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# “Those of the Hebrew Nation . . .” The Sephardic Experience in Colonial Latin America

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## *Introduction*

The purpose of this paper is to provide a general history of a broad and complex subject—the Sephardic experience in colonial Latin America. This subject will be discussed as follows: first, with an historical overview; then geographically, according to areas with the largest Sephardic populations, such as Mexico, Peru, Brazil, and Cartagena, Colombia. The overview and geographic sections will touch upon such themes as religious observance and customs,<sup>1</sup> participation in colonial life, Christian perceptions (and misconceptions) of Jews and Judaism, and, related to these perceptions, the Inquisition.<sup>2</sup> Concerning terminology, Sephardic Jews in colonial Latin America are commonly referred to as New Christians, crypto-Jews, or conversos. Since these terms are similar in meaning, they will be used interchangeably for the sake of variety,<sup>3</sup> but the pejorative term “marranos” will not be used. The paper closes with a conclusion/summation. For readers interested in more detail than can be provided in a necessarily short treatment, the notes provide ample suggestions for further study.

## *Overview*

Jews and conversos, involved in all events related to fifteenth-century Spain, were naturally linked to the transcendent act of the discovery of the New World.<sup>4</sup> Previously, such Jewish activity was essentially unknown, cloaked in a “veil of silence.” In contrast, the argument has been made that the discovery was largely a Jewish enterprise. For example, many have contended that the discoverer of America,

Christopher Columbus, was Jewish. Supporters of this position (such as Salvador de Madariaga and José María Millás Vallicrosa) contend that Columbus may have been from a Catalan or Majorcan Jewish family. While not totally impossible, this theory lacks firm evidence.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to the speculation regarding his origins, it is widely accepted that Columbus received assistance from individuals with probable or definite Jewish backgrounds, such as Father Diego de Deza and the marquis of Moya and, particularly, from the Aragonese ministers of King Ferdinand—Luis de Santángel and his cousin, treasurer Gabriel Sánchez. Santángel helped to negotiate the finances for Columbus's first voyage,<sup>6</sup> and the second voyage was partially financed by possessions confiscated from the Jews expelled from Spain.

The number of conversos who served as crew members on the first voyage is uncertain. This is understandable, since many wished to escape the Inquisition. Alice B. Gould identifies only one with certainty, Luis de Torres. However, others may have included Rodrigo Sánchez de Segovia, Alfonso de la Calle, Marco (the expedition's physician), and a certain Bernal who was jailed in 1490.<sup>7</sup> A more indirect influence of the Spanish Jews may be linked to the discovery: the knowledge contributed by important Jews such as astronomer and cosmographer Abraham Zacut and the Majorcan cartographers.

As noted previously, Aragonese conversos contributed to the financing of Columbus's first voyage. In addition, converso ministers in the latter years of Ferdinand's reign played a significant role in colonial administration. Not much concern, however, was given to the selection of officials and even less to the immigrants. With the adjustment in 1509 of the *composición* of Seville, imprisoned conversos were authorized to travel to the Indies and conduct commerce there.

The rules of emigration became more stringent with Charles V, who conceived of the idea of forming an "ideal society" in the Indies which would exclude those thought to be of detrimental influence. Besides the order of September 24, 1518 to the Casa de Contratación, the chamber of commerce established by Ferdinand and Isabella in Seville,<sup>8</sup> prohibiting the emigration to the New World of those jailed by the Inquisition,<sup>9</sup> newly converted Catholics (Moorish or Jewish) and their children could not emigrate without the monarch's consent. Later provisions reinforced and broadened these restrictions, which, however,

proved to have little effect in the long run.<sup>10</sup> (This was true for Portugal as well, since Portuguese conversos were able to take advantage of the vastness of Brazil's frontier, which was difficult to patrol.)

While there were no conversos among the famous conquistadors, several were involved in the conquest, probably including the chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Pedrarias Dávila.<sup>11</sup> As governor of Castilla del Oro (Panama), Dávila left bitter memories, including the assassination of Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean. A possible descendant of Dávila's, Diego Peñalosa Briceño, was governor of New Mexico in the seventeenth century, was later jailed by the Mexican Inquisition, and eventually died in France.

The Carvajal family was a famous seventeenth-century New Christian family of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Luis de Carvajal y de la Cueva (1539–1591?) served as comptroller of the Cape Verde Islands and Spanish fleet admiral prior to going New Spain in 1568. He returned to Spain in 1578 and in 1579 was appointed governor of the New Kingdoms of León, later called Monterrey. The governor's wife, Guiomar, a secret Jewess, did not wish to go to New Spain. However, Carvajal's sister Francisca and her husband Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, both fervent judaizers, went to the viceroyalty with their nine children in 1580. The Inquisition arrested Carvajal in 1589, charging him with not having denounced his niece Isabel as a judaizer. Stripped of his authority and sentenced to a six-year exile, the ex-governor died in incarceration before he could leave the viceroyalty. Other members of the Carvajal family met a cruel death. The governor's nephew, Luis de Carvajal "El Mozo" ("the Younger," 1566–1596), his mother Francisca Núñez, and three of his sisters—Isabel, widow of the judaizer Gabriel de Herrera; Catalina, married to the adventurous merchant Antonio Díaz de Cáceres; and Leonor, married to the prosperous mine-owner Jorge de Almeida—were burned at the stake on December 8, 1596.<sup>12</sup>

As noted in the introduction, the Inquisition must be discussed in any treatment of the Latin American Sephardic experience. It was not established in the New World until relatively late, in relation to the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions—1570 for the Tribunal of Lima and 1571 for Mexico. In 1610, the northern portion of the Tribunal of

Lima (which previously had encompassed the whole South American continent) was constituted as Cartagena de Indias.

There were a substantial number of conversos (and others who had escaped from Spain) in the New World, since it was "the escape, the refuge of those in Spain who, for one reason or another, were not well-regarded." However, the converso population did not become a serious issue until a large number of Portuguese New Christians came to America. It may be speculated that the Catholic Church to some degree neglected "the problem of Crypto-Judaism" by focusing on other matters.

This is only a partial answer, however, because the inquisitorial records indicate that a vast majority of the victims of the trials were Portuguese (i.e., of "Portuguese origin"). Thus, it may be deduced that the Spanish conversos were more quickly assimilated. The latter were not "a cohesive group," did not share a common language, and, most importantly, were "authentic converts" who essentially wished to forget their backgrounds and emphasize their piety and religious foundations. In the New World, as in the Iberian Peninsula, "the distinction between both groups of conversos [i.e., Spanish and Portuguese] is essential."

The Inquisition in America did not display "the barbarous rigor" of that in Spain; and throughout America, over its 250-year existence, many fewer victims were sentenced to death. The sensational trials with the harshest sentences, selected for study by such scholars as Henry Charles Lea and José Toribio Medina,<sup>33</sup> may mislead the reader into thinking that the persecution was primarily due to the alleged Jewishness of the victims. However, this accounts for only a relatively small percentage of the total. The trials were dominated by charges of bigamy and witchcraft. Moreover, a large number of cases were against "clérigos solicitantes," since one of the goals of the Inquisition "was to correct the very lax behavior of the clergy." Since little confiscation of goods was involved in sentencing, the economic aspects of the Inquisition in the Americas were essentially inconsequential.<sup>34</sup>

Regarding Portuguese conversos, their arrival in the New World may be traced to the beginning of the discovery. However, not until 1580 did they begin to have an impact, due to the temporary union of Spain and Portugal, which allowed for legal authorization to travel

and do business in the Indies and, more frequently, "clandestine immigration." This illegal immigration was facilitated by the entry of blacks and Portuguese ascendancy in Brazil. The black slave traffic was conducted by Portuguese businessmen, and the continual voyages of the slave ships provided frequent opportunities to violate the laws regarding the entrance of foreigners. (Despite the "personal union" achieved by Phillip II, the Portuguese were still viewed legal as foreigners in Castilla [Spain] and its American colonies.)

Portuguese ownership of Brazil provided another opportunity for foreigners to secretly enter the Spanish territories, for only a narrow coastal stretch of Brazil was settled. Between it and Peru lay the vast Amazonian jungle. To reach Lima or the Andean mining areas, a long journey was necessary—in the north, along the Venezuelan coast; to the south, via the Río de la Plata and the valley of Paraguay toward the region of Charcas (present-day Bolivia). The first route was the shortest and most frequently traveled.

Thus, the inquisitorial tribunal was established at Cartagena in 1610.<sup>15</sup> However, its principal victims were not crypto-Jews but persons accused of such "crimes" as witchcraft and sorcery. Because of the vigilance of the Cartagena tribunal, Portuguese conversos tended to select the southern route to the viceroyalty of Peru. This explains why, in light of its "low density" of white settlement, there was a substantial Judeo-Portuguese colony in the Río de la Plata region, which served as a "transition" zone, although many remained there.

On October 17, 1602, the king issued a royal decree to the Audiencia and to the bishop of Charcas, noting with concern the presence of Portuguese Jews from Río de la Plata in the province of Charcas.<sup>16</sup> This document reflects two basic reasons for the crown's mistrust of the Portuguese Jews: religion (i.e., suspect faith) and politics (i.e., trade with enemies). However, in this relatively neglected and ignored region of Spanish America, the Portuguese Jewish presence was valued for its economic contribution and its role in the defense of Buenos Aires. For these reasons, a threatened expulsion of Jews was not carried out in 1606.<sup>17</sup>

For similar reasons, a proposal for the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal in Buenos Aires was rejected in 1619. Although Porto

Bello was the usual means of entry into Peru, the New Christians, in order to escape the Cartagena tribunal, chose the La Plata route.

Trials regarding faith/religion continued being referred to the Tribunal of Lima, with inherent delays due to the long distance. A little over one hundred procesos took place in what is now Argentina. Via the indirect route from La Plata, or directly from Cartagena or Porto Bello, so many conversos were entering Peru that the authorities became concerned, as did Spanish merchants who viewed them as serious competitors. Despite precautions, Portuguese Jews were persecuted by the Lima Inquisition. The Mexican Inquisition began its persecutions toward the end of the seventeenth century.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a papal exemption granted to the Portuguese conversos was made applicable to the New World. This order, issued on August 22, 1604, was circulated in Lisbon in 1605. The New Christians of Portugal were given a year to benefit from it; those in the New World, two years, due to difficulties in communication. During this period, those who sought pardon for their offenses were to be freed and their goods returned to them.

This order was not readily accepted by the Inquisition in the New World, so that in 1608 the order to release "those of the Hebrew nation of the Kingdom of Portugal" from jail and to return their confiscated goods had to be repeated.<sup>18</sup> This favorable ruling by Phillip III was initially continued by Phillip IV, resulting in an increase in the converso population. Although not very numerous, the conversos were concentrated in the cities and commercial areas. Their control of much of the commerce, and their tendency to do business mostly outside of existing legislation, eventually attracted the attention of the mother country. In addition to apprehensions due to these factors, there was a religious reason for the government's concern—i.e., to prevent those who "by religion and nature have such hatred" toward Spain from becoming "more powerful than the Castilians. The "psychosis of fear and jealousy" that this reflected led to incidents like the uprising in 1611 allegedly instigated by the Portuguese Jews of Huancafélica, Peru, the great mining area, whose output of mercury was necessary for the production of silver in Potosí.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, this was, on balance, an age of tolerance which abruptly ended in 1635. The reasons are unclear; since the change cor-

responded with the beginning of the Thirty Years War, it may be speculated that Spain wished to take security precautions against potential enemies and, in the process, to confiscate goods. There is no doubt that due to the increasing numbers of those executed (usually, for the most trivial reasons), the Inquisition in the New World not only temporarily relieved its usual deficit, but sent considerable amounts of wealth to Spain. Those accused by the tribunals of the Inquisition lived in an atmosphere of worry and terror. The value of the goods confiscated in Peru during this period amounted to approximately 800,000 pesos, culminating in a famous auto-da-fé which took place on January 23, 1639.<sup>20</sup> And following this date, while some of the accused were released, the number of conversos held continued to be significant. The viceroy, Marquis de Mancera (calculating the figure to be 6,000), opted in 1646 for "total expulsion." The conversos managed to avoid this danger, but eventually, as a minority, slowly assimilated and disappeared as an "autonomous social group."

In Mexico, the connection between political events and persecution was more evident, because in New Spain, following a period of peace, repression of crypto-Jews was not unleashed until 1642. This date marked the discovery of a synagogue in the home of Captain Simón Vaez Sevilla, whose son was viewed by many as the Messiah. A man named Miguel Tinoco conducted the religious service and distributed the unleavened bread. A black slave, banging a drum, was sent to homes where the "faithful" lived in order to notify them of the religious services.

It is highly unlikely that such acts would go unnoticed by the Inquisition, which utilized a large spy network. The Mexican inquisitors may have been expecting word from Spain to act more vigorously, and this would have come as a result of what was known as the uprising of Portugal (so named since Jews were termed "Portuguese" in New Spain). Thus, it no longer was necessary to proceed with caution regarding a group who, in addition to being accused of religious heresy, also turned out to be threats to the state. A series of trials ended Mexican crypto-Judaism, at least outwardly. The year 1649 was a particularly difficult one regarding inquisitorial persecution.<sup>21</sup>

Following this date, "Judaism in Spanish America was limited to isolated cases." The crypto-Jews had assimilated sometime before, and the Portuguese Jews, who arrived in the Americas later, "also disappeared as a group by the second or third generation." There were few white women at the beginning of the colonization of the New World. The Portuguese did not wish to bring women there due to the dangerous conditions. Some Portuguese Jews married within their own nationality, others with women of color, and still others with Old Christians, which initiated the process of assimilation, a course which many, if not the majority, followed.

Documentation on the Inquisition tends to distort our perspective by emphasizing those who did not conform. In actuality, not all were willing to sacrifice their lives for reasons of faith. This was especially true of the Spanish conversos; to a lesser extent, it also held for the Portuguese conversos. A number of conversos became pious Christians or even joined the Catholic clergy. Many conversos were integrated into colonial Latin American society, choosing conversion over persecution.<sup>22</sup>

### *Geographical Survey*

As indicated above, the major Sephardic population centers in Spanish colonial Latin America were in what are today Mexico, Peru, and Colombia (i.e., Cartagena).<sup>23</sup> Since the preceding overview emphasized Spanish America, it seems appropriate to begin the geographical survey with Brazil as well as to include other areas (such as Chile, Argentina, and Surinam) whose converso populations were not as large, but which nevertheless merit discussion.

### *Brazil*

At least one person of Jewish origin, Gaspar da Gama (who was forcibly baptized by the Portuguese in 1497), accompanied admiral Pedro Álvares Cabral of Portugal to what is now Brazil in 1500.<sup>24</sup> In 1502, a group of conversos led by Fernando de Noronha received permission from King Manuel I to colonize and develop the new colonial

possession. The consortium's main endeavor was the export of brazil wood to Portugal for dyeing textiles.

There is evidence to suggest that New Christians introduced sugar cane from Madeira to Brazil in the early 1500s. New Christian foremen and laborers likely were brought from Madeira and São Tomé around 1542, when the first sugar plantations and mills were built. In 1550, a New Christian, Diego Dias Fernandes, was the owner of one of the first five *engenhos* (sugar plantation and mill) in Brazil. Furthermore, by 1600, many of the 120 *engenhos* in Brazil were owned and run by New Christians.

While some of Brazil's New Christians were firm Catholics, most followed Jewish rituals and customs in secret and were actually crypto-Jews, known disparagingly as marranos by Catholics. Unlike Spanish America, the Inquisition was never officially established in Brazil. However, following 1580 (when Portugal united with Spain), the bishop of Bahia was given investigative authority from Portugal, and after 1591 officials of the Inquisition periodically visited Brazil. The first such group was in Bahia from 1591 to 1593 and then in Pernambuco until 1595; another commission was again in Bahia in 1618. "Denunciations" were the basis of the inquisitorial hearings, and the accused were arrested and brought to Portugal for trial.

Approximately 50,000 former Europeans lived in Brazil in 1624, many of whom were New Christians. They owned sugar mills and engaged in business, commerce, education, writing, and even religion as priests. Among other New Christian accomplishments, Bento Teixeira (also known as Bento Teixeira Pinto) wrote the "Prosopopéia," the first Brazilian poem, and Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão wrote *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil*, viewed as one of the best books about Brazil.<sup>25</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century, Amsterdam had become a significant Jewish religious, cultural, and economic focal point. Holland, through the West India Company and supported by Dutch Jews who had fled the Inquisition, attempted to capture Bahia in May 1624, but was defeated in May 1625. The Dutch troops, including some Jews, were allowed to return to Europe. However, five conversos who had renewed the practice of Judaism while the Dutch were in control were accused of treason and hanged by the Portuguese.

The Dutch were more successful in capturing the ports of Olinda and Recife, located in Pernambuco. The Dutch government declared that the rights of everyone under its control in Brazil (including the Jews) were to be respected. Thus, once the Dutch established a hold on northeastern Brazil, many conversos in that area began to publicly practice their Judaism.

Jews fared well under Johan Maurits van Nassau, the governor-general of Brazil appointed in 1637. Many Jews were in the militia, and one of its four companies was entirely Jewish and did not have to serve on the Sabbath. However, the governor-general and Calvinist preachers attempted to convert both Jews and Catholics, although without success. A synagogue had been established in Recife by 1636 and a congregation was forming in Paraiba. The Jews of Recife made an inquiry to Rabbi Chayyim Shabbetai of Salonika regarding the appropriate time to say prayers for rain, thus making the New World's first contribution to the responsa literature.

By 1639, Dutch Brazil had a flourishing sugar industry. Jews owned six of the 166 sugar mills. Jews were also actively involved in the slave trade and commerce. These and other economic opportunities attracted more Jews to the area; in 1638, for example, Manoel Mendes de Castro brought 200 Jews to Dutch Brazil.

The Jewish community of Recife soon developed a communal structure. In response to a need for Hebrew teachers and cantors, the well-known Rabbi Isaac Aboab da Fonseca from the Amsterdam synagogue of Talmud Torah and the learned Moses Raphael d'Aguilar were asked to come to Recife in 1642 as spiritual leaders. By this time, two synagogues, Zur Israel in Recife and Magen Abraham in Maurícia, had already been established.<sup>26</sup> However, the fate of a certain Isaac de Castro was not as fortunate. He had arrived in Bahia (then under Portuguese control) from Amsterdam through Dutch Brazil, was seized for teaching Judaism to conversos, and then sent to Portugal, where he was executed in the auto-da-fé of December 15, 1647.

From 1645 to 1654, a civil war took place between the Dutch and the Portuguese, who wished to reassert their dominion over northeastern Brazil. The Portuguese prevailed, and many Jews were either killed or taken prisoner and condemned as traitors. It was during this struggle (in 1649) that Rabbi Isaac Aboab composed the first Hebrew poem in

the New World, "Zekher Asiti le-Nifle'ot El" ("I Have Set a Memorial to God's Miracles").

At its height, the Jewish population in Dutch Brazil reached approximately half of the 1,500 European civilians living there in 1645. Despite the loss of Jewish life during the civil strife and the return of some Jews to Holland, around 650 Jews still remained in Recife and Maurícia.

The Jewish communal structure in Dutch Brazil was very organized, paralleling the communal structure in Holland. All Jews were subject to the community's rules, regulations, and taxes, and there were a school, yeshiva, cemetery, and general fund (*sedaca*, or "charity"). An executive committee (*mahamad*) maintained control over communal life (such as in settling disputes and law enforcement).<sup>27</sup>

New Christians were also to be found in other areas of Brazil which had not been controlled by the Dutch, including Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and São Vicente. According to the protocol of January 26, 1654 (which ended the Dutch occupation), all Jews and Dutch had to leave Brazil within ninety days, selling off their possessions or taking what they could with them. Most of the Jews went to Holland, with some venturing to such Caribbean islands as Curaçao and Barbados, where they established the sugar industry. In early September 1654, twenty-three Jews left Brazil for New Amsterdam (later named New York, but then under Dutch rule), forming the foundation of the first Jewish community in what was to become the United States.

Following 1654, few conversos remained in Brazil. Approximately twenty-five were sent to Portugal for trial between 1650 and 1700. Persecutions and extraditions resumed in the 1700s. Hundreds of Brazilian New Christians were among the victims of the Lisbon *autos-da-fé* of 1709, 1711, and 1713. The economic ramifications of the persecution were great—the sugar industry temporarily ceased to function, and commerce between Brazil and Portugal was greatly hampered.

The most widely known Brazilian converso and martyr of the Inquisition was António José da Silva, an accomplished poet and playwright, also known as "o Judeu" (1705–1739).<sup>28</sup> Documentation

regarding eighteen executed Brazilian conversos is located in the Archivo da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

On May 25, 1773, a royal decree issued in Portugal voided all laws in violation of the rights of New Christians. Since the decree pertained to all Portuguese territories, the conversos of Brazil, after this date, were safe from further inquisitorial persecution. Due primarily to the high degree of mixed marriages, Brazil's conversos became increasingly assimilated and gave up any retaining Jewish rituals and customs, thereby becoming practicing Catholics. Jewish immigration only resumed after 1822 with the attainment of Brazilian independence from Portugal.<sup>29</sup>

### *Chile*

Conversos played a role in Chilean history from the very outset.<sup>30</sup> Rodrigo de Orgoños, one of the Spanish officers who accompanied Diego de Almagro (the discoverer of Chile in 1535), is believed to have been of New Christian ancestry. In 1540, Diego García de Cáceres of Plasencia, Spain, went to Chile with the conquistador Pedro de Valdivia and later attained a prominent post there. Forty years following his death, a pamphlet entitled *La Ovandina* claimed that Cáceres was of Jewish ancestry.<sup>31</sup> This work became a center of controversy, because it revealed the Jewish background of several famous families, and the Inquisition removed it from circulation. Cáceres's descendants included some famous figures of Chilean independence, such as General José Miguel Carrera and statesman Diego Portales.

When the Lima inquisitorial tribunal was set up in 1570, present-day Chile fell within its sphere. Although autos-da-fé were held in Lima, the converso population in this fairly remote corner of the Spanish Empire kept increasing. The height of inquisitorial activity in Chile occurred in 1627 in Concepción de Chile with the seizure of the prominent surgeon Francisco Maldonado de Silva, one of the most famous martyrs of the Inquisition, who was sent to Lima to be put on trial. After almost a dozen years in jail, he was "relaxed" in the January 23, 1639 auto-da-fé, the largest up to that point in the Americas.

Nonetheless, secret judaizing continued. Physician Rodrigo Henrique de Fonseca of Santiago and his wife were executed in Lima in

1644 on the charge of adhering to "the Law of Moses," and his brother-in-law, Luis de Rivero, chose suicide over burning at the stake. In the late 1600s, the inquisitorial tribunal learned of the existence of some twenty-eight New Christians in the area of Santiago, although apparently this report was not followed by any arrests. Other Chilean conversos received lesser punishments from the Inquisition, such as Francisco de Gudiel, born in Spain in 1518, who, according to his sentence, "was still awaiting the coming of the Messiah." (His daughter was wed to the son of another converso, Pedro de Omepezoa.) A converso soldier, Luis Noble, was charged in 1614 with the theft of a crucifix for the purpose of practicing "rites in the Law of Moses." In addition, the possessions of Captain León Gomez de Oliva were confiscated as partial punishment for observing Judaism in secret.

After the 1700s, there is no evidence of conversos or inquisitorial persecution of them, and Chile's independence in 1813 marked the end of inquisitorial activities. As in other areas of Latin America, converso ancestry exists among a number of Chile's more well-established families.<sup>32</sup>

### *Colombia*

The Jewish presence in Colombia may be traced to the coming of conversos with the Spanish conquistadors in the 1500s.<sup>33</sup> From the outset of the 1600s, due to the presence of the Cartagena inquisitorial tribunal, the secret practice of Judaism could prove fatal. In 1636, a number of New Christians in Cartagena were arrested, in part as an attempt to destroy the *Complicidad Grande* ("Great Conspiracy") in Lima,<sup>34</sup> and in 1638, the most famous of them, Juan Rodríguez Mesa, was sentenced to death in an *auto-da-fé*. In contemporary times, the existence of practices and traditions reminiscent of Judaism in the area of Antioquia led to speculation that a significant number of the region's inhabitants have converso backgrounds. However, subsequent research does not bear this out.<sup>35</sup>

*Argentina*

Following the temporary Spanish-Portuguese union of 1580, Portuguese of Jewish lineage started entering colonial Argentina.<sup>36</sup> Lightly settled, the region functioned as a staging area for contraband trade in which Andes silver was exchanged for African slaves, textiles from Europe, and other goods. The area was distant from Lima, the seat of the viceroyalty's government, and, beginning in 1572, of the Inquisition (although a Portuguese inquisitor was in Buenos Aires in 1618).

Coming directly to Buenos Aires, or arriving via São Paulo and Paraguay, the Portuguese immigrants located mainly in Buenos Aires, Córdoba, and Tucumán. Throughout the 1600s, "Jews," "Portuguese," and "merchants"—terms used interchangeably—were uniformly accused of "filling the land" and "monopolizing commerce." An expulsion decree of 1602 also associated "Portuguese" with "judaizers" or crypto-Jews.

The number of people referred to in these reports is unknown, as is their degree of Jewish observance, because the danger of being haled before the Inquisition, as well as the Spanish law prohibiting the entry of those who were not Old Christians, led them to keep their origins secret. Further complicating the question, Inquisition officials based their accusations of Jewish faith on such superficial factors as wearing clean linen, refusing to eat pork and to do labor on Sabbath, and not practicing Christian beliefs.

Among those persecuted in the famous *auto-da-fé* of January 23, 1639 in Lima was a surgeon from Tucumán, Francisco Maldonado de Silva, who tended toward mysticism and returned to his Jewish religious roots. Other prominent figures of Jewish-Portuguese background who were linked to Argentina were Francisco de Vitoria (d. 1592), a Tucumán bishop charged with judaizing and sent to Spain, and the Córdoba jurist Antonio de León Pinelo, a significant South American literary figure, who appealed against a fine levied on Portuguese living in the province of Buenos Aires by its governor.

However, one cannot assume that every Portuguese who resided in Buenos Aires was Jewish. (Around 1620, about 100 residents of Buenos Aires were Portuguese out a total population of 2,000.) There

probably were fewer conversos in all of Argentina than in the mining area of Potosí in what is now Bolivia or in colonial Lima. Furthermore, "their Judaism, such as it was, failed to take root." In eighteenth-century Argentina, there are no reliable accounts of judaizing nor confirmation of whether any families had Jewish lineage.<sup>37</sup>

### *Mexico*

Several New Christians accompanied Hernán Cortés in his conquest of Mexico in 1521.<sup>38</sup> From 1523 onward, only those who could prove Catholic lineage to the fourth generation, and thus be eligible for certification of *limpieza de sangre* (lit. "blood purity"), were allowed into Mexico. However, some Spanish and Portuguese conversos obtained certificates by illegal means. Immigrants from elsewhere in Europe, posing as Old Christians, continued arriving in Mexico throughout the colonial period. Veracruz and Campeche served as entry points for arrivals from Europe, and Acapulco for those from Brazil, Chile, and Peru. While the first auto-da-fé involving crypto-Jews occurred as early as 1528, relatively few conversos were arrested before the formal establishment of the Inquisition in Mexico City in 1571. Soon after this date, however, a trend of increased converso persecution became evident. By 1550 there were more Spanish conversos living in the capital than Spanish Catholics. From 1596 to 1659, crypto-Jews were involved in just about every auto-da-fé, and the period from 1642 to 1649 marked the highest incidence of inquisitorial activity, climaxed by the auto-da-fé of April 11, 1649, in which only thirteen survived from a total of 109.

Despite the persecution, crypto-Jews continued to settle in Mexico, where they thrived and were most responsible for the growth of commerce and trade. The persecution of New Christians may have stemmed from inquisitorial concern over an alleged Portuguese plot to seize Mexico as well as economic envy of converso merchants and the greed of Inquisition officials who were able to confiscate whole fortunes when the rightful owners were arrested.

Crypto-Jews were involved in all facets of Mexican colonial life and work. A number worked for the crown and even the church. For example, Ricardo Ossado, an Italian believed to be a Jew who fled

Mexico, compiled a reference work about Mayan herbs, remedies, and diseases known as *El libro del judío*.<sup>39</sup> While conversos were to be found throughout New Spain, most lived in Mexico City, Veracruz, and Guadalajara.

Regarding religious observance, inquisitorial documents indicate that communal prayers regularly took place in private homes. The manner of observance of the Mexican conversos largely resembled that of their fellow worshipers in the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of the world. The Mexican version, however, was characterized by an overemphasis on fasts and related acts of penitence, with consequent nonobservance of the norms of traditional Judaism. There is reason to believe that the Judaism practiced by the conversos in Mexico was more similar to the standards of normative Judaism than that observed by European conversos.

A number of Jews settled in Mexico with the notion that they would be able to practice their religion more openly there. While this was, in general, a misconception, the practice of circumcision was widespread and the dietary laws were also observed. The Mexican New Christians were able to communicate with Jewish communities in Europe and the Middle East, and on occasion raised funds for Eretz Israel—the collection called *farda*. Moreover, a few individuals regularly traveled from town to town to teach Jewish practices, although the degree of knowledge these teachers possessed is much exaggerated in the Inquisition's records.

By the mid-1600s, inquisitorial persecution of conversos had declined markedly. Eighteenth-century converso immigration to Mexico was in considerable decline as well, due to changing circumstances and growing tolerance in other nations. For several years the inquisitorial tribunal in Mexico City was directed to cease arresting Jews, and in the waning years of the colonial period those sought were generally well-known figures who held liberal views.

During the whole colonial period, about 1,500 individuals were convicted of judaizing and following the Laws of Moses and Jewish rituals. Fewer than 100 were burned at the stake, but about the same number perished in jail. The descendants of colonial conversos assimilated in the nineteenth century, and some Mexicans currently claim Jewish backgrounds.<sup>40</sup>

*Peru*

There were conversos in Peru from the very beginning of Spanish control, but it was not until after the Inquisition's formal establishment in the viceroyalty that judaizers attracted attention and efforts to identify them began.<sup>41</sup> The period from 1601 to at least 1625 marked a decline in the persecution of judaizers due to a general pardon and a substantial increase in the number of Portuguese New Christians (including many judaizers) who settled in the viceroyalty. The commercial activities of the conversos enabled them to accumulate considerable wealth, and their high social visibility was a definite factor in uncovering their secret religious practice.

In 1634, sixty-four people were accused of judaizing (just about all of them of Portuguese ancestry). Both Old and New Christians were much alarmed by this crackdown, as were their creditors, who worried that the Inquisition would confiscate the suspects' wealth. The persecution and flight of large numbers of New Christians came close to causing the financial ruin of the viceroyalty. The repression of this "Great Conspiracy" (referred to earlier) culminated in the great auto-da-fé of January 23, 1639, which included two of the most prominent judaizers in history: Manuel Bautista Pérez, Lima's richest merchant and the leader of the judaizers, and physician Francisco Maldonado de Silva.

Following this, Lima's inquisitorial tribunal considerably lessened its search for judaizers. Some cases were even dismissed, and very few accused persons were involved in an auto. There were even fewer cases in the eighteenth century, but three took place because of the commanding personalities of the accused—Teodoro Candiotti, a Levantine Christian, noblewoman Ana de Castra, and nobleman Juan de Loyola y Haro.

A few Jews who cannot be termed New Christians occasionally were present in colonial South America, generally engaged in West Indian commerce. Currently, a number of Catholics in countries which once formed the viceroyalty of Peru acknowledge their New Christian and even judaizer backgrounds.<sup>42</sup>

*Surinam*

The small nation of Surinam, located in northeastern South America, holds the distinction of having the oldest Jewish community in the Americas.<sup>43</sup> Jews seem to have reached Surinam as early as 1639. A second group of Jews came from Great Britain in 1652, led by Lord Willoughby of Parham, who founded a permanent settlement.

The next group of Jews, led by Joseph Núñez de Fonseca (or, David Nassi), were mainly refugees of the Inquisition who had lived in Brazil until the Portuguese defeat of the Dutch in 1654 (as discussed earlier). Experienced in commerce and agriculture, they established many sugar plantations. In recognition of their important contribution to the colony, Surinam's Jews were granted religious freedom in 1665. This was reaffirmed by a 1667 decree which stipulated that they were to be viewed as British-born subjects.

When the Dutch took over Surinam in 1667, some Jews left. Those who stayed fared well, thanks to the abundance of slaves and plantations, and despite occasional attempts to restrict their religious freedom. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Jewish community was doing well economically, but it experienced an economic decline toward the end of the century.

By 1836 Jews of Portuguese ancestry were outnumbered by more recent settlers of German origin. Meanwhile, in 1825, the special privileges granted the Jews earlier in Surinam's history became superfluous because of the rights to which they were entitled as subjects of the Dutch crown.<sup>44</sup>

*Conclusion/Summation*

On the quincentenary of the discovery of America, it is appropriate to note the Sephardic presence in the New World. While the supposed Jewish background of Christopher Columbus remains a questionable assertion, a number of his crew were New Christians. However, soon after Columbus's voyage to the New World, Spain and Portugal restricted access to it by New Christians and their immediate descendants. The prohibition continued but was periodically eased, particularly following Phillip III's general pardon of 1601. Despite the ban,

New Christians were able to enter the Americas rather consistently until at least the mid-1600s, sometimes with the complicity of Spanish officials who recognized the advantages of Jewish enterprise in the development of their colonial lands.

The Jewish history of colonial Latin America, it has been said, is essentially "that of . . . New Christians who were judaizers." The number of judaizers among the conversos who settled in America cannot be ascertained with any certainty, but not all New Christians secretly practiced Judaism, and for most, no doubt, the economic and social benefits which the New World was perceived to offer were the primary motivation for settling in America, and not the possibility of more openly observing their faith.

The effort to suppress judaizing in Spanish America began with "episcopal inquisitions" under the direction of secular or regular clergy (an auto-da-fé under such auspices took place in New Spain as early as 1528). Inquisition tribunals patterned on their Iberian counterparts were established in Lima, covering the viceroyalty of Peru, in 1570, and in Mexico City, for the viceroyalty of New Spain, in 1571. Later, in 1610, a third main center of inquisitorial activity was introduced in Cartagena for the viceroyalty of New Granada.

These tribunals conducted ongoing autos-da-fé until the close of the colonial epoch, but persecutions of judaizers occurred mainly before 1660. Inquisitorial activity was particularly acute in the 1580s and 1590s and again in the 1630s and 1640s in both New Spain and Peru. While the number of judaizers is difficult to determine, it was not much greater than the number of those actually arrested, and there is no evidence supporting the claim that judaizing was very widespread. In fact, a majority of the judaizers tried by the Inquisition had already come to terms with the church, or would in the future.

The judaizers had their unique religion. And while, as noted above, economic considerations were important, this did not mean that they were not ardently devoted to their secret faith, which they attempted, with some success, to spread to tepid New Christians. Some judaizers were martyred for their beliefs, which they regarded as authentic Judaism, but were really "a wild blend of biblical Judaism, post-biblical reminiscences," and Catholic influences.

Well represented in commercial, professional, and political activities, the New Christian presence greatly enhanced Latin America's development. While Jews were officially banned from entering the New World during the colonial period, and though the Americas did not represent the safest refuge for them, its territorial vastness, the small number of Europeans, and the relative laxity of the New World's inquisitors made it a much safer place than the Iberian Peninsula. Even in the most severe periods of repression, which occurred in both New Spain and Peru in the mid-seventeenth century, New Christians were more secure in the Americas than in Spain and Portugal.<sup>45</sup>

### Notes

1. For more information on the important aspect of religious practice and observance, see Seymour B. Liebman, *New World Jewry, 1493-1825: Requiem for the Forgotten* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1982), pp. 100-130; Boleslao Lewin, *Los criptojudíos: un fenómeno religioso y social, Ensayos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Mila, 1987), pp. 185-250; idem, *Creencias religiosas marranas en Hispanoamérica* (Córdoba: n.p., 1958). (The latter is an offprint from *Revista de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba*; the focus is Mexico.)

2. For general treatments of the Inquisition in Latin America, see Boleslao Lewin, *Los judíos bajo la inquisición en Hispanoamérica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Dedalo, 1960); idem, *Los criptojudíos*; idem, *La inquisición en Hispanoamérica: judíos, protestantes y patriotas* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Proyección, 1962), previously published in 1950 as *El Santo Oficio en América*; idem, *Que fue la inquisición*, Colección Esquemas históricos, vol. 15 (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra, 1973); George Alexander Kohut, *Jewish Martyrs of the Inquisition in South America* (Baltimore: Friedenwald, 1895); Anita Novinsky, *A inquisição*, Tudo e historia, no. 49 (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982); Jorge Randolph, *La inquisición en América* (Santiago: n.p., 1970); José Toribio Medina, *La primitiva inquisición americana, 1493-1569: estudio histórico*, 2 vols. (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1914); Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *La inquisición en América*, Biblioteca Avante, vol. 4 (Tortosa: Monclus, 1917); Matilde Gini de Barnatan, "Los criptojudíos y la inquisición," *Todo es historia* 17, no. 216 (April 1985): 8-29.

3. Seymour B. Liebman essentially makes the same point regarding terminology in *New World Jewry*, pp. 213-215. For further discussion of these terms and related problems, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1972), s.v. "Conversos," "Crypto-Jews," and "New Christians"; Harry Havilo, "Origen y desaparición del criptojudasmo en América," *Sefardica* 1, no. 1 (1984): 67-74; Boleslao Lewin, "Resonancia del criptojudasmo en Latinoamérica," *ibid.*, pp. 27-33; Anita Novinsky, "Some Theoretical Considerations About the New Christian Problem," in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage*, ed. Issachar Ben-Ami (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Misgav Yerushalayim, 1982), pp. 3-12; idem, "Cristianos nuevos: un problema historiográfico," *Sefardica* 1, no. 2 (1984): 51-68; and Ellis Rivkin, "How Jewish Were the New Christians?" in *Hispania Judaica: Studies on the History, Language, and Literature of the Jews in the Hispanic World*, ed. Joseph M. Sola-Sole, Samuel G. Armistead, and Joseph H. Silverman, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Puvill-Editor, 1982), pp. 105-115. For discussion of the term "marranos" and related problems, see Martin A. Cohen in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (here-

after cited as EJ) (1972), s.v. "Marranos"; idem, "Toward a New Comprehension of the Marranos," in *Hispania Judaica*, ed. Sola-Sole, Armistead, and Silverman, vol. 1; Boleslao Lewin, *Los marranos, un intento de definición: contribución al estudio de los orígenes americanos y argentinos* (Buenos Aires: Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores, 1946).

4. For other overviews/introductions to the subject, see Liebman, *New World Jewry*, 1982; idem, *Requiem por los olvidados: los judíos españoles en América, 1493-1825* (Madrid: Altalena, 1984); Alberto Liamgot, *Criptojudíos en Hispanoamérica*, Colección Hechos de la historia judía, no. 31 (Buenos Aires: Ejecutivo Sudamericano del Congreso Julio Mundial, 1970); Lewin, *Los criptojudíos*, 1987; Arturo Bab, *Los judíos en la América Latina de 1492-1930: ensayo histórico* (n.p., 1933?); Martin A. Cohen, ed., *The Jewish Experience in Latin America: Selected Studies from the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 2 vols. (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society; New York: Ktav, 1971), 1:xlvlxx.

5. The following include discussions on Columbus's alleged Jewish background: Salvador de Madariaga, *Vida del muy magnífico señor don Cristobal Colón* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamerica, 1940); José María Millás Vallicrosa, "Solución definitiva del problema de la patria de Colón," *Tesoro de los judíos sefardíes* 6 (1963): vii-xv; Michael Pollak, "The Ethnic Background of Columbus: Inferences from a Genoese-Jewish Source, 1553-1557," *Revista de historia de América* (Mexico) no. 80 (July-December 1975): 147-164; Alberto Liamgot, *Marginalidad y judaísmo en Cristobal Colón*, Colección Hechos de la historia judía 81 (Buenos Aires: Congreso Judío Latinoamericano, 1976); Charles Alperin, "Christopher Columbus-A Jew?," *Midstream* 25, no. 3 (1979): 35-48; Sarah Leibovici, "Cet étrange Christophe Colomb," *Les nouveaux cahiers* (Paris) no. 10 (1977): 56-58; idem, *Christophe Colomb juif, defende et illustrations* (Paris: Maisonneuve and Larose, 1986); Francisco Cantera, "El origen judío de Colón y el monograma de su firma," *Atlántida: revista del pensamiento actual* (Madrid) 2, no. 9 (May 1964): 303-310.

6. For more detail regarding the contribution of the Aragonese conversos to the preparation for Columbus's voyages, see Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la dominación española en América: estudios históricos*, Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles, 25 (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1918-). More specific information on the Santangel family may be found in Meyer Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, 4th ed. (1894; reprint ed., New York: Hermon Press, 1968).

7. Alice B. Gould, *Nueva lista documentada de los tripulantes de Colón en 1492* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1984), originally published as a series of articles in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*.

8. *Larousse gran diccionario*, 1st ed., s.v. "casa de contratación."

9. Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, Peru, New Granada* (New York: Macmillan, 1908), pp. 191-298.

10. For more information about these laws and, particularly, the means used to circumvent them, see Juan Friede, "Algunas observaciones sobre la emigración español a América," *Revista de Indias* 12, no. 49 (July-September 1952): 467-496.

11. See Pablo Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarías Dávila: contribución al estudio de la figura del "Gran justador," gobernador de Castilla de Oro y Nicaragua* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1944) (originally author's thesis, 1939) and idem, "Diego Arias Davila," *Estudios segovianos* 1 (1949): 367-372. This figure, also known as Pedro Arias de Avila, was the subject of another thesis: Michael Odell Lancaster, "Pedrarías Davila" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1965), as well as a play: Pedro de Gorostiza y Cepeda, *Pedrarías Davila: drama original en cinco actos, de los cuales el cuarto está dividido en dos cuadros* (Madrid: Impr. Nacional, 1838).

12. *EJ*, s.v. "Carvajal," by Martin A. Cohen. Further reading on the Carvajal family may be found in Alfonso Toro, *La familia Carvajal: estudio histórico sobre los judíos y la inquisición de la Nueva España en el siglo XVI, basado en documentos originales y en su mayor parte inéditos, que se conservan en el Archivo General de la Nación de la ciudad de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Patria, 1944); Pablo Martínez del Río, "Alumbrado" (Mexico City: Porrúa Hermanos, 1937); *Procesos de Luis de Carvajal (el mozo)*, Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación 28 (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1935); Liebman, *The Enlightened: The Writings of Luis de Carvajal, el Mozo* (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1967); *Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana*, s.v. "Carvajal y de la Cueva, Luis de" and "Carvajal (El Mozo), Luis de"; Martin A. Cohen, "The Autobiography of Luis de Carvajal, the Younger," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 55 (1965-66): 277-318; idem, "A Brief Survey of Studies Relating to Luis de Carvajal, the Younger," *American Sephardi* 3 (1969): 89-90; idem, "The Letters and Last Will and Testament of Luis de Carvajal, the Younger," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 55 (1965-66): 451-520; idem, "The Religion of Luis Rodríguez Carvajal," *American Jewish Archives* 20 (1968): 33-62; and idem, *The Martyr: The Story of a Secret Jew and the Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1973).

13. Regarding Toribio Medina's many works on the Inquisition in the Americas, see citations appearing under various countries below.

14. Lea, *Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, pp. 191-298, and Maurice Birckel, "Recherches sur la trésorerie inquisitoriale de Lima," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 5:223-307.

15. For more detail on the Cartagena Inquisition, see José Toribio Medina, *La inquisición en Cartagena de Indias*, 2nd ed. (Bogotá: C. Valencia, 1978), originally published as *Historia del tribunal del Santo oficio de la inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1899). The topic is partially treated in Manuel Tejado Fernández, *Aspectos de la vida social en Cartagena durante el seiscientos*, Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, no. 87, 1st ed. (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1954).

16. The text of the decree will be found in Boleslao Lewin, *El judío en la época colonial: un aspecto de la historia rioplatense* (Buenos Aires: Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores, 1939), pp. 52-53.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-85.

18. Birckel, "Recherches sur la trésorerie inquisitoriale," pp. 223-307.

19. For more information, see Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imp. de Gabriel L. y del Horno, 1906).

20. This auto-da-fé is discussed in José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la inquisición de Lima, 1569-1820* (Santiago: Imprenta Gutenberg, 1887); 2nd ed. (Santiago de Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J. T. Medina, 1956).

21. For more detail regarding this auto, see Matias de Bocanegra, *Jews and the Inquisition of Mexico: The Great Auto de Fé of 1649*, trans. and ed., with notes, bibliography, and introduction, by Seymour B. Liebman (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1974).

22. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los judeoconversos en España y América*, Colección Fundamentos, no. 11 (Madrid: Ediciones ISTMO, 1971), pp. 127-147 passim.

23. Other treatments of the subject on a geographical basis include Nissim Elnecave, *Los hijos de Ibero-Fraconia: breviario del mundo sefardí desde los orígenes hasta nuestros días* (Buenos Aires: Editorial "La Luz," 1981); José Monin, *Los judíos en la América española, 1492-1810* (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Yavne, 1939); Lewin, *Criptojudíos*, pp. 107-114.

24. A great deal has been written about the Jewish presence in colonial Brazil, including Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960); idem, *Os judeus no Brasil colonial*, trans. Olivia Krahenbuhl (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1960); Anita Novinsky, *Inquisição: inventários de bens confiscados a cristãos novos: fontes para a história de Portugal e do Brasil*

(Lisbon: Impr. Nacional, Casa de Moeda: Livraria Camões, 1976-); idem, "Sistema de poder y represión religiosa: para una interpretación del fenómeno 'cristão novo' en el Brasil," *Sefardica* 1, no. 1 (March 1984): 17-24; idem, *Cristãos-novos na Bahia*, Estudos 9 (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1972); Evelyne Kenig, "Identité des nouveaux-chrétiens portugais au Brésil au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *The Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage*, ed. Issachar Ben-Ami (Jerusalem: Magnes, Misgav Yerushalayim, 1982), pp. 73-83; *Breve história dos judeus no Brasil*, Biblioteca de cultura judaica, no. 10 (Rio de Janeiro: Edicoes Biblos, 1962); Rachel Ouziel, "Brésil-des marranes aux chrétiens: un effacement qui a dure trois siècles," *Nouveaux cahiers* no. 77 (1984): 50-57; José Gonçalves Salvador, *Cristãos-novos, jesuítas e inquisição: aspectos de sua atuação nas capitanias do 1530-1680*, Biblioteca Pioneira Editora (São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora, 1969); idem, *Os cristãos-novos e o comércio no Atlântico meridional*, Biblioteca Pioneira de estudos brasileiros (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1978); idem, *Os cristãos-novos: povoamento e conquista de solo brasileiro, 1530-1680*, Biblioteca Pioneira de estudos brasileiros (São Paulo: Liveria Pioneira Editora, 1976); Elias Lipiner, *Os judaizantes nos capitanias de cima: estudos sobre os cristãos-novos do Brasil nos séculos xvi e xvii* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1969); Isaac Izecksohn, *Os marranos brasileiros* (São Paulo: Impres, 1967); Solidonio Leite, *Os deus no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: J. Leite, 1923); Nachman Falbel, *Estudios sobre a comunidade judaica no Brasil* (São Paulo: Federação Israelita do Estado de São Paulo, 1984); Egon Wolff and Frieda Wolff, *Dicionário biográfico*, vol. 1, *Judaizantes e judeus no Brasil, 1500-1808* (Rio de Janeiro: E. and F. Wolff, 1986); Kurt Loewenstamm, *Vultos judaicos no Brasil: uma contribuição a história do judeus no Brasil*, vol. 1, *Tempo colonial, 1500-1822*, trans. Kurt Hahn, Coleção "Israel" (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), originally published as *Schicksal und Leistungen von Juden in Brasilien in Vergangenheit; un Gegenwart*; Nelson Omeqna, *Diabolização dos judeus: martirio e presença dos sefardins no Brasil colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Distribuidora Record, 1969); N. M. de Braga Mella, *Os judeus no Brasil e nas Americas: (tentames)* (Rio de Janeiro: Lito-Tipo Guanabara, 1959); Afamio Peixoto, *Os judeus na historia do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: V. Zwerling, 1936); *Enciclopedia Judaica Castellana* (hereafter cited as *EJC*), s.v. "Brasil."

25. Bento Teixeira, *Prosopopéia*, 9th ed., *Memoria literaria* (São Paulo: Ediciones Melhoramentos, 1977); Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão, *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*, 2nd ed., *Documentos para a historia do norieste*, vol. 1 (Recife: Imprensa Universitaria, 1966).

26. For the records of these synagogues, see Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1954).

27. Works focusing on Dutch Brazil include Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jewish Soldiers in Dutch Brazil, 1630-1654* (Philadelphia: Typ. M. Jacobs, 1956?); José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, *Tempo dos flamengos: influência da ocupação holandesa na vida e na cultura do norte do Brazil*, 3rd ed., *Estudos e pesquisas* (Recife: Editora Massangana, 1987); Isaac Z. Raizman, *História dos israelitas no Brasil desde o descobrimento até o fim do dominio hollandez* (São Paulo: Buch-Press, 1937); Hermann Kellenberg, *A participação de companhia de judeus no conguisca holandesa de Pernambuco* (Paraíba: Universidade Federal da Paraíba, 1966); Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

28. *EJ*, s.v. "Silva, Antônio José da," by Godfrey Edmond Silverman.

29. *EJ*, s.v. "Brazil," by Arnold Wiznitzer.

30. For more detail regarding the Sephardic experience in colonial Chile, see Moshe Nes El, *Historia de la comunidad israelita sefardí de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1984); Gunther Friedlander, *Los heroes olvidados* (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1966); Gunther Böhm, *Nuevos antecedentes para una historia de los judíos en Chile colonial* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1963); idem, *Los judíos en Chile durante la colonia*, version aumentada (Santiago: Academia Chilena de la Historia, 1948); idem, *Historia de los judíos en Chile*, vol. 1: *Period colonial, judíos y judeoconvertos en*

Chile colonial durante los siglos xvi y xvii, *El Bachiller Francisco Maldonado de Silva, 1592-1639*, Judaica iberoamericano, nos. 4-5 (Santiago: Editorial Andres Bello, 1984); José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la inquisición en Chile*, 2 vols. (Santiago: Impr. Ercilla, 1890); *EJC*, s.v. "Chile."

31. Pedro Mexía de Ovando, *La ovandina*, Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia de América, vol. 17 (Madrid: Suarez, 1915).

32. *EJ*, s.v. "Chile," by Gunther Böhm.

33. More information on the Jews of New Granada (which included Colombia) is found in Lucía García Proodian, *Los judíos en América: sus actividades en los Virreinos de Nueva Castilla y Nueva Granada*, Publicaciones Ser. E., no. 2 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Aria Montano," 1966); Lewin, *Criptojudíos*, pp. 117-120; Tejado Fernández, *Aspectos de la vida social en Cartagena de Indias durante el seiscientos*; Itic Rotbaum, *De Sefarad al neosefardismo: contribución a la historia de Colombia*, 2 vols. (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1967-71); José Toribio Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo oficio de la inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1899); idem, *La imprenta en Bogota y la inquisición en Cartagena de Indias* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, 1952); *EJC*, s.v. "Colombia."

34. More detail on the Complicidad Grande may be found in Liebman, "The Great Conspiracy in Peru," *The Americas* 28, no. 2 (October 1971): 176-190.

35. *EJ*, s.v. "Colombia," by Moshe Nes El.

36. Additional reading on the Sephardim of Argentina may be found in Boleslao Lewin, *El judío en la época colonial: un aspecto de la historia rioplatense* (Buenos Aires: Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores, 1939); idem, *Supresión de la inquisición y libertad de cultos en la Argentina*, Cuadernos, no. 3 (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Instituto de Historia y la Filosofía y del Pensamiento Argentino, 1957); idem, "Esbozo de la historia judía de la Argentina (desde el coloniaje hasta 1889)," *Índice: revista de ciencias sociales* 2, no. 5 (April 1969): 8-38; José Toribio Medina, *El tribunal del Santo oficio de la inquisición en las provincias del Plata*, Biblioteca enciclopedia argentino, no. 2 (Buenos Aires: Editorial "Huarpes," 1945); Ricardo Rojas, "Los judíos en la época colonial," *Vida Nuestra* 1, no. 2 (August 1917): 15-23 (a somewhat abridged version appears in Juan José Sebreli, ed., "Los judíos en los países rioplatenses durante el coloniaje," *La cuestión judía en la Argentina*, Colección ensayos [Buenos Aires: Editorial Tiempo Contemporáneo, 1968]); *EJC*, s.v. "Argentina."

37. *EJ*, s.v. "Argentina," by Fred Bronner.

38. Further information on Mexico is contained in Eva Alexandra Uchmany, "De algunos cristianos nuevos en la conquista y colonización de la Nueva España," *Estudios de historia novohispana* 8 (1985): 265-318; Seymour Liebman, *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1970) and in Spanish translation, *Los judíos en México y América Central: fe, llamas, inquisición* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1971); idem, "From All Their Habitations, They Came with Cortes: Notes on Mexican Jewish History," *Judaism* 18 (Winter 1969): 91-102; Martin A. Cohen, "Some Misconceptions about the Crypto-Jews in Colonial Mexico," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 61 (June 1972): 277-293; idem, "Antonio Díaz de Caceres: Marrano Adventurer in Colonial Mexico," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 60 (1970-1971): 169-184; idem, "Don Gregorio Lopez: Friend of the Secret Jew," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 38 (1967): 259-284; Sara Bialostosky, "Situación social y jurídica de los judíos y sus descendientes en la Nueva España," *Revista de la Facultad de Derecho (Universidad Autónoma de México)* 26, nos. 101-102 (January-June 1976): 115-128; Jonathan Irvine Israel, *Race, Class, and Politics in Colonial Mexico, 1610-1670*, Oxford Historical Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); Alicia Gojman Goldberg, "Conservos en la Nueva España, su idealismo y perseverancia," (thesis, Universidad

Nacional Autonoma, 1976); EJC, s.v. "Mexico."

39. Ricardo Osado (d. 1770), *Medicina doméstica: descripción de los nombres y virtudes de las llervas indígenas de Yucatan y las enfermedades a que se aplican . . .* (N.p.: n.p., 1939?).

40. EJC, s.v. "Mexico," by Nissim Itzhak.

41. Additional material on Peru includes Boleslao Lewin, *El Santo Oficio en América y el más grande proceso inquisitorial en el Perú* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Hebraica Argentina, 1950); Ricardo Palma, *Anales de la inquisición de Lima: estudio histórico* (Lima: A. Alfaro, 1863); José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la inquisición de Lima*, 2 vols. (Santiago: Imprenta Gutenberg, 1887); García de Proodian, *Judíos en América*; Elkan Nathan Adler, *The Inquisition in Peru* (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, n.d.), reprinted from *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, no. 12; Octavio Cavada Dancourt, *La inquisición en Lima: síntesis de su historia* (Lima: Librería "El Inca," 1935); Hans Joachim Sell, *Briefe einer Judin aus Cuzco: eine do Kumentarische Erzählung aus dem heutigen Peru* (Vienna: Herold, 1978); Juan José Vega, *Los conversos en los inicios del Peru moderno* (Lima: Editorial Todo el Peru, 1981); EJC, s.v. "Peru."

42. EJC, s.v. "Peru," by Martin A. Cohen.

43. For more information on Surinam, see Robert Cohen, ed., *The Jewish Nation in Surinam: Historical Essay* (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1982); *Essai historique sur la colonie de Surinam, su fondation, ses révolutions, ses progrès, depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours . . . avec l'histoire nation juive portugaise & allemande y établie, leurs privilèges, immunités & franchises . . . le tout rédigé sur des pièces authentiques y jointes & mis en ordre, par les régens & représentans de ladite Nation Juive Portugaise* (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1968); Jacob R. Marcus and Stanley F. Chyet, eds., *Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam*, trans. Simon Cohen, *Publications of the American Jewish Archives*, no. 8 (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1974); Rudolf Asveer Jacob van Lier, *Frontier Society: A Social Analysis of the History of Surinam*, trans. M. J. L. van Yperen, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde-Translation series, 14 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1971); Jaap Meijer, *Pioneers of Pauroma: Contribution to the Earliest History of the Jewish Colonization of America* (Paramaribo: Typ. El Dororado, 1954); Frederik Oudschans Dentz, *Die Kolonisatie van de Portugeesch Joodsche natie in Suriname en de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1929); Sigmund Seeligmann, *David Nassy of Surinam and His "Lettre politico-theologico morale sur les Juifs"*, reprinted from *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 22 (1914); Herbert Ivan Bloom, *A Study of Brazilian Jewish History, 1623-1654, Based Chiefly upon the Findings of the Late Samuel Oppenheim* (Baltimore, 1934), reprinted from *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 33 (1934); EJC, s.v. "Surinam."

44. EJC, s.v. "Surinam," by Robert Cohen.

45. Martin A. Cohen, *Jewish Experience in Latin America*, 1:xxii-xxiv; idem, in EJC, s.v. "Latin America."