Between Empire and Sultanate: Sephardic Jews in ‘‘Portuguese Morocco’’ (1415–1769)

بين الإمبراطورية والسلطنة: اليهود السفارديون في «المغرب البرتغالي» (1415–1769)

Omar Lamghibchi
Professor of History and Heritage
Hassan II University, Casablanca, Morocco
M’barek Tougui
PhD Candidate
Hassan II University, Casablanca, Morocco
Corresponding author: Omar Lamghibchi

Abstract

This article argues that Sephardic Jews in Portuguese Morocco (1415–1769) actively transformed their marginal position into structured influence through what I term “relational capital”—the strategic accumulation of cross-cultural trust, linguistic competence, and commercial connectivity. Scholarly convention has treated the Iberian expulsions and the subsequent Sephardic resettlement in North Africa as discrete fields, obscuring the connective mechanisms and underestimating Jewish agency.

The investigation proceeds along three lines of enquiry. The first addresses the juridical architecture of Jewish autonomy under Portuguese rule—the letters of privilege, the organs of communal self-government, and the brokerage functions of the *língua* as instruments through which Jews negotiated a hybrid legal space between competing sovereignties. The second traces the commercial geography linking these communities to markets both in the Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, demonstrating that trade operated simultaneously as economic subsistence and as political currency—a dual function that rendered Jewish merchants structurally

irreplaceable. The third turns to the cultural sphere, examining how Haketía and the *nusah Sefarad* liturgy functioned as vehicles of identity transmission under conditions of dispersion and as markers of distinction between Megorashim and Toshavim. Cairo Geniza materials, although chronologically anterior to the period under study, are used sparingly and for contextual purposes only—to establish baseline patterns of Mediterranean Jewish commercial and social connectivity against which later developments may be measured. Archival documentation, fiscal registers and inquisitorial dossiers offer empirical ground for analysis.

The Portuguese Moroccan case is not a side episode in the history of either Sephardic or imperial history ; rather, it illuminates larger currents of minority governance, diasporic negotiation, and the material infrastructures for surviving culture on early modern borders that stretched across spaces such as the Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds.

Keywords: Sephardic Jews; Northern Morocco; Portuguese Morocco; Cultural Resilience; Haketía; Conversos; Inquisition; Mediterranean Trade.

الملخص

تحاول هذه المقالة إبراز قدرة اليهود السفارديين، خلال الفترة المعروفة بـ«المغرب البرتغالي» (1415–1769)، على تحويل موقعهم الهامشي إلى نفوذ منظَّم، من خلال ما يُصطلح عليه بـ«الرأسمال العلائقي»، الذي يُقصد به التراكم الاستراتيجي للثقة العابرة للثقافات، والكفاءة اللغوية، وشبكات العلاقات التجارية. وقد درجت الدراسات الأكاديمية على تناول عمليات الطرد من شبه الجزيرة الإيبيرية وما أعقبها من استقرار اليهود السفارديين في شمال إفريقيا بوصفهما مجالين بحثيين منفصلين، مما أسهم في حجب الآليات التي تربط بينهما، والتقليل من شأن قدرة اليهود على الفعل والمبادرة والتأثير في مسار الأحداث التاريخية.

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى معالجة الموضوع من خلال ثلاثة محاور بحثية. يتناول المحور الأول البنية القانونية لاستقلالية اليهود في ظل الحكم البرتغالي، من خلال دراسة رسائل الامتياز، وهيئات الحكم الذاتي الجماعي، والوظائف الوساطية التي اضطلع بها المترجم اليهودي، بوصفها أدوات مكنت اليهود من التفاوض داخل فضاء هجين، تحكمه سلطات سيادية متنافسة. أما المحور الثاني، فيتتبع الجغرافيا التجارية التي ربطت هذه الجماعات بالمراكز التجارية في العالمين المتوسطي والأطلسي، مبينا أن التجارة أدت وظيفتين متكاملتين: تأمين سبل العيش من جهة، وتشكيل ورقة تفاوض سياسية من جهة أخرى. وقد

جعل هذا الدور المزدوج التجار اليهود فاعلا لا غنى عنه ضمن البنية الاقتصادية والسياسية القائمة. ويتناول المحور الثالث المجال الثقافي، من خلال دراسة دور الحاكيتيا (tíaHake) والطقس التعبدي السفاردي (Nusaḥ Sefarad) في نقل الهوية وصونها في ظل ظروف الشتات.

ولا تمثل الحالة المغربية البرتغالية حلقة هامشية في تاريخ السفارديين أو في التاريخ الإمبراطوري، بل تسلط الضوء على ديناميات أوسع تتصل بأنماط إدارة الأقليات، وآليات التفاوض في سياقات الشتات، والبنى التحتية المادية التي أسهمت في استمرار الثقافة والحفاظ عليها في المناطق الحدودية خلال العصر الحديث المبكر، ضمن فضاءات جغرافية امتدت عبر العالمين المتوسطي والأطلسي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: اليهود السفارديون؛ شمال المغرب؛ «المغرب البرتغالي»؛ الصمود الثقافي؛ الحاكيتيا؛ المتحوّلون إلى المسيحية؛ محاكم التفتيش؛ التجارة المتوسطية.

Résumé

Cet article vise à mettre en évidence la capacité d'action des Juifs séfarades dans ce que l'on désigne sous le nom de «Maroc portugais» (1415–1769), en montrant comment ils ont activement transformé leur position marginale en une influence structurée grâce à ce que l'on appelle le «capital relationnel». Celui-ci désigne l'accumulation stratégique de la confiance interculturelle, des compétences linguistiques et des réseaux de relations commerciales. Selon les orientations dominantes de l'historiographie, les expulsions de la péninsule Ibérique et la réinstallation ultérieure des Juifs séfarades en Afrique du Nord ont été étudiées comme deux champs distincts, ce qui a occulté les mécanismes qui les relient et conduit à sous-estimer la capacité d'action historique des populations juives.

Cette étude se propose d'aborder la question selon trois axes de recherche. Le premier porte sur l'architecture juridique de l'autonomie juive sous la domination portugaise, à travers l'étude des lettres de privilège, des institutions d'autogestion communautaire et des fonctions d'intermédiation exercées par l'interprète juif. Ces dispositifs constituaient autant d'instruments permettant aux Juifs de négocier leur place au sein d'un espace juridique hybride, caractérisé par la coexistence de souverainetés concurrentes.

Le deuxième axe retrace la géographie commerciale qui reliait ces communautés aux centres d'échanges des mondes méditerranéen et atlantique. Il montre que le commerce remplissait simultanément deux fonctions : assurer les moyens de subsistance et constituer un levier de négociation politique. Cette double fonction rendait les marchands juifs structurellement indispensables.

Le troisième axe s'intéresse à la sphère culturelle, en examinant le rôle de la haketia (Haketía) et du rite liturgique séfarade (Nusaḥ Sefarad) dans la transmission et la préservation de l'identité dans les conditions propres à la diaspora.
Le cas du Maroc portugais ne constitue pas un épisode marginal de l'histoire séfarade ni de l'histoire impériale. Il met plutôt en lumière des dynamiques plus larges relatives aux modes de gouvernement des minorités, aux négociations propres aux contextes diasporiques et aux infrastructures matérielles ayant permis la continuité culturelle dans les espaces frontaliers de l'époque moderne, notamment dans les mondes méditerranéen et atlantique.
Mots-clés : Juifs séfarades ; nord du Maroc ; « Maroc portugais » ; résilience culturelle ; haketia ; conversos ; Inquisition ; commerce méditerranéen.

Introduction

The Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in 1415 marked a defining moment in the history of the western Mediterranean. The chronicles of the time mention the preparations for the operation which consisted of reconnaissance, diplomatic efforts, and a fleet of about 200 ships with roughly 40,000-50,000 people on board.[569] Yet the military action is far from being the most important part of this event. What the conquest initiated—and what has attracted far too little scholarly attention—is the emergence of a distinctive social and economic universe that persisted for almost four centuries, from the beginning of Portuguese colonization in northern Morocco until the abandonment of Mazagan in 1769. In this universe, Sephardic Jews occupied a position that was both highly vulnerable and absolutely crucial. Communities of Toshavim and Megorashim in turn managed to survive the contradictory forces of Portuguese colonial policies, Moroccan rule, and increasing importance of the Atlantic economic system.[570] Their mobility, commercial expertise, and

[569] E. De., Septenville. 1879. *L'expédition de Ceuta en 1415 : fastes militaires et maritimes du Portugal*. Librairie Générale, pp.45-71.
[570] Maria Filomena Lopes de, Barros, and José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim. 2021. "Mobilities and Communities between North Africa and Portugal: Muslims and Jews in the Medieval and Early Modern Ages." *Ler História* 78: 17–20. José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, Tavim. 1997. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos durante o século XVI. Origens e*

extensive family and business connections with the Iberian world made them structurally irreplaceable—a fact the Portuguese crown explicitly recognized.[571]

Understanding what these communities actually did—and how they sustained themselves across centuries of displacement—requires attention to the socio-political convulsions that generated them. The Edict of Expulsion issued by King Dom Manuel I in 1496, followed by the forced conversions of 1497, created the category of the "New Christian" (*cristão-novo*) —a converted Jew whose sincerity remained permanently suspect and whose crypto-Jewish practices became the obsessive concern of inquisitorial surveillance.[572] The tensions this produced generated a structural contradiction at the heart of the Portuguese imperial project: official discrimination within the metropole coexisting with practical cooperation in colonial contexts abroad. The very same monarch who ordered the expulsion of Jews from Portugal later issued official letters acknowledging their standing in Morocco—effectively allowing Jewish quarters to operate where, in strictly formal terms, they were no longer supposed to exist.

The expulsion of Jews from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496–1497) set the boundaries for the entire story. By some estimates, approximately 400,000 Jews left Spain ; many came to Portugal, where forced conversion created the *converso* phenomenon. Conversos then migrated to North Africa, where they could practice Judaism openly. [573] Northern Morocco, especially Tétouan,

actividades duma comunidade. Braga : Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, pp.179-192.

[571] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.179-192. Tavim. "Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc, p.102. Omar, Lamghibchi. "Les Juifs de Sebta (Ceuta) : Fragments d'histoire d'une communauté frontière (IXe-XXe siècle)". *Hespéris-Tamuda* LXI (1) (2026): pp.108-109.

[572] François, Soyer. 2007. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496–7)*. Leiden : Brill, pp.122-137.

[573] Jane S., Gerber. 1992. *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. New York: Free Press, pp.57-60. Soyer. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims*, pp.115-137. Tavim. "Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc", pp.111–124.

became a primary refuge. Yet this narrative of disruption and reconstitution is as much a myth as it is reality.[574] The Sephardic diaspora has been characterized by what Tavim calls the "diachronic paradigm"—catastrophic disruptions followed by community reconstitution *de novo*.[575] Recent scholarship has worked against this grain, recovering the durability of an "Iberia-conscious" identity: not nostalgia, but a set of functional resources deployed strategically in new environments.[576]

Three dimensions of Sephardic life in Portuguese Morocco structure the present analysis. The first concerns the emergence of Haketía and the preservation of Iberian languages under diasporic pressure.[577] The second concerns the role of Jewish merchants, interpreters, and diplomats as intermediaries in a geopolitical space neither Muslim rulers nor Portuguese colonizers could manage alone.[578] The third concerns the juridical architecture of Jewish autonomy—the *cartas de privilégio*, communal governance, and the distinction between Megorashim and Toshavim.[579]

I- Portuguese Expansion, Expulsion, and the Moroccan Option

In 1415, the Portuguese capture of Ceuta inaugurated Portugal's overseas empire and marked a turning point in the history of the western Mediterranean. Despite the conquest, the Jewish population of Ceuta continued to prosper under Portuguese rule, even as Jews were increasingly persecuted and eventually expelled from Portugal itself. In the decades that followed, the

[574] Barros and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.34–35. Tavim. "Les juifs dans les places portugaises", pp. 111–124.
[575] José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, Tavim. 1993. 2011. "Jews in the Diaspora with Sepharad in the Mirror: Ruptures, Relations, and Forms of Identity. A Theme Examined through Three Cases." *Jewish History* 25(2): pp.175–205.
[576] Tavim. "Jews in the Diaspora", pp.111–124.
[577] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244. Tavim. "Les juifs dans les places portugaises", pp.111–124.
[578] Tavim. "Jews in the Diaspora", pp.111–124.
[579] Tavim. "Jews in the Diaspora", p.177. José Alberto R. Silva, Tavim. "Um retorno ao Massacre de 1506 : Os judeus que moravam em Lisboa na época do massacre." CADMO: *Journal for Ancient History* 2023 (2023): 195. Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–38.

Manueline Edict of 1496 led to a mass exodus of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, thereby helping the establishment of the Jewish populations of various Portuguese settlements in Morocco. In Safi and Azemmour, Jewish quarters emerged as important continuations of Al-Andalus, benefiting from a comparatively tolerant political climate in Portuguese Morocco before the establishment of the Inquisition by João III in 1536. Three interrelated aspects structure this section : the continued importance of Ceuta as a Sephardic Mediterranean hub ; the historical context of Portuguese expansion and the Edict of 1496 ; and the socio-political dynamics behind the "Moroccan Option" and the creation of Jewish quarters.

1. Ceuta as a Sephardic Mediterranean Hub

Throughout the entire course of Portuguese involvement—both before and after the conquest of 1415—Ceuta served as an essential hub connecting North African land with the Iberian Peninsula and beyond.[580] However, the Jews living in Ceuta were much more than a settled population in their section of the city ; they played an important role in the economy of the frontier region. Leveraging their geographic mobility, their deep commercial acumen, and the dense web of trans-Mediterranean relationships they had cultivated over generations—traces of which appear already in the twelfth-century Geniza correspondence—Ceuta's Jews facilitated the flow of commodities, capital, and intelligence between African ports and European markets.[581] In doing so, they ensured not only the circulation of material goods but also the transmission of vital information across the maritime spaces of the Mediterranean world, making their role structurally central to the region's commercial and political dynamics. These functions were not marginal to Portuguese imperial projects but foundational to them; the conquest of Ceuta

[580] Fernand, Braudel.1972. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. London: Fontana, pp.89–93; Abulafia, David. 2011. *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Goitein. A Mediterranean Society, pp.345–48.

[581] Omar, Lamghibchi, 2023.*Yahūd Sabta: Fuṣūl min Tārīkh Murakkab* (in Arabic) (*The Jews of Ceuta: Chapters from a Complex History*), Imp. Bab Al Hikma, Tétouan, pp.194-258.

did not create the Jewish commercial networks that sustained the enclave but incorporated them into a new political framework.

The Geniza letters are striking not only as commercial records but as human documents, offering vivid testimony to the Jewish commercial world that linked Ceuta to Egypt and the wider Mediterranean in the twelfth century.

The letter dated to 1181 from Ephraim ben Isaac, a goldsmith who described himself as hailing originally from Ceuta, even after fifteen years of life in Egypt, illustrates the mobility as well as the precariousness of Sephardic actors within this world. Forced out by Almohad persecution, he was an outsider in his new home, with his very identity defined by a city to which he could no longer go, and whose aid he was able to get only through the willingness of Jewish communities at a great geographic and cultural remove to give him support.[582] The correspondence of Berakhot ben Shmuel offer yet another angle: in his letters, Ceuta is depicted not just as a commercial center, but as a city with a practical tradition of refuge and aid, a place that Jews in financial straits thought they would still be able to find help in.[583]

Taken together, and read alongside Goitein's broader analysis of the Geniza corpus, these letters suggest that Jewish networks centered on Ceuta were neither incidental nor fragile—they were essential pillars of western Mediterranean commerce, linking the city to Egypt and beyond through relationships sustained by shared legal culture, mutual obligation, and long-term trust. Evidence for these networks reaches back well before the Portuguese conquest, underscoring that this transregional solidarity, rather than any territorial belonging, was the true anchor of Sephardic survival and commercial success.

The Portuguese conquest of 1415 reconfigured Ceuta's position without dismantling these networks. The city passed from Maghrebi integration to the status of a Crown borderland enclave, yet its Jewish community maintained a significant presence from the earliest decades of occupation.[584] The roles

[582] Goitein. *A Mediterranean Society*. p.77.
[583] Shelomo Dov, Goitein.1988. *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Vol. V, p.77.
[584] Lamghibchi. "Les Juifs de Sebta (Ceuta)", pp.110-111.

Jews filled within the Portuguese administration were varied and telling: artisans, merchants, physicians, interpreters, diplomats—figures whose value lay precisely in their capacity to operate across boundaries the Portuguese themselves could not easily cross. José Arame, goldsmith to Prince Henry the Navigator, and José the surgeon-interpreter, active in diplomatic negotiations, are among the individuals emblematic of this pattern. The stakes of such intermediation could be considerable. Research on Safi and Azemmour documents the case of Rabbi Abraão, who warned Diogo de Azambuja of a Muslim plot against his life and subsequently served as a letter carrier facilitating the Portuguese seizure of the city—a sequence of actions that placed an individual Jewish actor at the hinge point of a colonial military operation. These were not peripheral figures operating at the margins of Portuguese power; they were, in specific and documentable instances, essential to its exercise.[585]

2. The Historical Context of Portuguese Expansion and the Manueline Edict of 1496

The capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 1415 should be analyzed in light of the broader framework of the fifteenth-century expansion of Portugal. In the fifteenth century, under the reign of King John I and his sons, including Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese had developed a policy of maritime exploration and conquest that would ultimately result in building an overseas empire. Since Ceuta is situated opposite the Strait of Gibraltar on the coast of North Africa, this city had become the object of attention because of its wealth, its function as a refuge for Muslim pirates, and its symbolism, reflecting the crusading spirit of the Portuguese monarchy. [586]

The question of whether Portuguese Jews aided the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 finds partial and contested support in the historical record, notably in the work of Abraham Zacuto, who mentions Jewish contributions to the Portuguese preparations for the assault,[587] though the claim does not appear in the more detailed chronicle of Zurara, whose account contains no clear

[585] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," pp.83-84.
[586] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.179-192. Tavim. "Les juifs dans les places portugaises", pp.111–124.
[587] Tavim. "Jews in the Diaspora", p.25.

evidence of Jewish assistance in the city's fall.[588] Nevertheless, documents from the period do attest to specific Jews working, whether directly or indirectly, to supply the Portuguese with material and financial resources, including the testimony of the Conde de Pedro recorded in Zurara's work and the participation of (el) Mestre José Arame, a goldsmith to Infante D. Henrique, who served in the Ceuta campaign and later in the failed Tangier expedition of 1437.[589]

Financial transactions are also documented, as in the case of the Jew Isaac Amado, from whom Infante D. Henrique requested a loan in 1454—though this postdates the Ceuta conquest and may relate to the occupation of another Moroccan city.[590] In contrast to these uncertain contributions, extensive documentation records the solidarity between Ceuta's Jews and their coreligionists in Spanish cities, as evidenced by the ''Herreros de Ceuta'' who supported communities in the Spanish kingdoms, as well as similar acts of advocacy on behalf of the Faro community in 1444, although this solidarity collapsed by mid-century.

While the majority of Ceuta's Jewish population departed upon the Portuguese entry, a not insignificant number remained, occupying privileged economic, political, and social positions and continuing their relationships with Portuguese authorities. Zurara himself, in describing the liberation of Mount Hacho in 1418, mentions Jews present in the city engaged in looting, and in a separate passage notes that the Jews "did not remain without part of that glory". Cravioto documents Jewish presence in Ceuta after the conquest as merchants, soldiers, interpreters, pharmacists, and exiles, and names such as el Mestre Joseph, physician to the Conde D. Pedro de Meneses (exempted from examination in 1443), Joseph (surgeon and interpreter to Infante D. Fernando), and Moses Gariete (permitted a six-month stay in 1439) appear in administrative records. In the second half of the fifteenth century, further

[588]Gomes Eanes de. Zurara 1997. *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses*. Edited and with a study by Maria Teresa Brocardo. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica,

[589]Tavim. "Jews in the Diaspora", p.31.

[590] Ibid, p.33.

Jewish residents appear: Moses Marcus (1455), Isaac Cando (1465), Judas Guedelha, Guedelha Franco, Joseph Capay (1457, banished for homicide), and Moses Gardilha (1464, accused of consorting with Christian women). The Jewish family known as Los Alfaquim held a monopoly over trade in the plaza until the expulsion of 1496, with documentation attesting to dozens of commercial transactions passing through Ceuta en route to Ksar es-Seghir in 1464.

With the fall of Granada and the ascension of King Manuel I in 1495, the King ordered the conversion of the Jewish subjects to Christianity and issued an edict ordering their expulsion from Portugal in 1496; this resulted in a large-scale migration to the cities of Morocco. According to Garçon who refers to Joseph ben Sadiq de Arévalo, four hundred ransomed Jewish captives from Málaga (1487) found refuge in Asilah, and by 1540, Marmol Carvajal counted eleven thousand Jews in the Fez mellah. The number of Jews entering Portugal in 1492 was significant, with further waves flowing from Navarre to Fez in 1498. Multiple Jewish testimonies of this migration survive, including those of Abraham Torrusiel, Salmon ben Farqa, Rabbi Elijah Capsali, Rabbi Judah Hayyat, and Joseph Ha-Kohen. The period also saw the arrival in Morocco of distinguished rabbis who contributed to Hebrew culture—including Saadia ben Danan, Moses Ibnṣūr, Joseph al-Diba, and others—while Tétouan received Hayyim Bibas (founder of its first kehillah), Jacob Gabison, and later the Nahon family. The Fez community, despite earlier disasters including famine, the fire of 1493, and plague, soon prospered with new synagogues and communal autonomy in exchange for the jizya, as reported by Rabbi Avner Sarfati. Most expelled Jews settled in Old Fez before relocation to New Fez, as well as in Taza, Bades, Nafza (with approximately two hundred Jewish households), Azemmour (four hundred families), Debdou, Marrakesh (over three thousand households), and the Souss and High Atlas regions, though Tétouan, given its proximity to Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar, and Ceuta, emerged as the single most important destination.

The inclusion in the kingdom of a territory "Outremer in Africa" was used to good effect by D. Manuel I, "known for his imperial ambitions, in order to divert toward Africa a reality that the preponderant religious ideology in the Iberian Peninsula and its matrimonial strategy made inadmissible."

In December 1496, King Manuel I ordered the expulsion of all Jews living in Portugal—both autochthonous Jews and those who had been welcomed after the Spanish expulsion of March 1492. The immediate catalyst for this decree was a Spanish requirement imposed as a condition for Manuel's marriage to Princess Isabel of Spain. Yet the decision also drew on deeper domestic pressures: the animosity of the Portuguese nobility and, in particular, Christian merchants who regarded Jews as commercial rivals. Jews and Moors were to leave the kingdom before October 1497. However, the king's intention was not genuinely to expel them; he preferred that they convert and remain in the kingdom as Christians.

A letter written at Coruche on 15 December 1496 obliged Christians who had acquired properties from Jews who had become Christians to return them for the same acquisition price. On 31 December, Manuel limited departures to boats commanded by trusted men who could not leave without a royal license. At Easter 1497, minor children, then adolescents and youths under 25, were torn from their parents and immediately baptized to be educated in a Christian manner.[591] Between June and September, some Jews departed to various places, but those who did not sell their goods or who did not obtain a royal license to leave the country were baptized in the capital and throughout the kingdom. The social, economic, and demographic pressure within the Jewish quarters was enormous, and this pressure—exacerbated by the crown's deliberate obstruction of departure—precipitated the king's decision, influenced by his counselors, to pursue mass conversion as the de facto resolution to the expulsion edict.

The forced conversion of Portuguese Jews created a new category of people: individuals who were legally Christian but culturally and religiously Jewish. These *conversos* were subject to suspicion and persecution from the very outset. The Inquisition, established in Portugal in 1536 through the papal bull *Cum ad nihil magis* (issued 23 May 1536), was created specifically to investigate their activities.[592]

[591] Soyer. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims*, pp.122-137.
[592] See: Francisco, Bethencourt. 2009. *The Inquisition: A Global History 1478–1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. José Pedro, Paiva. 2019. *The Inquisition in Portugal: History and Memory*. London: Routledge. Alexandre,

What is crucial for our study is the double life that these pseudo-Christians were forced to lead: "Christian on the outside, Jew on the inside"—a defining characteristic of the converso experience that directly fueled emigration to Morocco. The impossibility of practicing Judaism openly in Portugal, combined with the constant threat of inquisitorial surveillance, made the Moroccan enclaves attractive destinations for those who wished to return to their ancestral faith. Yet paradoxically, it was precisely these enclaves, under Portuguese military control, that offered the possibility of a legally recognized Jewish existence, complete with synagogues, communal institutions, and royal protection.[593]

3. The "Moroccan Option": Socio-political Context and the Resurrection of Jewish Quarters

In order to comprehend the Manueline edict of 1496, it is imperative that we take a step back and look at the situation from a wider socio-political perspective. Prior to 1496, the Jews held a very ambiguous place in Portuguese society. They enjoyed royal protection but remained vulnerable to mob violence.[594] Recognition of Jewish identity functioned as a royal prerogative, with each sovereign treating the Jews of the kingdom as personal assets—"his Jews." Such paternalistic relationship was fundamentally ambivalent: the king protected "his" Jews but also exploited them, and this dynamic persisted even after the expulsion.[595]

This anxiety manifested in several ways. First, there was the discourse of "purity of blood" (*limpeza de sangue*), which argued that Jewish ancestry, even generations removed, permanently tainted an individual and their descendants.[596] A central tenet of Portuguese purity-of-blood statutes was the

Herculano. 2014. *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

[593] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.

[594] Luís, Afonso. 2005. "The Cultural Construction of the Jews in Late Medieval Portugal: Contributions to a Reevaluation." *Sefarad* 65(1): 7–42. Soyer. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims*, pp.122-137.

[595] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.79.

[596] João, Figueiró-Rêgo. 2011. *"A Honra alheia por um fio". Os estatutos de limpeza de sangue nos espaços de expressão ibérica (séculos XVI–XVIII)*.

belief that Jewishness was an indelible heresy—a permanent condition that conversion could not truly erase. When the Inquisition was formally instituted through the papal bull *Cum ad nihil magis*, it operationalized this belief, creating a vast apparatus to identify and punish New Christians suspected of secretly adhering to Judaism.[597] Its implementation effectively ended the survival of organized Jewish life within the extended territory of ancient Sepharad.[598] Second, there were instances of popular violence, notably the Lisbon Massacre of 1506, during which mobs killed thousands of people believed to be New Christians.[599] While the monarch condemned this action and punished those behind it harshly by taking away their privileges in the capital,[600] it oddly placed the New Christians in a position of favor. In its aftermath, King Manuel promised not to interrogate the new converts on their religious behavior for twenty years, and later extended this protection for an additional sixteen years, until 1533.[601]

Yet alongside this persecution, there was also recognition of Jewish economic and cultural capital. Jews and New Christians were disproportionately represented in finance, trade, medicine, and royal administration.[602] Extensive networks of Jewish courtiers operated at the highest levels of the crown's fiscal machinery. The wealthiest among them served as tenants of the crown, holding tax farms on real estate, wine rights,

Lisbon : Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian – FCT. Albert A., Sicroff. 1960. *Les Controverses des status de "pureté de sang" en Espagne du XVe au XVII siècle*. Paris : Didier.

[597] See : Bethencourt. *The Inquisition*.op.cit. Paiva. *The Inquisition in Portugal*.op.cit

[598] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p. 83. Tavim, "Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc," p.101.

[599] Yosef Hayim, Yerushalmi. 1976. *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah*. Cincinnati : Hebrew Union College Annual Supplements, no. 1.

[600] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.83.

[601] Ibidem.

[602] Maria José Pimenta Ferro, Tavares. 1982. *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XV*. Vol. 1. Lisboa : FCSH-UNL. Maria José Pimenta Ferro, Tavares. 1987. *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos*. Lisboa : Presença.

tolls, and customs. Later, they became involved in the slave trade of Moors and Guineans. They used the title of "Dom," could travel on mules and use weapons, and were exempt from the distinctive Jewish badge—in short, they enjoyed privileges comparable to those of the Christian nobility. Such tension—between the perceived threat of Jewishness and the acknowledged utility of Jewish skills—created the contradictory environment in which Portuguese policy toward Jews in Morocco was formulated. The same monarchy that expelled and forcibly converted Jews at home authorized and protected Jewish communities in its African enclaves.[603] This was not a contradiction but a deliberate strategy rooted in a cold-eyed assessment of colonial need. Within the metropolis, Jewish presence was politically untenable, being inconsistent with the confessional image of a kingdom that saw itself as united in its Christian character. In the Moroccan border region, the very presence of Jews was simply vital: the commercial skills, language proficiencies, and cross-cultural mediation capabilities that Jewish communities provided could find no adequate substitute elsewhere.[604]

According to the chronicler Andrés Bernáldez, the Jews who departed through Puerto de Santa María and Cádiz were the first to reach Arzila (Asilah), conquered by the Portuguese since 1471.[605] Several Jews who arrived in Portugal with the prior aim of reaching North Africa also disembarked at Arzila. However, Governor D. Vasco Coutinho obliged many of the Jews who arrived at Arzila to become Christians through mass baptism, as documented by the chronicler Bernardo Rodrigues.[606] At Ceuta and Tanger, conquered respectively in 1415 and 1471, the Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century had no guarantee of

[603]Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.
[604]Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.85 ; Tavim, "Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc," pp.95-96.
[605] Soyer. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims*, pp.115-120.
[606] Bernardo, Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila*, Lisbonne, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, vol. I, 1915, p.445. Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour", p.82.

preserving their identity, subject to the same context that led D. Manuel to their expulsion from Asilah."[607]

Mazagão tells a similar story of marginality. Occupied between 1513 and 1514, the city never developed a Jewish quarter of any consequence. Its Jewish population remained thin and peripheral, hemmed in by the commercial dominance of nearby Azemmour and effectively dissolved when the town was abandoned in 1541. Safi and Azemmour represent an altogether different case. It is to these cities, and to the opening decades of the sixteenth century, that one must look to find a genuine resurrection of organized Jewish communal life under Portuguese rule—something that bore, in the colonial geography of the Maghreb, a recognizable resemblance to the Andalusian world expulsion had destroyed. The conquests of Safi in 1508 and Azemmour in 1513 took place during a phase of Dom Manuel's reign that was comparatively accommodating toward converted populations and, by extension, toward openly Jewish life beyond the metropolitan territory.[608] The Inquisition was not founded in Portugal until 1536; until then, the existence of a climate in which religion was less controlled by the threat of organized oppression permitted the establishment of something that later became impossible. Letters of authorization for Jewish districts, *judiarias*, with synagogues and community organizations, were granted in Safi in 1512 and in Azemmour in 1514.[609] They were not extensions of the *judiarias* of medieval Portugal that had been destroyed by the Edict of 1496; they represented an entirely new phenomenon, established under new circumstances in Africa.

The paradox is difficult to overstate. At the very moment when Jewish identity was being systematically eradicated within Portugal—through forced conversion, inquisitorial surveillance, and periodic popular violence—the Crown was actively authorizing new Jewish communities in its Moroccan enclaves. The recognition of Jewish quarters in Safi and Azemmour was, at its core, a pragmatic decision based on the understanding that these

[607] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p. 82.
[608] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.
[609] Ibidem.

communities performed a crucial role as civilizational mediators between Portuguese colonial power and the Moroccan world it sought to dominate.[610]

II- Jewish Life in Portuguese Morocco

The establishment of Portuguese enclaves in Morocco created a social environment unlike anything that had existed in the medieval Iberian Jewish world. Royal authority, colonial necessity, and the unpredictable dynamics of frontier society converged in ways that simultaneously constrained and enabled Jewish communal life, producing institutional arrangements that borrowed from familiar legal frameworks while operating under conditions those frameworks had never been designed to address. Four dimensions of this experience warrant close attention: the legal foundations of Jewish existence through letters of privilege; the paradoxical position of Jewish communities between indispensability and precariousness; their active participation in the conquest and defense of Portuguese enclaves; and the internal workings of communal governance—the rivalries of courtier families, the tension between Megorashim and Toshavim, and the emergence of the *língua*, or interpreter, as a position of strategic importance within the colonial order.[611]

Portuguese policy toward Jews in Morocco was, at its foundation, instrumental. Protection and tolerance were extended insofar as commercial expertise, linguistic capacity, and diplomatic reach served imperial interests; they were withdrawn, qualified, or simply ignored when those interests shifted. What made the Moroccan enclave distinctive, however, was not merely this instrumentalism—which characterized Portuguese attitudes toward Jewish utility in other contexts as well—but the specific social ecology in which it operated. The medieval institution of the *judiaria* was, in effect, reconstituted, although it operated in an environment of constant and intense interaction with the Moroccan societies and political powers, creating a distinctive form of Jewish communal life that was neither an extension of its previous Iberian model nor a direct adjustment to the local North African model. In other words,

[610] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.
[611] Ibidem.

the frontier was more than a geographical fact; it was a social reality that impacted all aspects of Jewish existence in those communities. [612]

1. The Letters of Privilege: Legal Foundations of Jewish Existence

The legal architecture that governed Jewish life in the Portuguese Moroccan enclaves was neither improvised nor incidental. It was constructed through a series of royal instruments whose provisions reveal, with unusual precision, both the terms on which the Crown was willing to tolerate Jewish presence and the extent to which that presence was understood as a colonial asset requiring deliberate cultivation. For Safi, three letters of privilege survive: one dated 4 May 1509 and two from 1512. The first established the foundational terms of Jewish residence. D. Manuel committed himself and his successors never to expel Jewish inhabitants against their will, never to compel baptism, and to guarantee that those who chose to leave could do so freely and with their property intact. The fiscal arrangements were carefully calibrated: a single annual payment of one ounce of 320 *réis* per household, with widows explicitly exempted, and with authority delegated to Jewish communal distributors to apportion individual contributions internally, provided the aggregate sum was met. Jewish merchants paid the same entry and exit duties on goods as other Safi residents—neither more nor less, a parity that signaled a degree of civic incorporation unusual in the metropolitan context.

The two letters of 1512 were more complex in their origins. The fiscal status they established had been negotiated in Lisbon the previous year by Mail Benzamerro, whose mission brought him into direct conflict with the authority of Grand Rabbi Abraão—a rivalry that surfaces in the documentary record as evidence of the internal competition that shaped communal politics as much as external pressure did.[613] The second letter of that year authorized the departure of all Jews then living in Safi, with their families and possessions, at any time of their choosing, while simultaneously expressing the Crown's desire to attract new Jewish settlers to the city. The apparent contradiction dissolves on inspection: the guarantee of free departure was itself an incentive

[612] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.79.
[613] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour", p.84 ; Tavim, "Les juifs dans les places," pp.91-92.

for settlement, a signal that residence in Safi would not become the trap that residence in Portugal had proven to be.[614]

The community of Azemmour, led by the Adibe family, had a single letter of privilege dated 28 June 1514, expressing advantages and impositions of tributes similar to the Safi letter of 2 January 1512. However, it exempted community members from paying tithes on goods they wished to bring in or out of the city by land, allowing them to sell without paying taxes—a clear incentive for commercial exchanges with Moroccan populations. The Azemmour charter reveals itself, in its singularity, as a more perfect document than those of Safi, as if it were, following them, a synthesis of their provisions.[615]

Taken together, D. Manuel issued four letters of privilege for Jews in the major Portuguese-controlled cities of Morocco at the precise historical moment when Jewish identity was being legally extinguished within Portugal itself—its persons, institutions, and cultural forms systematically eliminated by metropolitan decree. The simultaneity is not coincidental. These documents represent a deliberate royal strategy: the creation, on African soil, of a space in which Jews could live openly as Jews, because the survival of the Moroccan enclaves depended on capacities that only Jewish communities could reliably supply. Royal power recognized, with unusual explicitness, that Jews were essential to the functioning—the very "respiration," as one document put it—of Portuguese positions in Muslim territory. [616]

2. Between Utility and Marginalization

Official recognition frequently coexisted with legal insecurity. While certain Jewish merchants and professionals enjoyed royal privileges and commercial exemptions, many others were exiles or convicts sent to the Portuguese enclaves. Economic usefulness did not eliminate social vulnerability.[617] This paradox—integration and exclusion simultaneously—characterized

[614] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244. Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.85.
[615] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.85; Tavim, "Les juifs dans les places," p.93.
[616] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.
[617] Lamghibchi. "Les Juifs de Sebta (Ceuta)", pp.112-113.

Sephardic life under Portuguese rule. The very same crown which issued letters of privilege to Jewish settlers in Safi and Azemmour also enacted laws that discriminated against Jews and at times ordered their expulsion. This duality is an indication of the highly instrumental approach taken by Portugal toward Jews. They were tolerated as long as they were useful to Portugal's imperial ambitions. Even Jews who were permitted to travel to Portugal for business or diplomatic reasons were subjected to the use of an identification sign, particularly to prevent any contact with the New Christians.[618]

3. Jewish Collaboration in the Conquest and Defense of Portuguese Enclaves

The letters of privilege established the legal terms of Jewish existence in the Portuguese enclaves, but it was through military and intelligence service that Jewish communities secured their position in practice. The evidence is specific and, in several cases, remarkable. At Safi, Rabbi Abraão's role in the Portuguese seizure of the city went well beyond that of a bystander or beneficiary. Serving as interpreter for Diogo de Azambuja—captain of Mogador and subsequently the first captain of Safi—he warned him of a Muslim plot against his life and functioned as a letter carrier in the operations through which Azambuja and Garcia de Melo consolidated control of the city. His own memoir records that Azambuja subsequently required Jews to bear arms, a demand that departed sharply from the conventions governing Jewish military obligation in medieval Iberian practice. The Crown's recognition of these services was formal and personal: Isaac Benzamerro received a royal letter dated 3 May 1509 granting him the right to travel to Portugal with two servants, explicitly in acknowledgment of services rendered during the conquest. [619]

At Azemmour, the pattern repeats with different actors. Jacob Adibe—described by the chronicler Damião de Góis as "a Jew of Portuguese nation"—alerted the Portuguese in 1513 that the city's inhabitants had abandoned it, intelligence that proved decisive in the timing and conduct of the Portuguese

[618] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.87.
[619] Tavim, "Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc," pp.90-91. Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.

advance. The designation itself is telling: Adibe's identity was framed not in religious but in national terms, marking him as a member of a diaspora whose loyalties and affiliations the Portuguese felt they could count on.

The most striking episode, however, concerns the tribal siege of Safi in 1510. When surrounding tribes encircled the city, Isaac and Ismaël Benzamerro of Azemmour equipped two frigates, each carrying 200 armed Jews, and sailed to the relief of the Portuguese garrison.[620] Captain Nuno Fernandes de Ataíde formally integrated this force into the city's defense, placing the Jews—under the Benzamerros brothers' command and the nominal authority of the noble Dom Rodrigo de Noronha—responsible for a section of the fortifications comprising twelve towers and 204 fathoms of wall.[621] The scale of the operation makes it difficult to read as anything other than a deliberate military commitment. The Benzamerros were not pressed into service; they organized and financed it.

Several factors may explain this level of engagement. The most plausible explanation is economic as much as political. The profitable commercial networks that Sephardic merchants had built across the western Mediterranean before expulsion could only be reconstructed if the Portuguese enclaves survived and remained open to Jewish commercial activity. Investing in their defense was, in this sense, investing in the conditions of one's own recovery—a calculation visible in the large number of Jewish merchants who subsequently moved between the Moroccan trading posts and the Portuguese metropolis, sustaining the exchange of goods across a circuit that extended from Morocco through Portugal into broader European and sub-Saharan African markets.

The military dimension of Jewish life in Portuguese Morocco also invites reflection on what it represented institutionally. Medieval Iberian Jewish communities had maintained obligations of military service calibrated by income, but the frontier conditions of North Africa appear to have produced something more demanding and more combative—a form of collective self-

620 Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.83.

621 Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244. Tavim, " Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.88 ; Tavim, " Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc," pp.94-95

defense that went beyond anything the Iberian precedents quite anticipated, shaped by the immediate reality of living in territory where armed conflict was not an exceptional event but a structural feature of daily existence."[622]

4. The Rivalry of Courtier Families, Communal Governance, and the Role of the Língua

The Safi affair—a name that barely registers in the grand narratives of Portuguese expansion—opens onto something far more intricate than a simple administrative tangle. Here we have a king who grants a title already occupied, a captain who confirms a rival, and a family that loses the battle only to win a war two decades later. The apparent inconsistency of Manuel I's decision reveals the underlying dynamics of imperial governance. This episode reveals that communal governance in the Portuguese enclaves was not a matter of internal Jewish autonomy but of royal appointment shaped by local power dynamics—a structure that rendered Jewish leadership contingent on the crown's shifting calculations.

The Rute and Benzamerro clans were not merely jockeying for prestige. Their rivalry staged a deeper tension: between those who had weathered the pre-Portuguese order and those who arrived in the conquerors' wake. Rabbi Abraão Rute embodied continuity; Isaac Benzamerro, collaboration. But these categories blurred in practice. The crown's willingness to confirm Abraão in 1510, after initially favoring Isaac, suggests not royal incompetence but a calibrated response to local realities.[623] Diogo de Azambuja, the captain who had confirmed Rute, understood something that Manuel, seated in Lisbon, could not: legitimacy in Safi required more than a royal signature. The king's retreat—his withdrawal of the grace from Isaac—was not capitulation but recognition that sovereignty operated through intermediaries, and those intermediaries could not be overruled without cost.

What makes this episode exemplary, however, is not its resolution but its aftermath. The Benzamerros did not disappear. They waited. By 1537, the Rute had been eclipsed—Abraão dead, his children sidelined—and D. João

[622] Tavim, " Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.88.
[623] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244. Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," pp. 89-90

III elevated Abraão Benzamerro to the very position his relative had been denied. The letter of privilege from 24 May 1537 is a document of restoration, but also of triumph. The Benzamerros benefited from a political environment that had become increasingly favorable to their interests. This was not merely an issue of the passage of time; it represented a change in the politics of the Portuguese ruling system where the monarchy placed its favor on those families who were loyal to the king and had no conflicting political loyalties.[624]

This was not communal governance in any recognizable sense. No election, no consultation of elders, no semblance of internal Jewish autonomy. The grand rabbi of Safi was, in effect, a royal appointee, and the community's internal divisions were adjudicated—and exploited—by Lisbon. The Benzamerro's victory was not a triumph of merit or popularity but of courtly maneuvering, of proximity to power, of patience exercised across generations. They had learned what the Rute had not: that in the enclave, the state's dependence on Jewish courtiers was a two-way street. The crown needed them as interpreters, as brokers, as conduits to a population it could not directly administer. And that dependence could be leveraged.

This was a relationship of mutual dependence between courtiers and the state apparatus, but the mutuality was asymmetric. The crown could grant and withdraw; the families could only petition and wait. The Benzamerros understood that waiting, when paired with persistence and a cultivated proximity to power, was its own form of agency. The Rutes, anchored in their pre-conquest legitimacy, misread the terrain. They assumed that continuity would protect them. It did not.

The Safi case should not automatically be generalized from a single North African outpost to the broader Portuguese imperial project. Yet the Safi case reverberates. Across the Estado da Índia, across the Atlantic, similar dynamics unfolded: local elites, indigenous or immigrant, navigating between their communities and a distant crown, their fortunes rising and falling with the whims of viceroys and the shifting priorities of metropolitan policy. The particularity of Safi—its smallness, its marginality, its status as an enclave rather than a kingdom—may actually render it more revealing. The details of

[624] Tavim, " Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.90.

the workings of power can be seen in the margins. The grandeur of the empire takes place elsewhere, while the governance takes place here among small arguments about titles and the subtle exclusion of rivals.

The Benzamerros emerge from this history not as heroes or villains, but as practitioners of a precarious art. In the end, they won—but they won something conditional on a crown that could change at any time. The letter of 1537 brought no permanence ; it was another step in a process that went on as long as the enclave existed. And when Safi fell, as it eventually did, the Benzamerros would have to start over, somewhere else, navigating some other captain, some other king. That was the condition of their survival: perpetual motion, perpetual negotiation, perpetual dependence disguised as favor. This outcome illustrates the precarious nature of Jewish communal autonomy under Portuguese rule. The Rutes lost because they mistook continuity for security. The Benzamerro won because they understood that security is always provisional. This lesson—uncomfortable, unheroic—may be the most enduring legacy of Safi.

Azemmour experienced an even more impressive concentration of functions. The position of grand rabbi became hereditary in the Adibe family, exercised successively by José Adibe (1514–1520 or 1522), his son Yahya Adibe (1522–1534), and after his death by his brother Jacob Adibe (1534–1541). The existence of a dynasty of Jewish courtiers hereditarily occupying the position of grand rabbi seems to have been a novelty in the Portuguese framework, demonstrating the degree of dependence of the Portuguese State on families that, from the very beginning of the conquest, had provided solid proofs of fidelity.[625] This was patronage of an unconventional kind; it was concession—an acknowledgment that the crown could not govern without them. The Adibes had proven their fidelity from the conquest's earliest days, and fidelity, in the unstable ecology of the Moroccan enclaves, was a currency more precious than gold. The Adibes were not alone. Abraão Benzamerro extended his reach far beyond Safi. These microcosms of personal dependence reveal themselves even in the attribution of posts beyond the city

[625]Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de safi et azemmour," p. 91

of Safi, drawing an entire network of influence. Jacob Daroque, Judas Budarão, David Cint—these names appear as his representatives, his surrogates, scattered across the enclaves. What emerges is a portrait of power exercised not through territory but through persons. Benzamerro did not govern Safi; he governed through Safi, and through Azemmour, and through Mazagão, binding these disparate outposts into a web of personal obligation that rivaled the crown's own administrative structures.

As we have already emphasized, the Jewish community asserted itself before royal authorities by distinguishing itself from those they called *judeus mouriscos* or *Toshavim*—that is, autochthonous Jews.[626] At Safi, these Jews lived together, segregated from others, and conducted business among themselves. A document from 1518—the *carta de venda de habitações na cidade de Safim*—records that Meyman Belleanes and his wife Ariqua, described as "*judeus mouriscos*," sold houses to other "*judeus mouriscos*," demonstrating their segregation and separate commercial activities. The language of the document carries a charge that should not be ignored. It was a term of distinction, perhaps of denigration, marking these autochthonous Jews as different from the Iberian newcomers.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, the superimposition of the Iberian Megorashim group became clear, whether due to the general acceptance of the work of Joseph Caro in Morocco or by the acceptance of the "Book of Taqqanot of the Exiles of Castile."[627] The Iberian Megorashim imposed their liturgy, their legal interpretations, their vision of Jewish life. The *judeus mouriscos* continued their life apart from coexistence with the closed groups of Megorashim. The division was not fluid; it was hardened, reinforced by commercial practice, residential patterns, and marital strategies.[628] Thus, once again, the formation of these communities in the Portuguese enclaves reinforced a new Jewish social fabric in Morocco, where we witness the imposition, with few exceptions, of the Sephardic model,

[626] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," pp.91-92
[627] Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.
[628] Tavim, "Les quartiers juifs de Safi et Azemmour," p.92; David, Corcos. 1976. *Studies in the History of the Jews of Morocco*. Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, p.168; Zafrani, *Les juifs du Maroc*, pp. 61-64.

and therefore the division between them and the Toshavim. This distinction between Megorashim and Toshavim had profound implications for Jewish social organization in Morocco.

Megorashim were the descendants of Jews that had been expelled from Spain and Portugal and felt that they were culturally and religiously superior to the Toshavim Jews who lived in those lands, referring to them as foreigners. The Megorashim had distinct synagogues, their own liturgical practices, and married among themselves. This separation, which began in the Iberian Peninsula, was carried to Morocco and remained there for centuries. [629] The same separation occurred in Fez, where the important people of the Safi Jewish community and their descendants were the leaders of the Fez Jewish community. The Rute family occupied successively the function of *Naguib* or community leader in Fez, while the Benzamerro family occupied an important post in Fez, such as Rabbi Isaac and the *Naguib* David, at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The division was not merely social; it was structural, shaping the very fabric of communal governance.[630]

One of the most crucial positions in these frontier worlds was that of *língua* (interpreter). The post was put up for competition by posting notices, but the candidates who generally seized this position were Jews, because they knew or understood another "Hispanic language" as well as Arabic, which they used in their business affairs. It was also a position of prestige, as its holder had to merit great trust from the royal power. It is not a coincidence that its exercise was attributed to the most important members of the commune, or to their servants. Rabbi Abraão Rute was the interpreter at Safi for Captain Diogo de Azambuja. In 1523, his son Jacob Rute was named *língua* of Arabic for this city, as an expert in this language and "scribe of Moorish writing." Only after his departure to Fez in 1536 was the post transferred to José Levi.

The only official *língua* at Azemmour was Yahya Adibe, confirmed in the 1520s and 1524, who would later combine the post with that of grand rabbi.

[629] Corcos. *Studies in the History of the Jews of Morocco*. Op.cit. Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.
[630] Zafrani, *Les juifs du Maroc*, pp.132-142.

The dual appointment was not coincidental. The *língua* was the crown's man; the grand rabbi was the community's. That the same individual could hold both suggests that the distinction, in practice, had collapsed. The great potentate Abraão Benzamerro was named *língua* of Mazagão in 1527, then of Safi and Azemmour when these posts became available. The *língua* was more than a translator; he was a cultural broker, capable of navigating the linguistic, social, and political differences between Portuguese and Moroccan worlds. He was the crown's ear and voice in dealings with Moroccan authorities, merchants, and tribes. His position required not only linguistic competence but also deep knowledge of Moroccan customs, politics, and networks. When Portuguese captains negotiated with Moroccan tribes, they did so through his voice. When merchants haggled over prices, he set the terms. When disputes arose between Jews and Muslims, Christians and Jews, he mediated. His was a position of immense, if informal, power.[631]

III- The Marrano Diaspora and Cultural Resilience

Very few events in Sephardi history equal the complexity of the dispersal of the Portuguese conversos and the rediscovery of their Jewish identities in Morocco. This chapter explores the numerous facets of that movement by examining the means through which they maintained an identity despite being uprooted and transplanted to a new environment.

1. Resilience Through Diaspora Networks

The Portuguese crown's treatment of Jewish communities in its Moroccan enclaves reveals a deeply paradoxical logic that historians have struggled to reconcile. In the metropole, Manuel I had dismantled Jewish institutional life with brutal finality—the forced conversions of 1497, the dissolution of synagogues, the prohibition of Hebrew printing, the systematic erasure of public Jewish presence. Yet in Safi and Azemmour, the same monarch issued charters that not only permitted Jewish communal existence but actively subsidized it. The contradiction is more apparent than real. The enclaves were

[631] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20. Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.195-244.

not extensions of the Portuguese kingdom; they were exceptions to it, spaces where the crown's ideological commitments yielded to pragmatic necessities.

The fiscal arrangements codified in these charters tell a story of calculation rather than benevolence. The collective tax of one ounce per household, with widows exempted, mirrored the capitation taxes imposed on Jews in medieval Castile—a familiar structure that the crown adapted to its North African possessions. More revealing is the crown's willingness to permit the community's own tax distributors to allocate payments among members. This was not generosity; it was administrative convenience. The crown had neither the personnel nor the local knowledge to assess the financial standing of individual Jewish households in Safi. Delegating that function to communal leaders shifted administrative costs onto the community itself. The invitation to other Jews to settle in the city, and the assurance that they could leave freely with their goods, served a similar purpose: population growth meant a broader tax base. The crown was not rebuilding Jewish life; it was building revenue streams.

Language operated in parallel as an instrument of distinction and exclusion. The survival of the Iberian languages among the Sephardim in the diaspora cannot be explained simply by the feeling of nostalgia. Portuguese served as an important identity signifier, which allowed the Sephardim of Iberian descent to separate themselves from other Jewish groups—both the Ashkenazi Jews who spoke Yiddish and the native Jews from the new countries who spoke Arabic, Italian, or German. In Morocco, where the Megorashim coexisted with the Toshavim, the maintenance of Castilian and Portuguese—in the form of Haketía—enabled the preservation of a social and cultural distinction actively maintained through separate institutions, endogamous marriage patterns, and distinctive material practices.[632]

[632] José, Benoliel. 1912–1926. *Dialecto Judeo-Hispano-Marroquí o Hakitía*. Madrid: Boletín de la Real Academia Española. David, Bunis. 2015. "Jewish and Arab Medieval Ibero-Romance: Toward a Comparative Study." In *In the Iberian Peninsula and Beyond. A History of Jews and Muslims (15th–17th Centuries)*, edited by J. A. Tavim, M. F. Barros, and L. L. Mucznik, vol. 2, 64–148. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 64–148. Matthew,

The Adibe family's trajectory illustrates the peculiar mobility that these enclaves enabled. Their roots in Portugal were undeniable, but their identity had been fractured by the 1497 conversions. Moses Adibe, likely one of the children taken from Jewish parents and raised Christian in Tavira, rejoined his family in Azemmour only decades later. Jacob Adibe, described as "a Jew of Portuguese nation," served as an informant, alerting the Portuguese in 1513 that Azemmour's inhabitants had abandoned the town—a piece of intelligence that facilitated the Portuguese occupation. These were not refugees seeking shelter, but collaborators pursuing advantage. The enclaves offered them a space to renegotiate their identities—reclaiming a Jewishness the metropole had denied them—while remaining embedded in the Portuguese administrative and commercial order.

The surnames preserved in documentary sources—Cordilha, Boqueira, and Carrilho—are clearly of Iberian origin. This was not a group of Moroccan Jews who had found their way to Portugal, but Portuguese Jews who had been expelled from Portugal and had returned via Morocco. The enclaves offered them something that neither Portugal nor the wider diaspora could provide: a position of formal recognition within the Portuguese imperial structure. They were Jews, but they were also subjects, entitled to royal protection, capable of petitioning the crown, able to transmit their status to their children. This was not a return to the pre-1497 order. That order was gone, and nothing could restore it. But it was something new—a hybrid formation that combined Portuguese administrative categories with Jewish communal life, that acknowledged Jewish identity while subordinating it to royal authority. That the crown preserved these outposts despite inquisitorial pressure suggests that pragmatism prevailed over purity. These were isolated enclaves, surrounded by a hostile Moroccan population and dependent on local intermediaries for intelligence, commerce, and diplomacy. [633]

2. The Flight of Portuguese Conversos

Witkin. 2019. "Haketia: An Ecological Perspective." Honors thesis, Emory University.

[633] H. de., Castries, 1921. *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne. Tome I. Paris : Éditions Ernest Leroux, pp. 233-235.

The Portuguese Inquisition, established in 1536, sent shockwaves through the communities of New Christians who had, for four decades, navigated the precarious space between their forced conversions and their persistent attachments to Jewish practice. The flight that followed was not a single exodus but a sustained hemorrhage—a continuing flow of emigration that persisted throughout the Inquisition's active life. Morocco, with its established Jewish communities and its distance from inquisitorial authority, became one of the most natural destinations for Marranos seeking to live openly as Jews.[634] The stream of refugees continued into the eighteenth century, with communities like Tétouan providing shelter for Portuguese New Christians generation after generation. The journey of return was neither swift nor straightforward. This was not simply a matter of concealed identity, but of systematic deprivation of religious practice, often for generations.[635] The whole process of *rejudaization* was, indeed, very slow, discontinuous, and unsteady. The immigrants had to master or relearn how to say the prayers, keep the dietary rules, and understand the intricacies of the liturgy, legal and religious aspects of life as observant Orthodox Jews. They came with some pieces of knowledge like a prayer or a family story about being Jews. The receiving communities faced the arduous task of reconstructing a Jewish identity that had been deliberately dismantled.

Tétouan occupied a privileged place in this process. Its proximity to the coast and its commercial connections with Europe made it an accessible destination for those fleeing the Peninsula. The city's Jewish community, already established and functioning, welcomed the newcomers with a mixture of solidarity and self-interest. They provided religious instruction, social support, and the institutional framework necessary for reintegration.[636] But the newcomers also brought resources: commercial connections to the Iberian Peninsula, linguistic skills, and ties to the Atlantic trading networks that the

[634] Cecil, Roth. 1932. *A History of the Marranos*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

[635] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20. Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.330-356.

[636] Sarah, Leibovici. 1984. *Chroniques des Juifs de Tétouan*. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose, pp.49-73.

existing community could leverage. The relationship was reciprocal, even if the terms were not always equal.

The Portuguese *conversos* transformed Tétouan as much as Tétouan transformed them. They brought their language—the Castilian and Portuguese that would evolve into Haketía—and they brought customs that distinguished them from the autochthonous *Toshavim*. The community that emerged was not a simple continuation of pre-expulsion Iberian Jewry, nor was it a straightforward extension of Moroccan Jewish life. It was something new: a hybrid formation that preserved Iberian elements while adapting to North African realities. The commercial connections they maintained with Europe gave Tétouan an economic dynamism that set it apart from other Moroccan Jewish communities. The cultural connections they preserved gave it a distinctive character that endured for centuries.[637]

3. The Complexities of Apostasy

The relationship between Portuguese *conversos* and Moroccan Jews was complicated by the phenomenon of apostasy. Some Moroccan Jews voluntarily traveled to Portugal to receive baptism or consolidate their lives as New Christians, while others were tried for Judaizing after returning to the Peninsula. The presence of these apostates reveals a profound contradiction: the coexistence of missionary optimism, which saw Jewish conversion as possible, and inquisitorial pessimism, which viewed Christians of Jewish origin as irredeemably heretical.[638] The Portuguese Inquisition's obsession with the "insolubility of the Judaism of the New Christians" created a dual system: inclusion through mission and exclusion through persecution. This contradiction was particularly acute for those Portuguese *conversos* who had

[637] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20. Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.330-356.

[638]José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, Tavim. 2016. "Anticonverso Trends among Converted Jews in Seventeenth-Century Europe." *Journal of Levantine Studies* 6: 225–249. José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, Tavim. 2018. "Two Biographies of Converted Jews in Contrast: João Baptista d'Este and António Garcia Soldani." In *Portuguese Jews, New Christians, and 'New Jews'. A Tribute to Roberto Bachmann*, edited by C. B. Stuczynski and B. Feitler, 248–276. Leiden: Brill.

returned to Judaism in Morocco. The Inquisition had special reasons for distrusting them, regarding them as apostates who had forsaken the religion of Christ. They were threatened with being tried, tortured, and executed if they were apprehended and brought back to Portugal.[639]

The trajectory of Joseph Nasi spectacularly illustrates the complexity of relationships that *conversos* of Portuguese origin could maintain with their Iberian identity. Born João Micas in Lisbon into a *converso* family of considerable wealth, he left Portugal after the establishment of the Inquisition in 1536, settling first in the Spanish Netherlands, where he could openly return to Judaism. His path then led him to the Ottoman Empire, where he became one of the most influential counselors of Sultan Selim II, receiving the title of Duke of Naxos and playing a considerable role in Ottoman foreign policy. Notably, Nasi never lived in Morocco ; his trajectory is included here as an illustration of the broader Sephardic diaspora experience rather than as a direct case of Moroccan Jewish history. The unique aspect about Nasi is the manner in which he used his Portuguese background and Iberian networks in the service of his Ottoman role, even as he used his Ottoman influence to meddle in the affairs of Europe. His example shows how a Sephardic refugee maintained a deep sense of connection to his Iberian past despite operating in an entirely different political milieu.[640]

The case of João Baptista D'Este offers a fascinating counterpoint to that of Nasi. D'Este, born Abraham Bendanan Serfatim into a Sephardic Jewish family, converted to Catholicism and became a virulent anti-Jewish polemicist, using his intimate knowledge of Judaism to combat it from within. Like Nasi, D'Este's connection to Moroccan Jewry is indirect; his case is presented to illustrate the broader dynamics of conversion and identity among the Sephardic diaspora. This trajectory, which might be interpreted as a total rupture with his origins, actually reveals a paradoxical form of continuity. Conversion on D'Este's part did not imply rejection of his Iberian identity in any way—far from it, because it was used as a weapon in a new setting. His

[639] Bethencourt. *The Inquisition*. Op.cit. Paiva. *The Inquisition in Portugal*. Op.cit.
[640] Tavim. "Jews in the Diaspora", pp.175–205.

command of the Portuguese and Castilian languages, his knowledge of Hebrew literature, his knowledge of the Jewish tradition and the workings of Sephardic communities all became the instruments of his new controversial calling. Here Iberianness ceased being a defense and became an offense.[641]

4. Haketía: The Vernacular of Moroccan Sephardim

As we have seen before, the remarkable cultural endurance of the Sephardim in the northern region of Morocco is manifested in the emergence and sustenance of a Judeo-Spanish variety of speech known as Haketía, which is a result of contact between the medieval Castilian dialect and the linguistic environment of Morocco.[642] The Haketía language differs from the Judeo-Spanish language of the eastern Sephardic Diaspora, commonly referred to as Ladino or Judezmo, which has evolved mainly as a literary variety of language in terms of its use in translations of religious texts and liturgy. On the other hand, Haketía has evolved as a vernacular language; a language of everyday life, intimate family conversations, business dealings, and social cohesion. It was not just a passive preservation of the medieval Spanish in isolation from metropolis, but rather an active adaptation of a new sociolinguistic environment.

Linguistic investigation shows that the grammar and phonology of Haketía were remarkably faithful to that of Castilian of the 15th century, including voiced sibilants that have now been lost in standard Spanish, archaic verb forms, and medieval vocabulary that is no longer present in metropolitan Spanish. At the same time, Haketía made use of numerous loans from Arabic, Hebrew, and finally Portuguese, French, Spanish, Italian, and English in accordance with changes in contact patterns. Semantically, the distribution of these loanwords is noteworthy: Arabic loanwords are mostly used in everyday life, trade, and social intercourse with neighboring communities; Hebrew loanwords in matters religious, legal, and communal; and European loanwords (especially Portuguese) in nautical and military affairs.[643]

---

641 Tavim. "Anticonverso Trends", pp. 225–249.

642 Benoliel. *Dialecto Judeo-Hispano-Marroquí*. Op.cit. Bunis. "Jewish and Arab Medieval", pp.64–148. Witkin. "Haketia", pp.33-45.

643 Benoliel. *Dialecto Judeo-Hispano-Marroquí*. Op.cit.

As Matthew Witkin's ecological study emphasizes, Haketía was not a passive survival of medieval Spanish isolated from metropolitan developments, but rather an active adaptation to a unique sociolinguistic environment.[644] The speakers of Haketía used different languages in contact situations; for example, Moroccan Arabic, Classical Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, Berber languages, and then French and Spanish. Their choices of languages were based on strategic decisions made with regard to their identities and status.[645] Code switching and lexical borrowing were not symptoms of language decay; they were rather indicators of communicative competence.

5. Written Culture, Liturgical Distinctiveness, and the Preservation of Memory

Whereas Haketía was the everyday language of oral communication, Moroccan Sephardim had developed an advanced written tradition which relied upon several linguistic strata. For community legislation (*takkanot*), rabbinical questions (*she'elot u-teshuvot*), and theological treatises, a special pan-Sephardic literary style of Judeo-Spanish (or "Ladino") was used, linking Moroccan Sephardim with other Sephardic communities of the Mediterranean area and enabling the exchange of texts between Morocco, the Ottoman Empire, Italy, and northern Europe. Hebrew remained the sacred language of prayers, learning, and scientific writings; Arabic was required for legal papers, commercial documents, and correspondence with Muslim powers. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, almost all written instances of Haketía, including personal letters, accounting books, and popular literature, were written in Hebrew alphabet (in solitreo or me'uyyan script, a semi-cursive handwriting different from square script of holy writings). It was of crucial cultural importance. The use of Hebrew alphabet visually distinguished the Jewish texts from those of Muslim neighbors (using Arabic script) and Christian visitors (with Latin script).

These traditions were those of religion, which they adhered to with great determination in their newly adopted land of Morocco. Some of these traditions were liturgical traditions, including the use of the Castilian liturgy

644 Witkin. "Haketia", pp.33-45.
645 Bunis. "Jewish and Arab Medieval", pp.64–148.

referred to as Nusah Sefarad, which was different from the North African nusah of the Toshavim in terms of order of prayers, piyyutim, and melody. Others were traditions of holidays, including minhag Sefarad in celebration of festivals, as well as legal traditions based on the interpretation of Castilian rabbinic authority such as the Rif, Rambam, and eventually the *Shulhan Arukh*. The Megorashim established their own synagogues, where they prayed according to their ancestral customs and transmitted these traditions to subsequent generations. In cities with sufficient populations to support multiple congregations, the division between Megorashim and *Toshavim* synagogues could persist for centuries, with separate *heqdeshim* (charitable societies), *talmudei torah* (religious schools), and *hevra kadisha* (burial societies).[646]

The Sephardic community's connection to the memory of Sepharad was not merely nostalgic but essential to its self-understanding. The community maintained a sense of connection to the Iberian Peninsula, even as generations passed and the memory of Spain faded. These bonds were evident in the linguistic, customary, and religious practices of the community, which acted as a reminder of the homeland from which the community had separated. There was an element of solidarity felt by the community towards other Sephardic communities across the globe, even in places like Portugal and Spain. This solidarity was exhibited in their commercial, religious, and philanthropic relationships. The Tétouan community was, like other Sephardic communities in the diaspora, aware of their connection to the larger Sephardic world while maintaining their own distinctiveness. [647] The Portuguese Jews of Salé provide an especially fruitful example of studying the formation of a multi-faceted identity at the crossroads of the Iberian, Muslim, and Atlantic worlds.[648]A comparative perspective illuminates what was distinctive about

[646] Haim, Zafrani. 1972. *Les Juifs du Maroc – Vie sociale, économique et religieuse. Études de Taqqanot et Responsa*. Paris : Paul Geuthner.
[647] Maria Filomena Lopes de, Barros, and José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim. 2021. "Mobilities and Communities between North Africa and Portugal: Muslims and Jews in the Medieval and Early Modern Ages." *Ler História* 78, pp.17–20.
[648] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.

the Portuguese Moroccan enclaves and what was shared with other Sephardic diasporas.

Salé received from the sixteenth century onward a significant number of Jews of Portuguese origin, who developed extensive relations with the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam and with Dutch Christian merchants. What emerges in Salé is a triangular identity configuration, where the Iberianness of Portuguese Jews—maintained through language, customs, and family networks—was mediated by their belonging to a transnational Jewish community (the *Nação*) and by their daily interactions with the surrounding Muslim society.[649]

IV- Economic Networks, Crises, and Legacy

The economic history of Sephardic Jews in northern Morocco is characterized by many facets of business activities, imperial policies, and cultural adaptation to the host societies. This chapter focuses on economic networks supporting the community life of Sephardic Jews, crises experienced by these communities, and the heritage left behind as a result of the existence of these communities. Five issues are analyzed through five themes as follows: First is the creation of transnational credit networks and business networks of Jewish merchants of the period in the Mediterranean and Atlantic areas; second is the supply system of Ceuta and the crucial role of Jewish merchants in supporting Portuguese presidios; third is the relations with Muslim community based on the concept of dhimma and common sacred space which allowed interaction between Jews and Muslims; fourth is demographic and political crises – plague, instability, and the Battle of Alcazarquivir which decimated Jewish population of these regions; fifth is the end of the Jewish autonomy in Portuguese Morocco following abandonment of enclaves in 1541, retreat of Portuguese until the evacuation of Mazagan in 1769, and Sephardic heritage, such as Haketía.

1. Jewish Credit Networks and Economic Survival

The Jewish merchants formed a transnational credit structure that enabled trade, provided capital, and ensured commercial liquidity through

[649] Bodian. *Hebrews of the Portuguese*. Op.cit.

Mediterranean routes. They connected the products of the Maghreb with European markets and sustained the functioning of frontier economies.[650] In Tétouan, the Sephardic economy rested on maritime trade, privateering, and the sale of Christian captives. The Jewish merchants had formed trade relations with Algiers, Tunis, Livorno, Lisbon, Gibraltar, and Amsterdam. Thus, not only the commercial but also social and cultural interactions between Jews in the whole Mediterranean area were promoted.[651]

Gibraltar's proximity to Tétouan had great significance. After the British Empire took over Gibraltar in 1704, the Jewish merchants of Tétouan made a short journey to explore the profitable business there. The British allowed the Jewish population of Gibraltar to develop, and they succeeded and became a center of Sephardic culture. [652] The Jews played a very important role in the economic life of the Mediterranean region. They served as intermediaries between the Christian and Muslim areas and carried out trading between various powers. Jewish merchants had the ability to operate in both Christian and Muslim territories.[653]

[650] Abulafia. *The Great Sea*, p.77.
[651] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.
[652] Daniel J., Schroeter. 2003. *Merchant, Courtier, and Diplomat: A Jewish Family in Nineteenth-Century Morocco*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
[653] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.
Under the rule of the "Conde de Portmore" (1713-1730), the first Jewish families arrived in the city, including families from Tétouan: the "Cansino" family, the "Beneder" family, and the "Akrich" family. However, the most important Tetouani Jewish families believed to have been the first to settle in the Rock were: the "Nahori" family, the "Abu Abd" family, and the "Sananes" family. This migration was further reinforced in 1730 with the arrival of other Tetouani Jewish families, including: the "Mosneno" family, the "Azoulay" family, the "Ben Naim" family, the "Ben Amara" family, the "Ben Arouch" family, the "Ben Allil" family, the "Ben Younes" family, the "Cohen" family, the "Gabay" family, the "Khalfon" family, the "Hassan" family, the "Israel" family, the "Tourel" family, the "Sarrucha" family, the "Cabezon" family, and the "Bensería" family. Morgaly, S., Morsay. 1976. "Les juifs marocains à Gibraltar au 18ème siècle." *Pluriel Débat*, N°6, pp.47-60. J.B, Vilar. *Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo*. Tetuán, 1990, p.38

It is worth paying special attention to the structure of Jewish commercial networks. Instead of working alone, Sephardic merchants usually created business relationships with their family members and co-religionists in different ports. Such cooperation meant that they could combine their financial resources and risks, and establish reliable channels of communication. While a businessman in Salé had a business partner in Amsterdam responsible for selling Moroccan goods in northern Europe, he would have another partner in Livorno dealing with the acquisition of Italian textiles, and finally he would have his partner in Safi dealing with purchasing local products.[654]

2. The Supply System of Ceuta and Jewish Commercial Networks

One of the most revealing aspects of Portuguese presence in northern Morocco is the chronic difficulty of supplying the presidios. Following the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, the city found itself in a situation of permanent insufficiency of goods, both foodstuffs and war materials. Whereas before the fifteenth century the fields around the city produced sufficient cereals to supply the population, after the Portuguese presence it became necessary to supply the city from external sources, due to the hostility of the surrounding Muslim population.[655] This supply problem was not limited to Ceuta but affected all Portuguese presidios in Morocco. The intense supply problems of a place like Melilla were a constant theme in Spanish correspondence. Indeed, in 1549, for example, the governor was anxious to obtain men and materials, fearing an attack by the Saadian Chérif. The importance of Jewish middlemen in a scenario like this was immense because they were one of the few people that could move about in this unfriendly interior and acquire supplies.[656]

---

654 Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa*, pp.330-356.

655 Francisco, Bejarano Robles. 1941. *Documentos para el Estudio del Abastecimiento y Auxilio de las Plazas Portuguesas en Marruecos, desde el sur de España*. Tánger: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe. See also: Tomás, García Figueras, and Hipolito Sancho Mayi. 1939. *Documentos para el Estudio del Abastecimiento de las Plazas Portuguesas desde el Sur de España*. Tánger: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe.

656 Castries. *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, pp.164-165.

Jewish merchants were also important in terms of commerce. As the archival document explicitly states : "Importantes em termos de comércio eram também os judeus. Desde sempre tinham sido colaboradores dos reis portugueses quer em África quer no..." (Important in terms of commerce were also the Jews. From the beginning they had been collaborators of the Portuguese kings both in Africa and in...). This fragment confirms that Jews were not peripheral actors but central collaborators in the Portuguese commercial enterprise in Morocco.[657] Jewish merchants in Ceuta, Tangier, and Mazagan participated in multiple aspects of the supply economy: grain trade, monopoly contracts (*estancos*) for various products including pork, charcoal, oil, soap, salt, vinegar, lime, and brandy, customs revenue, and military supply.[658] The presence of merchants from Gibraltar, Málaga, and other Andalusian cities in these contracts indicates the integration of Jewish commercial networks across the Strait.

However, the documentary evidence from the Archivo General de Simancas and Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo shows just how much the Jews participated in the Ceuta supply system.[659] Jewish merchants from Lisbon, Évora, and other Portuguese cities regularly went to Ceuta, Tangier, and Mazagan, bringing goods there and taking money back. Moreover, they served as go-betweens for the Portuguese officials and Moroccans who supplied goods at negotiated prices. The linguistic abilities of the Jews made them absolutely necessary for the operation of the whole system. Due to high expenses on the maintenance of the presidios, the role of Jewish merchants who facilitated supply, paid taxes, had monopoly agreements, and offered credits was crucial rather than minor.[660]

3. Relations with Muslim Society

[657] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20. Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa*, pp.330-356.
[658] Figuera and Mayi. *Documentos para el Estudio del Abastecimiento*. Op.cit.
[659] Lamghibchi. Yahūd Sabta: Fuṣūl min Tārīkh Murakkab, pp.194-258.
[660] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.330-356.
José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, Tavim. 2003. *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim. História e Memória*. Braga: APACDM Distrital de Braga.

Throughout the era of Portuguese occupation of Moroccan coastal cities, most of Morocco remained in the hands of Muslims. The Sephardic Jews who lived in the interior areas such as Fez, Meknes, and Marrakesh retained their position in the traditional system of the dhimma, where they were guaranteed security and freedom of religion in return for accepting Muslim domination and paying the jizya tax.[661] Although this was definitely a subordinate position, it nevertheless constituted a legally recognized status that gave Jews much autonomy within their community. [662] The *dhimma* system regulated Jewish relations with Muslim society in detailed ways. Classical Islamic law prescribed distinctive dress for *dhimmis*, restrictions on public religious expression, and prohibitions on certain forms of visibility. However, the application of these prescriptions varied considerably across time and place, depending on the inclinations of particular rulers, the political situation, and the economic utility of Jewish subjects. In practice, many Sephardic Jews achieved positions of considerable influence, serving as physicians, financial advisors, diplomatic agents, and commercial factors to Moroccan sultans.[663]

Popular practices in Moroccan Jewish-Muslim relations could sometimes surpass the boundaries of religious community affiliation. Worship of the saints (known as tzaddikim in the Jewish tradition and marabouts in the Islamic one) generated common sacred sites for the Jews and the Muslims to obtain their blessings, healing, and intercession. Tombs of some of the holy individuals (such as Rabbi Amram ben Diwan in the Ouazzane area, revered by both Jews and Muslims) served as pilgrimage sites for both communities, where the same saints received reverence but under different names and

[661] Maria Filomena Lopes de, Barros. 2007. *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros. A Minoria Muçulmana no Reino Português (Séculos XII a XV)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, pp. 144–145. N. A., Stillman. 1979. *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

[662] Maria Filomena Lopes de, Barros. 2007. *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros. A Minoria Muçulmana no Reino Português (Séculos XII a XV)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, pp.144–145. Stillman. *The Jews of Arab Lands*. Op.cit.

[663] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.

according to different rituals. It did not mean any erasure of communal boundary lines but created the opportunities for interaction and recognition. During the time of peace and stability, Jews and Muslims visited each other's holy places, obtained blessings from each other's holy men, and celebrated their festivals in ways that made them not so distinct as the theory claims. The uprising against the Saadian Chérif in the middle of the 16th century, according to the testimony of exiled rulers from Melilla, shows that political alliances in that period were formed mostly by local loyalty rather than religious differences. Jews, as part of these local networks, would have been implicated in these complex dynamics, sometimes sharing the popular hostility towards centralizing powers.[664]

4. Crises and Transformations

Like other Mediterranean communities during this era, the Moroccan Jewish communities suffered severely from plague epidemics. One such plague epidemic in the year 1558 claimed the lives of at least 1,640 Portuguese Jews, who must have included new immigrants as well as longtime residents of Jewish origin from Iberia.[665] These demographically traumatic episodes affected community living, scholarship practices, created leadership crises and caused problems in maintaining continuity in the community which took many years to solve. Since these plagues occurred frequently, the Jewish communities of Morocco had to constantly replenish their demographic base through immigration from Europe and natural increase. This was an era of political instability for the Jews in Morocco, with the fall of Marinid dynasty, followed by the ascent of the Wattassids and finally the ascendency of Saadians who would unify much of Morocco and challenge the power of the Portuguese coastal regions. [666] These episodes of political instability exposed the Jewish communities to violence, either by warring factions, popular revolt or reactions to military operations conducted by the Portuguese. 1578 would be a crucial year for the Jews of Morocco.

[664] Castries. *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, p.484.
[665] Soyer. *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims*, pp.115-120.
[666] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.

The disastrous campaign of King Sebastian ended in his death along with much of the Portuguese nobility. For Moroccan Jews, the battle's aftermath provided a remarkable illustration of complex solidarities. When the few surviving Portuguese nobles were taken captive, they were sold to Jewish merchants in Fez. The Jews received these knights—their former countrymen—into their houses with great hospitality, and many were freed on the promise that ransom would be sent from Portugal. This episode reveals the persistence of connections between Portuguese Jews and their former homeland, as well as the ability of Moroccan Jews to act as protectors of Christians in distress.[667] The political turmoil which eventually resulted in the death of the Saadian prince Moulay el-Harran in the year 1550 is also documented. These political developments caused a shift in the power balance, which usually meant the movement of refugees into the coastal zones and the Jewish merchants were central to this process.[668]

5. The End of Jewish Survival in Portuguese Morocco and the Long Legacy

The "survival" of Jews in the extension of ancient Sepharad came to an end with the rise of the Saadian dynasty in Morocco and the strengthening of the Counter-Reformation in Portugal.[669] The expulsion of Jews from the various Portuguese enclaves in Morocco was provoked by the Portuguese authorities' decision to abandon Azemmour, Safi, Arzila, and Alcácer-Ceguer in 1541 (Santa Cruz do Cabo de Gué was conquered the same year by Moulay Mohammed el-Cheikh). The abandonment of these enclaves was a devastating blow to the Jewish communities that had flourished there. Most Jews chose to relocate to Fez, which had a large and well-established Jewish community, rather than return to Portugal where they would face inquisitorial persecution. The Jewish quarters of Safi and Azemmour were not reestablished after the Portuguese departure. The unique experiment of Portuguese Jewish autonomy in Morocco had come to an end.[670]

---

667 Tavim. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.179-192.
668 Castries. *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, p. 505.
669 Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.
670 Tavim. 1997. *Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos*, pp.179-192.

The slow Portuguese departure from the coastal towns of Morocco, reaching its completion with the abandonment of Mazagan (El Jadida) in 1769, changed the position of Sephardic Jews in northern Morocco. The influence of Portugal which had brought the Jews prosperity and diplomacy for nearly four hundred years slowly disappeared, and Jewish people had to find a way to cope with the new reality.[671] Some left for Portugal's colonies and other countries (some Moroccan Jews resettled in Brazil, Gibraltar, Livorno, Amsterdam, or the Ottoman Empire). Others stayed in Moroccan cities, becoming more integrated into Muslim society as the direct European influence declined. But despite the withdrawal of Portuguese colonizers, the culture of the Sephardic Jews did not disappear. The Haketía language was still spoken in northern Moroccan towns for many centuries, carrying on the legacy of the Sephardic refugees who developed it further in contact with modern Spanish and French languages. Synagogues maintained liturgical traditions that reflected both Iberian origins and Moroccan adaptations, and the division between Megorashim and Toshavim—while gradually blurred—persisted in memory and sometimes in institutional form.

The nineteenth century brought new challenges to Moroccan Sephardic communities. The Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859–1860, which resulted in Spanish occupation of Tétouan, created close and sustained contact between Moroccan Jews and the Spanish forces. This encounter revealed the extent to which Haketía had diverged from modern Spanish—a divergence that some speakers now viewed as a mark of deficiency rather than distinctiveness. The Spanish occupation authorities promoted the use of modern Spanish in education and administration, contributing to a gradual shift away from Haketía among younger generations. The establishment of the Spanish and French protectorates over Morocco in 1912 further complicated the linguistic landscape.

The post-emigration period has seen remarkable efforts at preservation and revival. Scholars such as José Benoliel, who compiled Haketía poems, proverbs, and vocabulary in the early twentieth century, laid foundations for

[671] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.

subsequent research[672]. Contemporary writers have created new expressions of Sephardic heritage, demonstrating that Haketía can serve as a vehicle for literary creativity even after its decline as a community vernacular. Organizations and individuals in Israel, Spain, the Americas, and Morocco itself work to document and transmit the traditions of Moroccan Sephardim. The survival of Ceuta's Jews was not the result of chance but the product of a carefully constructed strategy of adaptability, through which the constraints of frontier life were transformed into instruments of influence, converting vulnerability itself into a form of relational capital.

Conclusion

The history of Sephardic Jews in northern Morocco between 1415 and 1769 illuminates the complex dynamics of cultural resilience in circumstances of displacement, persecution, and cultural contact. Jewish communities were able to preserve their religious and communal identity within the Portuguese enclaves of North Africa largely because the Portuguese Crown recognized their practical value to the imperial project. They served as interpreters, diplomatic intermediaries, commercial brokers, intelligence agents, and specialists in the negotiation and ransom of captives—functions that were crucial in a frontier marked by recurrent conflict and negotiation.[673]

This official recognition prompted the Portuguese monarchy to authorize Jewish quarters in Safi and Azemmour and to encourage Jewish immigration to these new settlements. The authorization of a legal existence, founded on the primacy of their mediating role, immediately reshaped the social fabric of these quarters. The newly arrived immigrants sought to distinguish themselves from the autochthonous Jewish populations by emphasizing their capacity as intermediaries between the Iberian world they had left and the Moroccan society that welcomed them. Instead of undermining the communities, this internal dilemma fostered new ways of organizing that strengthened them vis-a-vis external threats.

[672] Benoliel. *Dialecto Judeo-Hispano-Marroquí*. Op.cit.
[673] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20.

Sephardi culture in Portuguese Morocco did not undergo either passive assimilation or strict isolation; rather, it adapted creatively to its surroundings. There are three examples of this phenomenon. Linguistically, there is the creation of Haketía, a language combining medieval Spanish with elements of Arabic, Hebrew, and more. Economically, there is involvement in trans-Mediterranean trade relations and diplomacy, which is indicative of resilience strategies and success despite difficult conditions. Institutionally, there is the cartas de privilégio and communal systems that have been described in previous chapters as a method of creating a mixed legal status, which provided protection but at the same time made them vital to both parties.[674]

The survival of the Jews of Ceuta and the other Portuguese enclaves was not a matter of chance. It resulted from a carefully constructed strategy through which the constraints of frontier life were transformed into instruments of influence. When traditional protections disappeared and new Christian monarchies imposed their authority, Jewish communities converted their vulnerability into a form of relational capital. In doing so, they did not merely survive; they produced original cultural forms—linguistic, liturgical, commercial— that cannot be reduced either to Iberian heritage or to the Moroccan environment alone, but constitute a singular synthesis forged by centuries of frontier contact.

References

1. Abulafia, David. 2011. *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[674] Barros, and Tavim. "Mobilities and Communities", pp.17–20. The extensive and specific information that circulated about the movements and plans of the Chérif in the 1540and 1550s through the coastal towns would have been impossible without the dense networks of Jewish, converso, and Muslim merchants and agents who acted as the eyes and ears of the European powers. These networks were the lifeblood of information that sustained these frontier outposts. Castries. *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, pp. 260-261.

2. Afonso, Luís. 2005. "The Cultural Construction of the Jews in Late Medieval Portugal: Contributions to a Reevaluation." *Sefarad* 65(1): 7–42.
3. Barros, Maria Filomena Lopes de, and José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim. 2021. "Mobilities and Communities between North Africa and Portugal: Muslims and Jews in the Medieval and Early Modern Ages." *Ler História* 78: 17–38.
4. Barros, Maria Filomena Lopes de. 2007. *Tempos e Espaços de Mouros. A Minoria Muçulmana no Reino Português (Séculos XII a XV)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.
5. Beinart, Haim. 1992. *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Oxford: Littman Library.
6. Bejarano Robles, Francisco. 1941. Documentos para el Estudio del Abastecimiento y Auxilio de las Plazas Portuguesas en Marruecos, desde el sur de España. Tánger: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe.
7. Benoliel, José. 1912–1926. *Dialecto Judeo-Hispano-Marroquí o Hakitía*. Madrid : Boletín de la Real Academia Española.
8. Bernardo, Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila*, Lisbonne, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, vol. I, 1915.
9. Bethencourt, Francisco. 2009. *The Inquisition: A Global History 1478–1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
10. Bodian, Miriam. 1999. Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

11. Braudel, Fernand. 1972. The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II. London: Fontana.
12. Bunis, David. 2015."Jewish and Arab Medieval Ibero-Romance: Toward a Comparative Study." In *In the Iberian Peninsula and Beyond. A History of Jews and Muslims (15th–17th Centuries)*, edited by J. A. Tavim, M. F. Barros, and L. L. Mucznik, vol. 2, 64–148. Cambridge : Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
13. Castries, H. de. 1921. *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne. Tome I. Paris : Éditions Ernest Leroux.
14. Corcos, David. 1976. *Studies in the History of the Jews of Morocco*. Jerusalem: Rubin Mass.
15. Figueiró-Rêgo, João. 2011. "A Honra alheia por um fio". Os estatutos de limpeza de sangue nos espaços de expressão ibérica (séculos XVI–XVIII). Lisbon : Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian – FCT.
16. García Figueras, Tomás, and Hipolito Sancho Mayi. 1939. *Documentos para el Estudio del Abastecimiento de las Plazas Portuguesas desde el Sur de España*. Tánger: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe.
17. Gerber, Jane S. 1992. *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. New York : Free Press.
18. Goitein, Shelomo Dov. 1988. A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza. Vol. V. Berkeley: University of California Press.
19. Herculano, Alexandre. 2014. History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal. University of Pennsylvania Press.

20. Lamghibchi, Omar. 2023. *Yahūd Sabta: Fuṣūl min Tārīkh Murakkab* (in Arabic) (The Jews of Ceuta : Chapters from a Complex History), Imp. Bab Al Hikma, Tétouan.

21. Lamghibchi, Omar. "Les Juifs de Sebta (Ceuta) : Fragments d'histoire d'une communauté frontière (IXe-XXe siècle)". *Hespéris-Tamuda* LXI (1) (2026): 93-132.

22. Leibovici, Sarah. 1984. *Chroniques des Juifs de Tétouan*. Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose.

23. Levy, Solly. 1992. *Yaḥasrà: Novela en Hakitía*. Jerusalem: Editorial Sefarad.

24. Morsay Morgaly, S. 1976. "Les juifs marocains à Gibraltar au 18ème siècle." *Pluriel Débat*, N°6 : 47-60.

25. Nahon, Gérard. 1981. *Les Nations juives portugaises du Sud-Ouest de la France*. Paris : Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian.

26. Paiva, José Pedro. 2019. The Inquisition in Portugal: History and Memory. London: Routledge.

27. Roth, Cecil. 1932. *A History of the Marranos*. Philadelphia : Jewish Publication Society.

28. Schroeter, Daniel J. 2003. Merchant, Courtier, and Diplomat: A Jewish Family in Nineteenth-Century Morocco. Stanford : Stanford University Press.

29. Septenville, E. de. (1879). L'expédition de Ceuta en 1415 : fastes militaires et maritimes du Portugal. Librairie Générale.

30. Sicroff, Albert A. 1960. Les Controverses des status de "pureté de sang" en Espagne du XVe au XVII siècle. Paris : Didier.

31. Soyer, François. 2007. The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496–1497). Leiden: Brill.
32. Stillman, N. A. 1979. *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book*. Philadelphia : Jewish Publication Society.
33. Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro. 1982. *Os Judeus em Portugal no século XV*. Vol. 1. Lisboa : FCSH-UNL.
34. Tavares, Maria José Pimenta Ferro. 1987. *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos*. Lisboa : Presença.
35. Tavim, José Alberto R. Silva. "Um retorno ao Massacre de 1506 : Os judeus que moravam em Lisboa na época do massacre." CADMO : *Journal for Ancient History* 2023 (2023): 195.
36. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 1993. "Abraão Benzamerro, 'judeu de sinal', sem sinal, entre o Norte de África e o Reino de Portugal." *Mare Liberum* 6 : 115–141.
37. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 1997. Os judeus na Expansão Portuguesa em Marrocos durante o século XVI. Origens e actividades duma comunidade. Braga : Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga.
38. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 2003. *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim. História e Memória*. Braga : APACDM Distrital de Braga.
39. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 2008. "Les juifs dans les places portugaises du Maroc : dans le prolongement d'al-Andalus." In *Os Judeus e os Cristãos-Novos entre Portugal e o Oriente (séculos XVI-XVII) :* 111–124.
40. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 2008b. "Negociação de identidades – o jogo dos afectos. Judeus do Mediterrâneo em Portugal e seu Império (séculos

XVI–XVII)." In *Minorias étnico-religiosas na Península Ibérica. Períodos medieval e moderno*, edited by Maria Filomena Lopes de Barros and José Hinojosa Montalvo, 347–378. Lisboa : Edições Colibri, CIDEHUS, Universidade de Alicante.

41. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 2011. "Jews in the Diaspora with Sepharad in the Mirror: Ruptures, Relations, and Forms of Identity. A Theme Examined through Three Cases." *Jewish History* 25(2): 175–205.
42. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 2016. "Anticonverso Trends among Converted Jews in Seventeenth-Century Europe." *Journal of Levantine Studies* 6: 225–249.
43. Tavim, José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva. 2018. "Two Biographies of Converted Jews in Contrast: João Baptista d'Este and António Garcia Soldani." In *Portuguese Jews, New Christians, and 'New Jews'. A Tribute to Roberto Bachmann*, edited by C. B. Stuczynski and B. Feitler, 248–276. Leiden : Brill.
44. Valérian, Dominique. 2001. "Les archives de Marseille, sources de l'histoire du Maghreb médiéval : le cas du port de Bougie (XIIIe-XVe siècles)." *Annales du Midi* 113(233): 5–26.
45. Vieira, Padre António. s.d. *Defesa Perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício*. Introduced by Hernâni Cidade. Lisbon : Livraria Progresso Editora. Vol. 2.
46. Vilar, J.B. 1990. Tetuán en el resurgimiento judío contemporáneo. Tetuán.
47. Witkin, Matthew. 2019. "Haketia: An Ecological Perspective." Honors thesis, Emory University.

48. Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim. 1976. *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the Shebet Yehudah*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Annual Supplements, N.1.

49. Zafrani, Haim. 1972. Les Juifs du Maroc – Vie sociale, économique et religieuse. Études de Taqqanot et Responsa. Paris : Paul Geuthner.

50. Zurara, Gomes Eanes de. 1997. *Crónica do Conde D. Pedro de Meneses*. Edited and with a study by Maria Teresa Brocardo. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica.