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The Economic Activities of the Portuguese Jewish Merchants in Early Seventeenth-Century Hamburg

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A number of important scholarly works on Hamburg's Portuguese Jews have been published in the last twenty years.¹ None of them ever omits to refer to Hermann Kellenbenz's standard work on the *Sephardim on the Lower Elbe*. Originally written under Nazi prerogatives, it was published only in 1958, then meeting scientific standards.² Kellenbenz claimed to analyse the economic and political importance of the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and its environs. His approach to the subject is often seen critically because it largely neglects social, religious and cultural aspects of Jewish life. The outstanding economic importance of the Portuguese Jews, however, is rarely ever doubted. Whilst research on the economic activities of the Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam and other places has been advancing substantially, Kellenbenz's work on Hamburg has remained influential until today.³ Even in terms of the general history of the city's foreign trade relations, only very few publications have added new information to the image Kellenbenz so firmly stamped on its historiography. The following contribution intends to review and adjust some of Kellenbenz's results for the first half of the 17th century.⁴

When the first Marranos came to Hamburg in the 1590s they could not foresee whether, and under what conditions, they would be accepted as a foreign social and religious group. They were, however, aware of the general economic situation of the city, which appeared promising. It was the time when Antwerp was losing its former importance as a central distribution point for the European commerce, and especially for the Portuguese trade in colonial goods, which it had held since the beginning of the 16th century. Due to the military interventions by the Spanish government combined with the harsh Spanish policy on religion, non-Catholic merchants and craftsmen were leaving the southern Low Countries in massive waves since the late 1560s. Many of them went to northwestern Germany. After Antwerp

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was taken by Alessandro Farnese in 1585 and the River Scheldt was blocked for trade, even more merchants left in search of a new trading base. Among them were several Portuguese New Christian families, who were joined by New Christians coming directly from Portugal and from other cities of the Marrano diaspora.⁵ They were heading northwards to newly emerging business centres to make their own fortunes, or were sent as factors by their out-branching Portuguese patrons.

Hamburg was a good option for the merchants interested in trading with the Iberian Peninsula. Having a strategically advantageous position linking the Baltic with the rising Atlantic commerce, Hamburg had become the leading port city of the Holy Roman Empire. In contrast to the more developed cities of Amsterdam and London, Hamburg was not at war with Spain and the annexed kingdom of Portugal. In fact, it vehemently insisted on its neutrality towards the parties in conflict, at a time when trade between the Dutch or English ports and the Iberian Peninsula was officially forbidden and forcefully prevented. Due to this policy, Hamburg had turned into a busy international centre not only for trade, but also for news exchange, diplomatic contacts, war material purchases and money transactions. Calvinists, Mennonites, Lutherans and Catholics from the Low Countries had settled in Hamburg since the 16th century. In 1605, they were given a contract by the Hamburg City Council granting trade privileges to them, although they were not set on an equal footing with the citizens.⁶ Before them, the English Merchants Adventurers had already been allowed to establish a corporatively organized settlement in Hamburg. They had transferred their staple from Antwerp to Hamburg in 1566/1567.⁷ Another although smaller group of foreigners settled in Hamburg were the Italian Catholics who had been arriving since the 1570s.⁸ Against this backdrop, prospects for the Portuguese Jews did not appear so bad either. In fact, in the contract granted to them in 1612, they were given the right to trade and to conduct financial transactions under the same conditions as the Netherlands. In their religious life, however, they were more restricted.⁹

Historical research tends to focus on the economic activities of foreign merchant communities by isolating them from their merchant colleagues of the host society and other nations in the same place.¹⁰ But when regarding the economic activities of the Portuguese Jews, it should be taken into account that the merchants from Hamburg and the Low Countries had themselves been cultivating intensive commercial contacts with Portugal since the Middle Ages. Hanseatic and Netherlandic businessmen living in Lisbon had been granted extraordinarily accommodating privileges at the

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beginning of the 16th century, which were repeatedly renewed.¹¹ A regular commercial intercourse existed between Hamburg and Portugal as well as Antwerp. Therefore it is likely that some of the Portuguese merchants already knew their German, Dutch and Walloon commercial colleagues before their arrival in Hamburg, and were thus able to take up and extend formerly established forms of economic cooperation. An indication supporting this assumption is given by an otherwise implausible warning by the Portuguese Jews during negotiations with the City Council in 1607. In a petition concerning the conditions of residence, they warned the Council that their relatives and friends on the Iberian Peninsula would cut off business relations with the Hamburg merchants if the Council insisted on maintaining a projected extra tribute for the Portuguese Jews.¹² This suggests that a number of important business contacts of the Hamburgers could be found in the same commercial circles from which the Portuguese immigrants originated.

A closer look into the list of the Portuguese Jewish inhabitants of Hamburg in 1606 gives another hint as to the relationship between them and some Hamburg merchants. Rui Fernandes Cardoso and his family lived together with Gonsalvo Cardoso and his wife in a house on the Burstah belonging to the van Spreckelsen family.¹³ Rui Fernandes Cardoso, also called David Aboab, was a prominent initiator and promoter of the Jewish community and the most important Portuguese merchant at the turn of the century. His brother Gonsalvo Cardoso, or Abraham Aboab, was also engaged in the trade with the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁴ The van Spreckelsens, on the other hand, were a family belonging to the native merchant elite of Hamburg, active in trade with Flanders and the Iberian Peninsula. Hartich van Spreckelsen had lived in Seville for some time. Back in Hamburg, he became a shipowner together with Johann van Spreckelsen, and continued to trade with the Iberian Peninsula. In 1587 Hartich became treasurer of the City, and one year later Hinrich von Spreckelsen became a member of the City Council.¹⁵ Other Portuguese Jews lived in the houses of the Arens, Elers and Petersen, Reder, Hoier and Kentzler families.¹⁶ These names also appear in the context of the Iberian trade, as merchants, shipowners, or agents of the Hamburgers in Lisbon and in other ports. Members of these families held posts in the City Council or as treasurers of the City.¹⁷ All this does not necessarily mean much. The Portuguese Jews had to live somewhere. Not being citizens, they were not allowed to buy real estate and thus had to rent their houses. But it is quite possible that the Cardosos and the van Spreckelsens and others cooperated in much more than just the housing.¹⁸

Further research into the relationship between Portuguese merchant families and their German and Netherlandic counterparts would possibly also shed some light on a peculiar register of 1605, which contains the freight certificates made for the Spanish authorities and lists the merchants' wares traded from Hamburg to Spain and Portugal.¹⁹ Over 110 names appear on that list, but only one of them is Portuguese. It seems evident that more Portuguese Jewish merchants must have been engaged in the trade with the Iberian Peninsula at that time. Kellenbenz believed that they did not show up for fear of the Inquisition. In fact, if working together with German or Netherlandic partners, they may have given their Nordic colleagues' names to the authorities.

The City Council's interests when negotiating the conditions of establishment with the foreign traders remain difficult to decipher.²⁰ Personal benefits of the Council's members may well have played a role.²¹ In the public discussion, the City Council defended the Portuguese Jewish presence vis-à-vis the rather anti-Jewish Constituted Citizenry on the grounds of their commercial and financial importance to Hamburg. And the Portuguese Jews themselves also followed this line of argumentation. Several times they threatened to leave the city, which, as they reminded the Council, would have meant a great loss to its commerce.²² It was no idle threat, because the neighbouring towns of Altona, Stade and Glückstadt offered much better privileges, especially concerning religious freedom. But until the end of the century, the Portuguese Jewish community always came to an agreement with the Hamburg government.

Yet what was actually their measurable significance to Hamburg's trade? The Portuguese merchants were far fewer than the English and Netherlanders. Between 1610 and 1620, there were some 20 to 30 Portuguese merchants, but circa 100 English Merchants Adventurers and more than 100 long-distance traders from the Low Countries. The number of merchants originating from Hamburg, or immigrated but with citizen status, is more difficult to assess. Assuming that it was mainly the big merchants who opened a bank account in 1619, when the Bank of Hamburg was founded, the total of 540 accounts owned by 560 persons including foreigners may give an indication of their number.²³

Regarding the financial circumstances, the merchants originating from the Low Countries were much wealthier than the Portuguese Jews. This is evident from an analysis of the foreigners' tax lists of the years 1595 and 1615 and corresponds to the volume of turnover at the bank.²⁴ In 1619, only 2 of the 42 accounts with a turnover of more than 100,000 Marks belonged

to Portuguese, whereas 29 belonged to Netherlandic merchants. In total, 29 out of the 540 individual or joint holders of bank accounts were Portuguese. Thus their share in the number of account holders was 5.4%, but only 4.5% of the total turnover was attributable to them.²⁵ We do not know, however, if the Portuguese merchants in Hamburg controlled their trade and finances themselves or if they only acted as factors on behalf of patrons from the Iberian Peninsula, where the bulk of the capital involved may still have been concentrated. Neither can the financial cooperation with their partners in Amsterdam be easily unravelled.

Quantitative data on the trade volume can also be drawn from the toll duties. In 1608 and 1609 the Portuguese Jews contributed 3.3% and 2.5% respectively to the yearly *Werkzoll*, a toll levied on all the goods imported and exported over land and over sea. Their share in the *Bakenzoll* is only known for the year 1609, and was just slightly larger with 6.3%. The *Bakenzoll* was a toll paid only on goods which were shipped on the Elbe.²⁶ Of course, a single year's information is not representative. And if they worked in cooperation with non-Portuguese merchants, once again goods might have been declared under their partners' names.

These data can be complemented by the city's admiralty toll books (*Admiralitätszollakten*). Of the more than 285 merchants who were engaged in the trade with the Iberian Peninsula in the 1630s, only 48 were Portuguese, which corresponds to about 17%. Together they handled around 20% of the trade volume.²⁷ Even in this branch, of the 20 firms which had the most important annual turnovers, only three were Portuguese, seven of them were from the Low Countries, the others German.²⁸ Some ten years later, from 1644 to 1646, the number of merchants active in the Iberian trade had nearly doubled to 535.²⁹ At this time the admiralty toll was levied on the sea-borne trade with nearly all regions, except for Denmark, northwestern Germany and the Low Countries. In 1645, out of the 15 merchants with a turnover of more than 100,000 Marks, there was only one Portuguese but 10 Netherlanders.³⁰ In total, the Portuguese represented 7% of the merchants and handled around 5% of the trade liable to the admiralty toll.³¹ Most of them confined their business to the Iberian Peninsula, only very few also traded with Italy, France, Russia, Norway and England. In addition, the Portuguese were active in the trade with the United Provinces.

Kellenbenz and others were convinced that the trade of the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg, at least in the first half of the 17th century, was dominated by the importation of products from the Portuguese colonies, notably sugar and pepper.³² However, this was never proven. Kellenbenz had quantitative

16 evidence only for a single year, and it only was regarding the foreigners' imports to Hamburg.³³ He did not evaluate any sources which could provide information about their imports in comparison with those of the native merchants, nor did he look at their exports. According to Jonathan Israel, "until 1595 almost the whole distribution of Portuguese East India spices and Brazil sugar to northern Europe was handled by the Portuguese New Christians residing in Antwerp".³⁴ It is often assumed that they were able to keep their position in the trade with colonial products when moving to other cities in northern Europe. Israel suggests that for Amsterdam "there was little resistance to Jewish penetration of this sector" because products were new in the markets and "there was no entrenched group barring the way to Sephardi ascendancy over [...] sugar trade, rather appreciation of this fresh asset on the part of the city fathers".³⁵ The same could have been true for Hamburg.

In Hamburg, however, the Portuguese Jews were neither the first to deal with sugar and other colonial wares nor did they ever really dominate the trade. As we saw, merchants from Hamburg were active in commerce with the Iberian Peninsula long before the first Portuguese merchants arrived in Hamburg. According to the admiralty toll books in 1632/1633, the Portuguese Jews only had a share of about 40% of the imports in sugar, while in import of pepper their participation was negligible.³⁶ Furthermore, neither sugar nor spices were the most important goods with which the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg traded. Instead wax and textiles took first place, each with a share of 15% of the total turnover of the Portuguese merchants. Only then came spices, i.e. the collective category of unspecified "drugs", cinnamon, cardamom, galangal, curcuma, cumin, saffron and pepper, amounting to 12% of their total turnover. Sugar had a share of 10%, followed by grain, weapons, munitions, metal wares, metals, fruits, olive oil and dyes. In 1647 sugar indeed took first place among their commercial goods with a share of 23%, but grain had also become quite important with 20%, while spices were no longer of any relevance. Once again the Portuguese merchants traded in a wide range of goods which was in no way limited to wares of colonial origin. The products that they exported to the Iberian Peninsula were of a far greater significance than has been realized to the present.

As a matter of fact, Portugal was much more dependent on the import of grain, shipbuilding materials and weapons than Hamburg on that of sugar and other luxury products from Portugal. Since the Middle Ages the country had imported grain from northern Europe, and since 1504 grain was freed from all entrance duties in Portugal. In addition, Hanseatic merchants in Portugal were at least partially exempt from duties on timber, metals and

other shipbuilding materials as well as on weapons and munitions, all of which were urgently needed for the conquest and preservation of Portugal's vast overseas empire.³⁷ To protect their own position in the trade in these highly profitable goods, the native merchants from Hamburg employed the so-called guests' law (*Gästerecht*), which among other things prohibited direct trade in certain goods between two non-citizens.³⁸ The most important of these commodities was grain. Thus the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg had to buy the grain which they wanted to export to Portugal from a citizen and could not buy it from the producer or a middleman from another place. In the trade with munitions, metals and metal goods, the Portuguese had a little more freedom, as they could at least employ a factor or commissioner with citizen status if they did not want to buy them from a citizen. Wax and textiles however, which ranked high on the list of merchandise traded by the Portuguese Jews, could be traded without restrictions, as could also sugar and spices. It is true that the Portuguese Jews concentrated their commercial activities on Portugal during the first half of the 17th century, but the choice of commodities with which they traded resulted from a set of complex circumstances special to the place of settlement.

Trading networks based on kinship relations were the fundamental element which shaped the activities of the commercial firms and gave trade a concrete shape.³⁹ These networks were key to commercial success of the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg, but their special structure was also a major cause for the subsequent decline of their trade with Portugal and its empire. In the first half of the 17th century, trade was carried out in relatively small family networks which included Portuguese Jews, New Christians as well as some Old Christian partners. The loosely tied networks, which extended inter alia to the overseas domains, were centred in Lisbon and other Portuguese ports, where the Inquisition was a permanent and unpredictable threat for all New Christians, whether Judaizing or not. If the middlemen in Portugal were arrested, trade broke down in the whole network. The goods they kept were confiscated and in the worst case even their trading partners in other localities could be prosecuted by the Inquisition.⁴⁰ Although family ties generally were the basis for the safety and reliability of the networks, trade with New Christian relatives in Portugal also meant a risk to the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and elsewhere.

But it was not only the Inquisition which put the New Christians and Portuguese Jews at a disadvantage. The established trading networks were also weakening because after some time, the emigrated merchants in Hamburg and elsewhere in the diaspora lost contact with their correspondents in

18 Portugal and its colonies. Sooner or later most of them left Portugal, never to come back. Family members often followed into emigration and new kinship links in their place of origin could hardly be established. Communal and religious leaders in the diaspora opposed even the temporary return of the Jews to the so-called *terras de idolatria*.⁴¹ Solidarity institutions like the *santa companhia de dotar orfãos e donzelas pobres*, which promoted the cohesion of the Portuguese Nation in the diaspora by endowing poor girls for marriage, excluded New Christians living in the Iberian Peninsula and the Ibero-American colonies.⁴² Thus, while their Portuguese origins at first almost predestined the Portuguese Jews for the trade with Portugal, after some time they faced difficulties on this route which the Christians did not encounter.

From the beginning the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg were confronted with a lively competition on the part of their German and especially their Netherlandic colleagues. Like the New Christians and Portuguese Jews, the merchants from the Low Countries profited from a far-reaching diaspora which comprised more or less the same ports as the Marrano diaspora. At the latest since the 1570s, the Flemish and Dutch were remarkably active in the transatlantic trade as well as in Brazilian sugar production.⁴³ The Portuguese Jews often reacted with cooperation. In a situation of constant exchange between Hamburg and Amsterdam, they profited from business associations with Dutch merchants as well as with Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam. After the end of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621, when several Portuguese Jewish families left Amsterdam for Hamburg, cooperation between the merchants of the two cities grew even more intensive. Neutral Hamburg turned into a frequently used stop-over for commerce between Amsterdam and Portugal, because trade between Dutch and Spanish ports once again had been declared illegal.⁴⁴ But these transactions lost much of their importance in the 1630s, when the Dutch West India Company conquered parts of northeastern Brazil and the merchants in Amsterdam gained unhindered access to the colonial markets. With the Portuguese secession from Spain in 1640 and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, Hamburg lost its pivotal role as a neutral port in the Dutch-Iberian trade. In the long run, the centre of the Portuguese Jewish trading networks shifted from Portugal to northern Europe. The inclusion of England and the Caribbean into the Portuguese Jewish world reinforced this process during the second half of the 17th century.

Different from what Kellenbenz had suggested, the Portuguese Jews did not have an outstanding economic position in Hamburg. They just formed one group of foreign merchants among others, and they were trading on the same routes and with the same products as some of their German and Neth-

19 erlandic colleagues. Even in the Iberian trade, their turnovers were not as exceptional in volume as is sometimes assumed. Although they played their part in making Hamburg more cosmopolitan in terms of its economic life, the Netherlanders, Englishmen, Italians and Hamburgers all participated in the international trade as well as in commercial innovations like the founding of the bank, the introduction of an exchange law and new insurance techniques, etc. It should not be ignored that Amsterdam, London and Genoa were the leading centres in terms of commercial and financial development – and that Lisbon was rather tardy in this respect by the end of the 16th century.

But it is certain that it was their trade that enabled the Portuguese Jews to survive, both in the diaspora and in Hamburg. Not only did they earn their living from it, but it was also the reason for which they were allowed to settle and for which they were tolerated as an alien social and religious group in Hamburg. It was in the merchants' houses that the first synagogues were established and it was the merchants who supported and financed many activities within the religious and cultural sphere. Books, ideas and traditions of Portuguese Judaism travelled alongside with wheat, sugar, textiles and other goods on their trading ships.

Endnotes

- 1 Michael Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Die Sefarden in Hamburg*, 2 parts, Hamburg 1994 and 1997; Michael Studemund-Halévy, *Biographisches Lexikon der Hamburger Sefarden*, Hamburg 2000; Jutta Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischer Orthodoxie, 1590–1710*, Hamburg 2001; Hiltrud Wallenborn, *Bekehrungseifer, Judenangst und Handelsinteresse. Amsterdam, Hamburg und London als Ziele sefardischer Migration im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim 2003; Jorun Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion. Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 2013.
- 2 Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim an der unteren Elbe. Ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1958. For the history of the book cf. Helmut Heiber, *Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands*, Stuttgart 1966, pp. 456–457; Christhard Hoffmann, *Juden und Judentum in der bundesdeutschen Geschichtswissenschaft*, in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 43, 8 (1995), pp. 677–686, here p. 678.
- 3 Jonathan Israel (ed.), *Empires and Entrepreneurs. The Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585–1713*, London 1990; Jonathan Israel (ed.), *Conflicts of Empires. Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713*, London 1997; Daniel Swetschinski, *Kinship and Commerce. The Foundations of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth Century Holland*, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981), pp. 58–74; Daniel Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans. The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam*, London 2000; Francesca Trivellato, *The familiarity of strangers. The Sephardic diaspora, Livorno, and cross-cultural trade in the early modern period*, New Haven 2009.
- 4 This article was originally written in 2005 and revised in 2014 after the publication of my book (cf. n. 1). It contains some ideas which were not developed in the book, while the book

- takes a much broader approach comparing the Portuguese Jews with the other merchants trading between Hamburg and Portugal in the 17th century and brings some new findings to the forefront which are not reflected in this article.
- 5 The Portuguese immigration and the institutional establishment of the Portuguese Jewish community in Hamburg were only isolated occurrences in a general climate of confession-alization, migration and economic development of northern Europe in the 16th and early 17th century. Cf. Heinz Schilling, *Die niederländischen Exulanten des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Ein Beitrag zum Typus der frühneuzeitlichen Konfessionsmigration, in: *Geschichte in Wissen-schaft und Unterricht* 43, 2 (1992), pp. 67–78.
- 6 Robert van Roosbroeck, *Die Niederlassung von Flamen und Wallonen in Hamburg (1567–1605)*, in: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 49/50 (1964), pp. 53–76; Heinz Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert. Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte*, Gütersloh 1972, p. 79; Michael D. Driedger, *Obedient Heretics. Mennonite identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona during the confes-sional age*, Aldershot 2002, p. 17.
- 7 Later they felt forced to move out to Emden and then to Stade, before returning to Hamburg and being granted a second contract in 1611. Cf. Heinrich Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers und die englische Kirchengemeinde in Hamburg 1611–1835*, Hamburg 1904; William E. Lingelbach, *The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg*, in: *The American Historical Review* 9 (1904), pp. 265–287; Wolf-Rüdiger Baumann, *The merchants adventurers and the continental cloth-trade (1560s–1620s)*, Florence 1982.
- 8 Hermann Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Spanien- und Portugalhandel, 1590–1625*, Hamburg 1954, pp. 258–265. In contrast to the other groups of foreign mer-chants, the Italians never obtained a collective foreigners' contract.
- 9 On this contract and the subsequent contracts of 1617 and 1623, cf. Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, pp. 64–76.
- 10 Philip Curtin initiated the study of ethnic minorities in regard to their importance for long-distance trade, Frédéric Mauro pointed out the Portuguese Jewish diaspora as a typical example of such a "merchant community", consisting of a foreign group of traders with its own organizational structures, backed by bonds of solidarity, and exclusive towards outsid-ers. Francesca Trivellato, however, drew attention to the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of trading networks, including those of the Portuguese Jewish diaspora. Cf. Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge 1984; Frédéric Mauro, *Merchant Com-munities, 1350–1750*, in: James Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires. Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, Cambridge 1990, pp. 255–286; Francesca Trivellato, *Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne, Hindous de Goa. Réseaux marchands et échanges interculturels à l'époque moderne*, in: *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 58 (2003), pp. 581–603; Trivellato, *Familiarity of strangers*.
- 11 Jan Denucé, *Privilèges commerciaux accordés par les rois de Portugal aux Flamands et aux Allemands (XV^e et XVI^e siècles)*, in: *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 7 (1909), pp. 310–392; Vir-ginia Rau, *Privilégios e legislação portuguesa referentes a mercadores estrangeiros (séculos XV e XVI)*, in: Virginia Rau (ed.), *Estudos de História. Mercadores, Mercadorias, Pensamento Económico*, Lisbon 1969, pp. 131–173; A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Relações entre Portugal e a Alemanha no Século XVI*, in: A. H. de Oliveira Marques (ed.), *Portugal Quinhentista (Ensaio)*, Lisbon 1987, pp. 9–32.
- 12 Peter David Heinrich Reils, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte der Juden in Hamburg*, in: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 2 (1847), pp. 357–424, here p. 364; Alfonso Cassuto, *Neue Funde zur ältesten Geschichte der portugiesischen Juden in Ham-burg*, in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 1931, 1, pp. 58–72, here p. 60.
- 13 "Up den Burstade in van Sprekelsen hus Ruwy Ferdinando Cardoso midt sin husfrawe soch kindern und einem jungen. Int sulvige hus, wo folget, Gonsalvo Cardoso mit seiner haus-frawen". StAHH, Senat, Cl. VII Lit. L^a Nr. 1 Vol. 4e, Konventsprotokoll; cf. Cassuto, *Neue Funde*, p. 64.

- 14 Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, pp. 208–210; Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, pp. 244–245; Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 111, 114–115, 128–129, 255–256, 478.
- 15 Martin Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in soziologischer Sicht*, Hamburg 1975, pp. 162–163, 238, 378, 380; Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, p. 124; *Chronologisches, bis auf die neuesten Zeiten fortgesetztes Verzeichnis der bisherigen Mitglieder Eines Hochedlen und Hochweisen Rathes, der Ehrbaren Oberalten und der Verordneten löbli-chen Cämmerey der freyen Stadt Hamburg*, Hamburg 1820.
- 16 "Neven dem Hilligen Geiste in Reders huße: Ferdinando Dinis und sein broder Jochim Carluß, beide gesellen, noch mit ihrer suster de junfer, noch ein wedewe mit 2 ihrer döchter, beide jungfrun. [...] Up dem Brocke int huß van Kentzler: Hinrik de Lima mit sin husfrowe, ver kinder und 1 magd. Up dem Dreckwall int hus van Henning Elers: Antonio Ferdinandis, sin husfrowe, ein klein kindt, sine moder und sin cassirer mit nahmen Francisco Ferdinandiß, dat sin broder is, und sin junge. [...] Noch up dem Dreckwal in Christoffer Hoyerß huß: Emanuel Nuneß mit einem jungen. In de Rickenstrate in Clement Petersen huß: Jochim Alverts mit siner suster, noch eine olde frowe van siner frundtschop. [...] In der Bohnenstraße int huß by Davit Arenis: Peter de Palasio, ein gesel mit einem jungen. [...] Up dem Dreckwal in Lißbet Elerß huß: Michel Rodrigues mit siner hußfrowe und 1 klein kint", Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Senat, Cl. VII Lit. L^a Nr. 1 Vol. 4e, Konventsprotokoll, cf. Cassuto, *Neue Funde*, pp. 64–65.
- 17 Reißmann, *Hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, pp. 92, 374–375, 377, 380–381; Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, pp. 109, 117–119, 126, 157; *Chronologisches, bis auf die neuesten Zeiten fortgesetztes Verzeichnis*.
- 18 It shall be mentioned only in passing that several of the houses in Lisbon Rua Nova deserted by merchants suspected of Judaizing on their part were occupied by incoming foreign mer-chants. Cf. Leonor Freire Costa, *O transporte no Atlântico e a Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil (1580–1663)*, vol. 1, Lisbon 2002, p. 124.
- 19 Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, p. 110.
- 20 Jutta Braden made a meritorious analysis highlighting the political and religious arguments of the debate. Concerning economic issues, however, her assumption that the City Council was pragmatic and farsighted, while the adverse Citizenry was guided by professional jeal-ousy, is not convincing. As long-distance sea-borne traders, the Portuguese Jews were com-petitors only for other merchants dealing with the same products on the same scale. These had much weight in the City Council. Although they were also represented in the Citizenry, the citizens who were engaged in other professions could but profit from a brisker trade. As Braden herself admits, we still lack a thorough analysis of the social, economic and admin-istrative development of 17th century Hamburg. Braden, *Judenpolitik*, p. 35. Cf. also Franklin Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona*, 2nd alt. ed., Hamburg 1990, p. 148; Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, p. 74.
- 21 On the City Council members' habit of being rewarded with 'special benefits' at the begin-ning of the century, cf. Jürgen Bolland, *Senat und Bürgerschaft*. Über das Verhältnis zwischen Bürger und Stadtregent im alten Hamburg, Hamburg 1977, pp. 29–30. On the accusation of corruption and nepotism in the middle of the century, cf. Gerd Augner, *Die kaiserliche Kommission der Jahre 1708–1712. Hamburgs Beziehung zu Kaiser und Reich zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 1983, p. 9. Regarding the possible "benefits" from Portuguese Jews cf. Braden, *Judenpolitik*, p. 109.
- 22 Braden, *Judenpolitik*, pp. 141–143, 219–220; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, p. 66.
- 23 Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, pp. 151–155.
- 24 Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, pp. 250–253.
- 25 Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, pp. 153, 183–184.
- 26 According to Kellenbenz, it was a toll to be paid only for imports, but there is no confirma-tion of this assertion in the classic work by Ernst Pitz. Furthermore, Kellenbenz presents the customs taxes paid by the Portuguese Jews in 1608 and 1609 as absolute numbers, arguing that a comparison with the overall trade in Hamburg was not possible. But already in 1936, Karl Zeiger had published the complete customs taxes paid in Hamburg for every year

- between 1563 and 1650. Therefore, the proportion paid by the Portuguese Jews is easy to calculate. Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, p. 111; Ernst Pitz, *Die Zolltarife der Stadt Hamburg*, Wiesbaden 1961, pp. XXI-XXV; Karl Zeiger, *Hamburgs Finanzen von 1563-1650*, Rostock 1936, pp. 144-146.
- 27 In 1632 they handled 19%, in 1633 they handled 17%, in 1634 they handled 24%, in 1637 they handled 21%. For absolute numbers, cf. Reißmann, *Hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, pp. 372-378. In Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, the same source was evaluated for only two years, giving instead consideration to the types of merchandise traded and the ports of destination and origin. Ibid., pp. 203-220.
- 28 The Portuguese were Francisco d'Andrade, Diego Nunes Vega and Manuel de Pina. Together they handled 5% of the trade volume in 1632, 4% in 1633, 9% in 1634 and 9% in 1637. Reißmann, *Hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, pp. 372-378.
- 29 Ibid., p. 48.
- 30 The Portuguese was Diego de Torres. Of the 28 merchants with turnovers between 50,000 and 100,000 Marks, there were three Portuguese and nine Netherlanders. The Portuguese were Francisco d'Andrade (partly together with André d'Andrade), Manuel Rodrigues Isidro and Duarte Esteves de Pina. Ibid., pp. 379-380.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 45, 379-384.
- 32 Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, p. 452.
- 33 Ibid., pp. 111-112, 478.
- 34 Jonathan Israel, The Economic Contribution of Dutch Sephardi Jewry to Holland's Golden Age, 1595-1713, in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 96 (1983), pp. 505-535, here p. 508.
- 35 Ibid., p. 510.
- 36 Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, pp. 210-211.
- 37 Ibid., p. 48. Cf. also Oliveira Marques, *Relações*; Rau, *Privilégios*.
- 38 Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, pp. 50-55, 69-71.
- 39 On the importance of kinship for the Portuguese Jewish merchants, cf. Daniel Swetschinski, Kinship and Commerce. The Foundations of Portuguese Jewish Life in Seventeenth Century Holland, in: *Studia Rosenthaliana* 15 (1981), pp. 58-74, especially pp. 58-73.
- 40 Smith, *Mercantile Class*, pp. 33, 103-104, 134-136, 232, 237, 346-347; Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion*, pp. 250-269.
- 41 Yosef Kaplan, The Place of Herem in the Sefardic Community of Hamburg during the Seventeenth Century, in: Michael Studemund-Halévy (ed.), *Die Sefarden in Hamburg*, part 1, Hamburg 1994, pp. 63-88, here pp. 68-69; Yosef Kaplan, The Travels of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to the 'Lands of Idolatry' (1644-1724), in: Yosef Kaplan (ed.), *Jews and Conversos. Studies in Society and the Inquisition*, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 197-224.
- 42 Miriam Bodian, The 'Portuguese' Dowry Societies in Venice and Amsterdam. A Case Study in Communal Differentiation within the Marrano Diaspora, in: *Italia* 6 (1987), pp. 30-61; Studemund-Halévy, *Lexikon*, p. 11; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, p. 178.
- 43 Eddy Stols, Convivências e convívências luso-flamengas na rota do açúcar brasileiro, in: *Ler História* 32 (1997), pp. 119-147, here p. 120; Eddy Stols, Dutch and Flemish victims of the Inquisition in Brazil, in: Jan Lechner (Hg.), *Essays on Cultural Identity in Colonial Latin America. Problems and Repercussions*, Leiden 1988, pp. 43-62, here p. 44; Engel Sluiter, Os holandeses no Brasil antes de 1621, in: *Revista do Museu do Açúcar* 1 (1968), pp. 65-82, here p. 71. The article by Engel Sluiter sees the Portuguese Jewish role in trade quite differently from that attributed to them by Jonathan Israel. He states that the great majority of the sugar merchants in Holland before 1621 were native from the Low Countries and that the Portuguese Jews were mere "instruments of the Amsterdam capitalists". Neither he nor Israel possesses quantitative data which would support a well-founded estimate of the Portuguese Jews' role in sugar trade or other economic activities. Sluiter, *Os holandeses*, p. 80.
- 44 Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*, pp. 107-110, 112, 143; Israel, *Economic Contribution*, pp. 516-517.