

Recollecting and connecting all these different ties, we can ask if—in the Purim celebrated at Cochin around the mid-1500s—there was a renewal of evil's identity, embodied in the prototype of the malefic Haman?

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, in his book *Zakhor*, reminds us how all the holy Jewish festivals actually are renewed and are not simply recorded as events of a qualitatively different history: Each age chooses to live and celebrate the sacred calendar cycle, in the synagogue and at home, at its own distinct pace. In fact, Yerushalmi points out a proof of the creation of a "second Purim" in Jewish communities all around the world. Its main purpose is to commemorate the end of their recent persecution and quasi-annihilation.¹⁰⁷

As in all the festivities where "parody" dominates—an ephemeral time of eschatological liberation in which people enjoy the rebirth of an ideal life¹⁰⁸—the negative element in daily life and in the preservation of Jewish identity was materially and figuratively exorcized, as it happened during Cochin's Purim.¹⁰⁹

Fr. Giacomo Fenizio's information on the rivalry between Jews, Moplahs, and St. Thomas Christians; the testimonies of Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz and of P. M. Jussay regarding their intercommunal disputes, as fought on symbolic ground; and the notice about the transformation of Haman's persona in the Virgin or, more recently, into Hitler and Nasser, lead us to the hypothesis that in the middle of the 16th century, the Jews of Cochin and of Parur, along with the New-Christians from Santa Cruz, saw Christ as a metaphor for the oppressing Christians, thus identifying Him with the figure of the Achaemenid counsellor.

That is not surprising, since the Jews of Cochin kept the memory of their Iberian expulsion alive, and since their New Christians neighbors were beginning to feel the "heavy" grip of the "inquisitorial machine," which would soon arrest some of them.

This is our interpretation of the silenced voices, only audible through a sort of "avenged" record. With the rise to power of the Paradesi synagogue group, a new age, and with it a new historical vision, came into being.¹¹⁰ No memory of mid-16th-century Purim in Cochin lingered inside the members of this new group, headed by the Castiel clan. Its members were interested only in recalling the victorious moments of their past in Kodungallur, along with their present in Cochin.

Notes

¹ On the beginnings of the processes against Cochin and Goa's New-Christians and the role played by D. Gonçalo da Silveira, see Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: Origens (1539-1560)* (Lisbon: Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, 1995), Part II.

² "Letter of Francisco Xavier to D. João III," Amboino, 16.V.1546, in *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia* (henceforth DPMPPPO, Índia, 11 vols., 1948-1955), ed. by A. da Silva Rego (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias), vol. 3, pp. 351-352.

³ Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição*; António Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa: Tentativa de História da sua Origem, Estabelecimento, Evolução e Extinção (Introdução à Correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia)* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências), vol. 1, 1945; José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "A Inquisição no Oriente (século XVI e primeira metade do século XVII): algumas perspectivas," in *Mare Liberum*, nº 15, Junho de 1998, pp. 17-31.

⁴ Historical Archives of Goa (Panaji), *Provisões e Alvarás a favor da Cristandade*, fols. 78-80. Pub. in DPMPPPO, Índia, vol. 9, pp. 544-545 and 546-547; in *O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos*, ed. José Wicki (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969), pp. 178-179; and in *Arquivo Português Oriental* (New Delhi-Madras: Asian Educational Services, 10 vols., 1992), fasc. 5, P.2, p. 598.

⁵ José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "In the Shadow of Empire: Portuguese Jewish Communities in the Sixteenth Century," in *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Liam Matthew Brockey (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 27-30.

⁶ Diogo do Couto, *Da Ásia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente* (Lisbon: Edição da Livraria Sam Carlos, 14 vols, 1973-1974—original from the first decade of the XVII century), vol. 7, P.2, chap. 8, p. 14 and chap. 9, p. 10.

⁷ According to the "official version" or the "Historical Memory" of the Paradesi Jews, the name of their Synagogue—the Paradesi—is related with the builders recent arrival in Cochín—see S. S. Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochín," in *Jews in India*, ed. by Thomas Timberg (New Deli: Vikas Publishing House, 1986), p. 139, note 7.

⁸ José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim. História e Memória (1500-1662)* (Braga: Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 2003), chap. 3.2.

⁹ About the "first times" see Jean Aubin, "L'Apprentissage de l'Inde." Cochín, 1503-1504," in *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien*, n° 4, 1987, pp. 1-96; reprinted in *Le Latin et L'Australabe*, vol. I (Paris: F. Calouste Gukbenkian, 1996), pp. 49-110.

¹⁰ Alexandre Herculano, *História da Origem e do Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores), vol. 1, 1987, books 3, 4, and 5, and vol. 2, 1987, book 10; Meyer Kayserling, *História dos Judeus em Portugal*, translated from the German by Gabriele Borchardt Corrêa da Silva and Anita Novinsky (São Paulo: Livraria Pioneira Editora, 1971), pp. 160-163 and 181-182; J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1975), pp. 72-73, 76, and 109; Israel Salvator Révah, "Les Marranes Portugais et l'Inquisition au XVIe siècle," in *The Sephardi Heritage: Essays on the History and Cultural Contribution of the Jews of Spain and Portugal before and after the Expulsion of 1492*, ed. by Richard Barnett (New York: Vallentine Mitchell & Co., 1971), pp. 497-499; and Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos* (Lisbon: Presença, 1987), pp. 126-127 and 136-138.

¹¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon) (henceforth ANTT), *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 7296, fols. 4-6v°; idem, *ibidem*, proc. 15411, fol. 17.

¹² Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, *Judaísmo*, 1987, pp. 33-34.

¹³ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 5265.

José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, pp. 178-183; and on Jácome de Olivares, idem, "From Setúbal to the Sublime Porte: The Wanderings of Jácome de Olivares, New Christian and Merchant of Cochín (1540-1571)," in *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, ed. by Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 94-134.

¹⁴ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 3836, fols. 3-4, 16-17 and 29v°; proc. 7296, fols. 4-4v°, 29-33 and 37-41v°; proc. 7543, fols. 28-29v° and 39v°-40.

¹⁵ The *Pau da China* is the product of a bush native of China, Japan, and Western India. On its use see Garcia de Orta, *Colóquio dos Simples e Drogas da Índia*, ed. by Conde de Ficalho (Lisbon: Imprensa Naciona-Casa da Moeda, 1987, original ed. 1563), vol. 2, "Colóquio quadragésimo sétimo, da raiz da China," pp. 259-70.

¹⁶ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fols. 45v° e 55.

¹⁷ Garcia de Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 2, 1987, p. 261.

¹⁸ On the cotton textile trade from India to Malacca see Luís Filipe Thomaz, "Maluco e Malaca," in *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon: Difel, 1994), pp. 545 and 549; and dealing with Cochín see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Cochín in Decline, 1600-1650: Myth and Manipulation in The Estado da Índia," in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (16th and 17th centuries)*, ed. by Roderich Ptak (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1987), pp. 62-65.

¹⁹ Cf. Luís Filipe F. Thomaz, "Os Portugueses nos mares da Insulíndia no século XVI," in *De Ceuta a Timor*, 1994, p. 585.

²⁰ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 12292, fols. 4-4v^o, 17-22, 33, 36v^o-38, 42v^o-43, 72v^o, 77-79 and 82.

²¹ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fol. 18; proc. 12292, fol. 82v^o.

On Hormuz's horse trade see Jean Aubin, "Le Royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVI^e siècle," in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, vol. 2, 1973, pp. 166-171; R.R.S. Chauhan, "The Horse Trade in Portuguese India," in *Purabhilekh-Puratatva*, vol. 2, n^o 1, 1984, pp. 14-23; Geneviève Bouchon and Denys Lombard, "The Indian Ocean in the Fifteenth Century" (3), in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. by Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 52, 56-57, 59, 62, and 65; and Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1500-1565," in *Sinners and Saints*, ed. by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 1998, pp. 22-26 and 32.

²² "Deposition of António Fernandes," Cochin, 3.10.1559, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 12292, fols. 80-81v^o, published by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, in "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia durante o século XVI. O exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: espião, 'língua' e 'judeu de Cochim de Cima,'" *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, vol. 33, 1994, pp. 241-242.

²³ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 5265, fol. 8v^o

On the mentioned Muslim merchant see de Luís de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro, "Khoja Shams ud-din, comerciante de Cananor na segunda metade do século XVI," in *Actas do II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, ed. by Luís de Albuquerque and Inácio Guerreiro (Lisbon: IICT, 1985), pp. 227-240.

²⁴ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4656, fol. 110v^o.

See also José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, pp. 175 and 190.

²⁵ Gaspar da Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (Porto, Lello & Irmão Editores), vol. 1, 1975 [written around 1550], pp. 656-657 and 900; and "Report of D. Francisco de Almeida," 27.12.1506, in ANTT, Gaveta 20, m. 4, doc. 15, fol. 4, pub. in Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato (ed.) in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências), t. 3, p. 394, and in A. da Silva Rego, *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon: CEHJICU), vol. 10, p. 359.

See also José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, p. 317; and *idem*, "The Jews of Cochin according to the Portuguese sources. A diachronic course in the sixteenth century" (in Hebrew), in *Pea'mim* (forthcoming).

²⁶ ANTT, *Núcleo Antigo*, cod. 804, fols. 10, 13, 17v^o, 19-19v^o, 25, 28v^o, 31v^o and 47; *idem*, *Corpo Cronológico*, P. II, m. 166, docs. 5 and 128; m. 167, doc.s. 1, 40, 43, 48.

See also José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Judeus de Cochim: os primeiros contactos," in *Vasco da Gama e a Índia. Conferência Internacional* (Paris: F. Calouste Gulbenkian), vol. 2, 1999, pp. 155-163.

²⁷ *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI. Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, ed. by Luís de Matos (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda), 1985, estampa LXII.

See also José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, pp. 291-318.

²⁸ See José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, pp. 171-172.

²⁹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4516, fol. 87v^o.

³⁰ "Letter of Fr. Melchior to the brothers of the Company in Portugal," Cochin, 25.1.1559, in Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon) (henceforth BA), cod. 49-IV-50, fols. 263-269; and Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (henceforth BACL), *Cartas do Japão*, vol. 2, fols. 110-112, pub. in *Documenta Indica (DI)*, ed. José Wicki (Roma: Monumenta Historica Societatis

Iesu), vol. 4, pp. 236-252; and in *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Índia (DHMPPO—Índia)*, ed. A da Silva Rego (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias), vol. 7, pp. 243-261.

³¹Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, *cod.* 203, fol. 388.

³²About Isaac do Cairo, see José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia durante o século XVI," 1994.

³³ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 12292, fol. 72v^o.

³⁴Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fols. 31 and 73v^o.

³⁵Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 4516, fols. 15v^o and 20.

³⁶"Deposition of António Fernandes," Cochín, 31.1.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 12292. pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, in "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia durante o século XVI," p. 243; "Auto para se inquirirem as testemunhas," Cochín, 19.4.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7296, fol. 77v^o, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *idem*, p. 225

³⁷ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 12292, fol. 4-4v^o.

³⁸Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fol. 77-77v^o.

³⁹Cf. Walter J. Fischel, "New Sources for the History of the Jewish Diaspora in Asia in the 16th Century," in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, vol. 40, n^o 4, April 1950, pp. 377-399; and José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "In The Shadow of the Empire," pp. 23-25.

⁴⁰"Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochín, 9.3.1558, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 7296, fol. 93, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, in "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 248.

I wish to thank Dr. Eliezer Papo, vice-director of Sentro Moshe David Gaon de Kultura Djudeo-Espanyola, Ben Gurion University at the Negev, Beer Sheva, Israel, for his expertise in this difficult translation from a mixture of old Spanish and Portuguese language. On the song's themes see Paloma Díaz-Mas, *Poesía Oral Sefardí*, Esquíó-Ferrol, Sociedad Cultural Val-Inclán, 1994.

See also José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, pp. 249-254.

⁴¹ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4656, fol. 71v^o.

⁴²"Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochín, 9.5.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fol. 73.73v^o, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 251.

⁴³ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 3836, fol. 61-61v^o; and idem, *ibidem*, proc. 6369, fols. 54v^o-55v^o.

⁴⁴Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fol. 84.

⁴⁵Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 12292, fol. 83.

⁴⁶Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fol. 72v^o; idem, *ibidem*, proc. 6369, fols. 56 and 62; and "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochín, 9.3.1558, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 251.

⁴⁷ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4516, fol. 68v^o. The testimony of Guiomar Fernandes was made in 1555, though it reported to a situation lived three years before.

⁴⁸The dates are attested in mural inscriptions. See David Samuel Sassoon, *Ohel Dawid. Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), vol. 2, 1932, p. 577. See also S. S. Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochín," in *Jews in India*, ed. Thomas Timberg (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1986), pp.138-139, note 36.2. J. B. Segal presents other dates for the synagogue's construction: 1539-1540 for its beginning and 1540 for completion under the direction of Baruch Joseph Levi; and 1549 to its enlargement or restoration, though Segal never cites his sources—cf. *A History of the Jews of Cochín* (London and Portland: Vallentine Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1933), p. 31.

The construction was completed in 1544 under the leadership of Baruch Joseph Levi—curiously, his name never appears in Portuguese 16th-century documents—David Samuel Sassoon, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

⁴⁹ "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochin, 9.3.1558, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 7296, fols. 90v^o-91, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, in "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 246.

⁵⁰ "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes, Cochin, 9.3. 1558, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 5265, fol. 75, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, in "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 251.

⁵¹ "Auto para se inquirirem as testemunhas," Cochin, 19.4.1558, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 7296, fol. 77v^o, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 255.

⁵² "Letter of Fr. Melchior Carneiro S.I. to the Cardeal-Infante D. Henrique," Goa, 20.12.1557, in *DI*, vol. 4, pp. 5-13.

⁵³ See Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumals, or Cochin, Its Past and Present* (Madras: Grants Brothers, 1863), p. 338; and L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* (Madras: Government of Cochin, 1912), vol. 2, p. 418.

⁵⁴ Cochin, 2.1, in BA, cod. 14-14-49, fols. 289v^o-290, and in BACL, *Cartas do Japão*, vol. 1, fols. 267-367v^o, pub. in *DI*, vol. 3, pp. 431-436 (cit. p. 435) and in *DHMPPO-Índia*, vol. 6, pp. 92-96.

⁵⁵ Cf. David Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochin," in *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 1, n^o 4 (1939), p. 440.

⁵⁶ See Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Time* (Roma: The Jesuit Historic Institute), 1977, p. 490; and Gervasis Mulakara, *History of the Diocese of Cochin*, vol. 1—*European Missionaries in Cochin (1292-1558)* (Roma: Casa degli Srittori S. Pietro Canisio, 1986), p. 38.

⁵⁷ Pius Malekandathil, in his recent article "The Jews of Kerala and the Wheels of Indian Ocean Commerce, 800-1800 C.E.," in *The Journal of Indo-Judaic Studies*, vol. 9, 2007, pp. 6-31, refers that Jácome de Olivares "donated funds liberally to the construction of the Kadavumbaghham synagogue, which was erected during the period between 1539 and 1550" (p. 16). In note 89, pp. 29-30, he cites as his source the processes of Lisbon's Inquisition number 5265, 7296, and 12292, along with Professor P. M. Jussay's work "The Jews in Kerala," p. 135. Moreover, the name Kadavumbaghham never appears in the inquisitorial processes, because the synagogue was not known by that name at the time, the mid-1500s, since both the Jews and the New-Christians called it "Sinagoga Nova" (New Synagogue), and as they were from Iberian ascendancy, thus not from Malabar, they used a Portuguese expression instead of Malayalam word to name their new place of worship; particularly as they probably did not master Malayalam. Professor P. M. Jussay only had knowledge of the synagogue when it was already in Malabari hands. As we explain with detail in this article, the actual Kadavumbaghham Synagogue was known in the middle of the 16th century as the "New Synagogue." For more details on its erection see our article "Uma presença portuguesa em torno da 'Sinagoga Nova' de Cochim, na primeira metade do século XVI," in *Oceanos*, n^o 29, Janeiro/Março 1997, pp. 108-117, and later in our book published in 2003, which Pius Malekandathil never cites.

Malekandathil quotes directly from the sources, but he makes some errors. For example, he mistakes the New-Christian Diogo Vaz of Cochin for the New-Christian Diogo Soares of Goa (p. 16 and note 90). Though, he quotes well the process of Lisbon's Inquisition against Diogo Soares (ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 185), he missed the information on Soares' Goan origin, which is clearly stated since its first folios. Is it a bad reading of the process, or is it a bad reading of my two above mentioned works, and also of

Ana Cannas da Cunha's book? (On Diogo Soares see Ana Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: Origens (1539-1560)*, pp. 167, 172, 184, 214-215, 224-225).

⁵⁸ See José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, sub-chap. 1.2.

⁵⁹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 3836, fol. 82.

⁶⁰ "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochim, 9.3.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7296, fol. 90-90v^o, pub. by José Alberto Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 246.

⁶¹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 3836, fol. 62v^o.

⁶² "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochim, 9.3.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7296, fol. 92v^o, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 248.

⁶³ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4656, fol. 64.

⁶⁴ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 4516, fol. 8; idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5265, fols 9 e 72v^o and "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochim, 9.3.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7296, fols. 90 and 92, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, pp. 245 and 247.

⁶⁵ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 4656, fol. 105.

⁶⁶ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7543, fol. 79v^o

⁶⁷ "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochim, 9.3.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7296, fol. 92, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 247.

⁶⁸ "Auto para se inquirirem as testemunhas," 19.4.1558, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 7296, fol. 78, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 256.

⁶⁹ In the expression of the witness Hilária Bengali, during the process of Maria Rodrigues—ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 3836, fol. 60v^o.

⁷⁰ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 4656, fol. 71.

⁷¹ "Deposition of Guiomar Fernandes," Cochim, 9.3.1558, idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7296, fol. 92, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, p. 247.

⁷² ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 3836, fol. 63v^o.

⁷³ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 12292, fols. 8 and 77-77v^o.

⁷⁴ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 3836, fol. 61.

⁷⁵ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5808, fol. 51v^o; and idem, *ibidem*, proc. 12292, fols. 76-76v^o and 80v^o.

⁷⁶ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 3836, fol. 59.

⁷⁷ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 12292, fol. 88.

⁷⁸ Idem, *ibidem*, fol. 88v^o.

⁷⁹ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5808, fols. 67-67v^o and 75.

⁸⁰ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 3836, fols. 60-61.

⁸¹ Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 5808, fols. 54-54v^o and 58.

⁸² Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 6369, fols. 58v^o-59.

⁸³ See, for example, Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, "Para o estudo dos judeus de Trás-os-Montes no século XVI: a 1ª geração de cristãos-novos," in *Cultura, História e Filosofia*, vol. 4, 1985, pp. 384-386; and Elvira Cunha de Azevedo Mea, *A Inquisição de Coimbra no século XVI: A Instituição, os Homens e a Sociedade* (Oporto: Fundação Engenheiro António de Almeida, 1997), pp. 459-460.

⁸⁴ See Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa and JNICT, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 358-359.

⁸⁵ On the nuances in credibility terms of the inquisitorial witnesses see Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitors as Anthropologist: An Analogy and its Implications," in *Clues, Myths and the Historical Method*, ed. by Carlo Ginzburg et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 156-164.

⁸⁶ The main source for this study is the often cited "Auto para se inquirirem as testemunhas sobre o Purim dos judeus de Cochim de Cima, em que se denegria a figura de Jesus Cristo. Seguem-se os depoimentos de Maria Raposa, de Cristóvão Raposo, do malabar Duarte, do bengali Joane e do genovês Bernaldino," Cochim, 19.4.1558, in ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 7296, fols. 76-80v^o, pub. by José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa," 1994, pp. 252-260.

⁸⁷ *Macabeus*, II, 15, 36.

⁸⁸ On the celebration of this festival by Portugal's New-Christians see Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, "Para o estudo dos judeus de Trás-os-Montes," 1985, p. 387; and Elvira Cunha de Azevedo Mea, *A Inquisição de Coimbra*, 1997, p. 459.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Paloma Díaz-Mas, *Los Sefardíes, Historia, Lengua y Cultura* (Barcelona: Riopiedras Editora, 1993), p. 40.

⁹⁰ Frei António de Gouveia, *Jornada do Arcebispo* [de Goa, D. frei Aleixo de Meneses], introduction from O. Bragança and Avelino de Jesus da Costa, Lisbon, Didaskalia 1988 [original from 1606], p. 265.

⁹¹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, proc. 5808, fol. 59v^o.

⁹² Idem, *ibidem*, proc. 7543, fol. 62v^o.

⁹³ Maria do Carmo Teixeira Pinto, "Mecanismos de acção e controle no espaço urbano: as visitas inquisitoriais no século XVI e XVII," in *A Cidade: Jornadas Inter e Pluridisciplinare—Actas* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1993), vol. 2, p. 164.

⁹⁴ Maria José P. Ferro Tavares, *Judaísmo e Inquisição*, 1987, pp. 93-95.

⁹⁵ See, for example, Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea* (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 181-192; and Beatrice Leroy, *L'Expulsion des Juifs d'Espagne* (Paris: Berg International Éditeurs, 1990), pp. 105-107. In general *Ritual Murders: Legend in European History*, edited by Susanna Buttaroni and Stanislaw Musial (Krakow: Association for Cultural Initiatives, 2003).

⁹⁶ See, for example, the suggestion of Denise L. Despres, "Immaculate Flesh and the Social Body: Mary and the Jews," in *Jewish History*, vol. 12, n^o 1 (Spring 1998), pp. 47-69.

⁹⁷ "Letter addressed to the Jesuits in Europe," in *DI*, vol. 15, pp. 166-169.

⁹⁸ P. M. Jussay, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁹⁹ Louis Rabinowitz, *Far East Mission* (Johannesburg: Eagle Press Limited, 1952), p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ P. M. Jussay, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim, mandadas por Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva* (Amsterdam: printed at the Casa de Ury Levy, 9 Elul 5447; fac-simile edition, pub. with an introduction by Moses Bensabat Amzalak, Lisbon, Oficinas do Museu Comercial, 1923), p. 7 [of Paiva's text].

¹⁰² António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factor: The Portuguese Inquisitions and Its New Christians 1536-1765*, trans., rev. and augmented edition by Herman P. Salomon and I. D. Sassoon (Leiden: Brill, 2001), Appendix IV—"The Portuguese Inquisition in Goa (India) 1561-1812," pp. 348-350.

In note 4, Salomon thanks Marsha B. Cohen for supplying him with the data on Al-Biruni, inserted in her M.A. dissertation presented at the Florida State University in 2000, entitled *Jews and the Jewish Calendar in Al-Baruni's Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

Concerning the *Codex Theodosianus*, Salomon quotes its German translation by Renate Frohne, 1991, pp. 132-136, and concerning Al-Biruni's book, he uses the English translation by Edward Sachau, London, 1879, p. 274.

Actually, according to the Book of Esther, Haman was hanged from a gibbet—*Esther*, 7, 10.

We are also indebted to Professor Salomon for giving us a copy of his "Appendix" before *The Marrano Factory* was published.

¹⁰³ *Esther*, 9, 7-10.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1978), chap. IX ; and Jean-François Fau, *L'image des Juifs dans l'art chrétien médiéval* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ Galia Hacco, "The Ritual Cycle of Cochin Jewish Holidays: A Malabari Perspective," in *India's Jewish Heritage: Ritual, Art, and Life-Cycle*, ed. Shalva Weil (Bombay: Marg Publications, 2002), p. 77.

¹⁰⁶ Nathan Katz and Ellen S. Goldberg, *The Last Jews of Cochin: Jewish Identity in Hindu India* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), p. 197.

¹⁰⁷ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Histoire juive et mémoire juive* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), chap. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Mijail Bajtin, *La Cultura Popular en la Edad Media y en el Renacimiento: El Contexto de François Rabelais* (Barcelona: Barral Editores, 1974), p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ Ana Cannas da Cunha, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹¹⁰ See José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim*, sub-chap. 3.2.