),
 29, 63, 227
Soria, Antonio de, 270
Soria Mesa, Enrique, 19, 189, 190
Sosa, Francisco de, 271
Soto, Domingo de, 91, 180
Soto, Francisco de, 249
Soto, Juan de, 249
Sotomayor, Antonio de, 235, 236, 238
Sotto, Abraham de, 353
Sousa, Baltasar de, 2
Sousa, Branca de, 360
Sousa, Cristóvão Mendes de, 264
Sousa, Diogo de, 140
Sousa, D. Diogo de, 165, 181
Sousa, Diogo Henrique de, 139–40
Sousa, Filipa de, 360
Sousa, Filipe de, 140
Sousa, Francisco de, 288
Sousa, Joana de, 360
Sousa, Lúcio de, 178
Sousa, Luís de, 385, 387, 390–92,
 539n146, 539n164
Sousa, Mateus de, 362
Sousa, Simão de, 250, 280
Souto Maior, Lourenço de, 405
Spain: abolition of discrimination against
 New Christians in, 5; bankruptcies/
 suspension of payments by Spanish
 Crown, 188, 194, 232, 278, 331; case
 studies of merchants of (1490s–1540s),
 55–57; eighteenth-century inquisito-
 rial trials in: Inquisition, 420–21, 422,
 422–28; election of Charles V as Holy
 Roman emperor, consequences of, 77–78;
 expulsion of Jews from (1492), 3, 21,
 458; foreign merchants and financiers
 in, 410–18; Iberian Union of Crowns
 (1580), 14, 31, 77, 102, 169, 176, 188,
 193–96, 206, 257, 275; imperial expan-
 sion of, 101–2; Inquisition, establish-
 ment of (1478), 3, 14, 23, 34–35, 76–78;
 Jewish money and Christian conquest
 of, 27; migrations of New Christians
 from Portugal to, 195–96, 213; natural-
 ization of foreigners after Portuguese
 independence, 245–50; navy, decline of,
 411; persistence of New Christian pres-
 ence in eighteenth century, and inquisi-
 torial trials, 421, 422, 422–28; riot of
 1391 in, 27; transitions in (1490s–1540s),
 21–22; War of Spanish Succession, 5,
 128, 394, 409–19, 421, 423
Spanish America: from 1550s to 1600s, 116,
 140, 141, 143, 167, 173, 194, 201; from
 1600s to 1640s, 209, 237, 238, 246, 247,
 250–52, 257, 262–65, 267–73, 280,
 296, 304, 305, 318, 321; from 1650s to
 1770s, 353, 355, 367, 410, 415–16, 418,
 419, 464, 465; Inquisition in, 250–52,
 262, 270–71; trade and commerce in,
 268–72; wiping out of New Christians
 in, 355. *See also specific locations*
Spanish Enlightenment, 451
Specchi, Alessandro, 341
Spinelli (Italian banker), 416
Spinoza, Baruch (Benedictus), 138, 303,
 313–14, 323, 481n59
spiritual searching. *See* religious plurality
 and spiritual searching
Sri Lanka, 269, 411

- states, early modern, 302–6
- Stella, Girolamo, 131
- Stork, Dirck, 284
- Stuczynski, Claude, 11
- Studemund-Halevy, Michael, 17
- Stultitiae Laus* or *Moriae Encomium*
(*The Praise of Folly*; Erasmus), 88
- Suárez, Francisco, 91
- Suárez, Gómez, 123
- Suasso, Antonio Lopes (Isaac Israel Suasso), 350, 351
- Suasso, Francisco Lopes (Abraham Israel Suasso), 351
- sugar: from 1490s to 1550s, 46–49, 51, 52, 100, 101; from 1550s to 1600s, 106, 108, 112, 113, 119, 125, 133, 137, 141, 157, 171, 193; from 1600s to 1640s, 217, 218, 237, 250, 263, 273–74, 276, 277, 280, 282, 284, 287, 290–93, 297; from 1650s to 1770s, 333, 336–39, 349, 350, 352, 354, 355, 365, 411, 414, 427–31, 433–37, 439, 447, 449, 455, 462, 465; Madeira, sugar production and trade in, 28, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 106, 113, 119, 483n30
- Suleiman the Magnificent, 121
- sulphur, 54, 485n86
- Suma de ratos y contratos* (Mercado), 173
- Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* (Fernández de Oviedo), 185
- sumptuary decree against New Christians, 371–72
- suspension of Inquisition in Portugal (1674–1681), 5, 15, 16, 325, 326, 357–93, 464–65; abolition of property confiscation exemption, 357; actions taken by New Christians and, 357, 370–82; general pardon and, 357, 358, 365, 370–72, 378, 383; increased persecution of New Christians and, 357, 359–70, 371; Jesuit alliance with New Christians over, 357, 358, 359, 372–73, 376–78, 383; mob reactions to New Christian actions, 373; Odivelas, desecration of parish church of (1671), 371; political situation in Portugal and, 357–58; reestablishment following, 326, 327–28, 359, 394, 395–403, 418–19; Roman response to New Christian appeal, 382–92
- Swetschinski, Daniel, 17
- Taide, Ambrósio de, 131, 132
- Tailland, Michèle Janin-Thivos, 425
- Taitazak, Yoseph, 67
- Tajfel, Henri, 8
- Talavera, Hernando de, 29, 94
- Tarifa family, 57
- Tavim, José Alberto, 17
- Távora, Rui Lourenço de, 108, 114
- Teixeira, Abraham Senior, 293
- Teixeira, André, 133
- Teixeira, António, 131, 132
- Teixeira, António Pais, 442
- Teixeira, Cristóvão, 114
- Teixeira, Manuel (Isaac Seneor), 350
- Teixeira, Rodrigo, 132, 156–57
- Teixeira, Rui, 131, 132
- Teixeira de Sampaio, Diogo, 262, 288
- Teixeira family, 128
- Teixeira Sampaio family, 349
- Teles, André, 442
- Teles, Diogo Moniz, 284
- Teles, Tomás da Silva, 541n43
- Téllez-Girón, Pedro (Duke of Osuna), 226
- temporary partnerships, 105–6, 112, 114
- Tendilla, Cristóbal de, 87
- Tercer Abecedario* (Osuna), 87
- Teresa de Ávila, 32, 177, 179–80, 203
- “Terreiro dos Ximenes,” Lisbon, 158
- Tesoro de la lengua española* (Covarrubias), 306
- theater, 210, 310
- Theodosian code, 170
- Thirty Years War, 171, 238, 346
- Thomas à Kempis, 86
- Thomas Aquinas, 82, 170, 178, 222, 529n70
- Timão, Diogo, 413
- Tinoco, Fernando, 125, 261, 268, 278, 279, 281, 332
- Tinoco, Francisco, 125
- Tinoco, Francisco de Paz, 295
- Tinoco, Manuel Fernandes, 261
- Tinoco, Mariana, 278
- Tirado, Jacob (Duarte Lopes da Costa), 138, 141
- Tizón de la nobleza de España* (Mendoza y Bobadilla), 190
- tobacco: from 1600s to 1640s, 250, 263, 269–70, 273, 279; from 1650s to 1770s, 259, 329–31, 336, 338, 350, 361, 365,

- 367, 405, 406, 416, 421, 425–29, 431, 436, 438–40, 455, 462, 465
- Toledo: anti-*converso* riots in (1449, 1467), 3, 14, 22, 30, 60–62, 64, 74; El Transito synagogue in, 27; Fourth Council of (633), 82; Juan Martínez Silíceo, archbishop of Toledo, and blood purity statutes in, 23, 65, 77, 178, 459
- Torquemada, Juan de (cardinal), 29, 63, 64, 190
- Torquemada, Tomás de, 29
- Torres, Francisco de, 425
- Torres Arce, M., 422
- Torres family, 57, 426
- torture: from 1490s to 1550s, 87, 95; from 1600s to 1640s, 224, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 251, 255, 256, 284, 311, 314, 516n30; from 1650s to 1770s, 329, 352, 360, 374, 380, 381, 396, 402, 405, 433, 436, 439, 541n36; New Christian petition to suspend Portuguese Inquisition not mentioning, 381; systematic contestation and abolition of, 381
- Tovar, Anna Henriques, 531n56
- Tovar, António Fernandes, 336
- Tovar, Bernardino, 87
- Tovar, Filipa Nunes de, 33, 336–39, 531n37
- Tovar, Isabel Caetana de, 431
- Tovar, Violante Henriques, 336, 337, 531n37, 531n59
- trade and commerce, 461–63; from 1490s to 1550s, 29–32, 43–58, 100; from 1550s to 1600s, 102–3, 105–14; from 1600s to 1640s, 207, 209, 217, 228–29, 241–45, 258–97; from 1650s to 1770s, 339–40, 348–55, 409–18; abandonment for investment in fixed-interest assets and real estate, 167; in Asia, 258–62; in Brazil, 272–77; in Europe beyond the Pyrenees, 287–96; foreign merchants in Portugal and Spain, 410–17; Iberian Union of Crowns, opportunities presented by, 193–94, 206, 257, 275; Jewish involvement in, 26–28; in Lisbon, 281–86; in Madrid, 278–81; merchant culture and commercial law/practice, 169–75; Muslims, trade with, 106–14, 494n14; Porto, collective detentions of merchants in, 217; in Spanish America, 268–72; temporary partnerships, 105–6, 112, 114; women involved in, 278–79, 336, 339. *See also specific enterprises*
- Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (known as *La Celestina*) (Fernando de Rojas), 94–95
- transitions (1490s–1540s), 13–14, 21–24, 99–100; anti-*converso* riots, 3, 14, 22, 30, 40–41, 43–44, 59, 60; art and literature, 36, 37, 38, 39–41, 76, 91–96, 92, 93; blood purity statutes, division between Christians imposed by, 60–66; case studies (*See specific persons and families by name*); creativity, opportunities for, 76; expulsions and migration, 32–34; integration and agency in Christian society, 37–38, 40–41, 43–58, 481n59; Jewish elite in Iberia, 25–28; New Christian elite, rise of, 29–32; persecution and prosecution, 29, 30, 32, 34–42, 59–66; religious plurality and spiritual searching, 76, 85–91; David Reubeni, visit of, 14, 59, 66–68, 75. *See also* blood purity; Inquisition
- Tratado de las drogas y medicinas de las Indias orientales* (Cristóbal Acosta), 186
- Trent, Council of (1545–1563), 177
- Trevino, Francisco, 339
- Trinitarians, 145, 165, 267
- Tristão, Duarte, 47, 48, 50, 51
- Triumph of Bacchus, The* (*Los borrachos*) (Velázquez), 314
- Trivellato, Francesca, 17, 19
- Turner, Victor, 8
- Tute, Thomas, 338
- Uceda, Duke of, 226
- Uceda, Gaspar de, 189–90
- Ulhoa, André Lopes, 276
- Ulhoa, António Lopes, 276–77
- Ulhoa, Diogo Lopes, 223, 275, 276–77
- Ulhoa, Lopo Rodrigues, 275
- Ulhoa, Manuel Lopes, 276
- Ulhoa family, 276–77
- United Provinces. *See* Netherlands
- universalist Christian tradition, 6, 30, 64, 191, 220, 381
- universities, *conversos* excluded from, 65

- University of Coimbra: Inquisitorial
 attack on New Christians at, 223–24,
 537n100; on suspension of Portuguese
 Inquisition, 373, 536n66
- University of Évora, on suspension of
 Portuguese Inquisition, 373
- Urueña, Lope de, 56
- Usque, Abraham, 183
- usury, 12, 26, 170–74, 203, 244
- Utrecht, Treaty of, 418, 448, 450
-
- Vaez, Afonso, 262
- Vaez, Francisco, 262
- Vaez, Salvador, 278
- Vaez de Sevilla, Simón, 270
- Vaez Sevilla, Sebastián de, 269
- Vaez Sevilla, Simón, 252
- Valdés, Alfonso de, 89
- Valdés, Juan de, 89
- Valdez, Manuel Preto, 364
- Vale, Ana do, 433–35
- Vale, João Rodrigues do, 434
- Vale da Silveira (or de Mesquita), António
 do, 435
- Vale family, 433–35, 438
- values, 7, 169
- van den Berghe, Sebilla, 289–90, 292,
 525n155
- van den Enden, Franciscus, 314
- van der Borch, Pieter, 158
- van Dyck, Anthony, 289, 291, 292,
 525n155
- van Eeckeren, Catharina, 161, 287
- van Gennep, Arnold, 8
- van Veen, Otto, 289, 525n151
- Vanneste, Tijl, 548n86
- Vargas, Alonso, 294
- Vargas, Francisco de, 56
- Vargas family, 293, 294
- Varjão, Luís Caldeira, 442
- Vasconcelos, António de, 388
- Vasconcelos, João de, 255
- Vasconcelos, João Mendes de, 366
- Vasconcelos, Matias Caldeira de, 441
- Vasques, Lourenço (Isaac Latam, son of
 Moisés Latam), 47
- Vaz, António, 134
- Vaz, Beatriz, 81
- Vaz, Francisco, 112
- Vaz, Gil, 111
- Vaz, João, 53–54
- Vaz, Jorge, 134
- Vaz, Manuel, 187
- Vaz, Miguel, 293
- Vaz, Teresa, 164
- Vaz, Vilela, 262
- Vaz Bugalho, Gil, 81
- Vaz, Custodio, 295
- Vaz da Veiga, Tristão, 150
- Vaz de Elvas, Teresa, 158
- Vaz de Sevilha, Simão, 262
- Vaz do Porto, Miguel, 132
- Vaz family, 293–94, 438
- Vega, Lope de, 528n37
- Vega, Luis de, 269
- Vega, Mechior de, 116
- Veiga, António da, 197, 202
- Veiga, António Nunes da, 361, 399
- Veiga, Baltasar da, 344
- Veiga, Beatriz de, 332
- Veiga, Catarina (da), 127, 160, 202
- Veiga, Diogo Nunes da, 234
- Veiga, Duarte Nunes da, 515n9
- Veiga, Gabriel da, 295
- Veiga, Henrique Gil da, 284
- Veiga, Isabel da, 128, 161, 287
- Veiga, Joana da, 202
- Veiga, João da, 135
- Veiga, Manuel da, 202, 220
- Veiga, Manuel Rodrigues da, 290
- Veiga, Maria da, 128, 161, 287
- Veiga, Nicolau da, 288
- Veiga, Pero Rodrigues, 140
- Veiga, Rodrigo da, 202
- Veiga, Sebastião Nunes da, 399
- Veiga, Vasco da, 288
- Veiga family, 158, 202, 341, 349, 439
- Veiga Cabral, Jerónimo da, 150
- Veiga de Évora, Rodrigo da, 128, 161,
 287
- Veiga de Évora family, 288
- Veigão, André Vieira, 333–34
- Veigão, Gonçalo Vieira, 336
- Velázquez, Diego, 314, 316, 385, 386
- Velázquez, Manuel de, 353
- Venice, New Christian community in, 131,
 132, 348. *See also* Italy
- Ventura, Maria Graça, 496n82
- Ventura Tirado, Juan, 249
- Vera y Alarcón, Lope de, 311

- Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), 259
- Vergueiro, Afonso Perez, 296
- La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, 183, 468
- Viegas, António Dias, 122
- Vieira, António, 254, 377, 383, 389, 398, 514n6
- Vieira, Leandro, 415
- Vila Real, Manuel Fernandes, 312–13, 323, 335, 469
- Vila Real, Manuel Rodrigues, 141
- Vila Real, Pedro de, 249
- Vila Real family, 335
- Vilaboa, Rui Soares de, 262
- Vilasboas family, 262
- Vilhalão, Abraham, 282
- Vilhegas family, 262
- Villadiego, Juan Bautista de, 236
- Villanueva, Francisco Márquez, 17, 93, 95
- Villarroel, Luis Fernando de, 426
- St. Vincent Ferrer, 21
- vintena da Guiné*, 28, 46, 52
- violari*, 27
- Virgin, Immaculate Conception of. *See* Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary
- Vitoria, Francisco de (scholar), 91
- Vitoria, Francisco de (bishop), 251
- Vitória, Francisco Rodrigues, 282
- Vitória, Garcia Gomes de, 288
- Vitória, Miguel Israel, 405
- Vitória, Pedro Aires de, 217
- VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), 259
- Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino* (Bluteau), 306
- Voltaire, 222
- Wachtel, Nathan, 18, 302
- Wagner, Zacharias, 142
- War of Spanish Succession, 5, 128, 394, 409–19, 421, 423
- West Africa: from 1490s to 1540s, 45–47, 48, 49, 50, 57, 100; from 1550s to 1600s, 101, 139–40, 141, 143, 205; from 1600s to 1640s, 251, 287; from 1650s to 1770s, 445. *See also* slaves/slave trade
- West Indies/Caribbean: from 1490s to 1540s, 55, 57; from 1600s to 1640s, 292; from 1650s to 1770s, 353, 354
- whipping of Cristo de la Paciencia, 233, 234
- William III of Orange (king of England), 351
- wills. *See* property and wealth accumulation
- witch frenzy compared to New Christian persecution, 300–301
- Wolfgang Wilhelm (Palatine prince), 346
- Woman of the Apocalypse, The* (Jauregui), 316
- women. *See* gender
- Xavier, Francis, 178
- Ximenes, Afonso Jorge de Melo, 347
- Ximenes, Ana, 128, 158, 288, 289, 521n151
- Ximenes, André, 119, 160, 164, 282
- Ximenes, António, 167, 202
- Ximenes, António Fernandes, 160, 164, 165, 202, 221, 347
- Ximenes, Beatriz, 160, 161, 163
- Ximenes, Beatriz de São Paulo, 164, 165
- Ximenes, Catarina, 160–61, 162
- Ximenes, Catarina Medici, 525n149
- Ximenes, Costanza, 525n148
- Ximenes, Duarte, 128, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 287, 408
- Ximenes, Emmanuel, 287–88
- Ximenes, Fernando, 157–60, 161–62, 164, 165, 167, 501n37
- Ximenes, Fernão, 128
- Ximenes, Fernão, 347, 508n139
- Ximenes, Gaspar, 131, 202
- Ximenes, Gonçalo, 161, 287
- Ximenes, Herman, 119
- Ximenes, Inigo, 157
- Ximenes, Isabel, 160, 161, 288
- Ximenes, Jerónimo, 160, 164, 165, 166, 502n47
- Ximenes, Jerónimo Duarte, 198
- Ximenes, Joana, 160–66
- Ximenes, Jorge, 160, 164–65
- Ximenes, Manuel, 128, 157, 161, 162
- Ximenes, Maria, 160, 164
- Ximenes, Maria Celestiale, 525n148
- Ximenes, Niccolò, 161, 167
- Ximenes, Pedro, 155
- Ximenes, Rafaello, 525n149
- Ximenes, Roderico (or Rodrigo), 346

- Ximenes, Rodrigo, 221
Ximenes, Rui, 160, 164
Ximenes, Rui Nunes, 162
Ximenes, Samuel, 354
Ximenes, Timóteo, 155
Ximenes, Tomás, 118, 119, 160, 162–66,
198
Ximenes, Tommaso, 167, 524–25n148
Ximenes Belmonte, Francisco (Isaac),
417
Ximenes de Aragão (or Aragona), Ferdi-
nando, 347
Ximenes de Aragão, André, 158, 159
Ximenes de Aragão, Duarte, 128, 157
Ximenes de Aragão, Fernão, 227
Ximenes de Aragão, Fernão Nunes, 128
Ximenes de Aragão, Jacinto, 347
Ximenes de Aragão, Jerónimo, 347
Ximenes de Aragão, Jerónimo Duarte,
158, 159, 160
Ximenes de Aragão, Rodrigo, 347
Ximenes de Aragão, Rui Nunes, 128, 158,
159, 160–61
Ximenes de Aragão, Sebastião (Sebastiano),
128, 133, 160, 162, 164, 166,
524–25n148–49
Ximenes de Aragão, Tomás, 128, 158,
159, 160
Ximenes de Aragão family, 88, 118, 119,
126–27, 128, 131, 157–67, 197, 202, 262,
287–288, 346–47, 409, 466, 513n75
Ximenes Peretti, Fernando, 161, 501n37
Ximenes Serrão, Constantino, 160
Ximenes Serrão, Jorge, 160
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, 34
Yllán, Ferdinand de, 348
Yllán, García de, 237, 241–42, 248, 288,
304, 348–49
Yllán family, 466
Yon, Jean-Jacques, 416
Yosef of Habur, 66
Zaboca, Duarte Rodrigues, 47
Zaccaria (Zacarias), Fra, 134, 499n28
Zamora, Carretero, 56
Zamora, Fernando, 426
Zapata, Antonio, 234, 235, 238
Zeimoto, Diogo, 101, 125
Zeimoto, Francisco, 101, 125
Zimmerman, Markus (Marcos de
Cimarmão), 57, 485n102