

**MASTERS OF DIFFERENCE**

**Creolization and the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde,**

**1497-1672**

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## ABSTRACT

Based on archival research in six countries, this thesis distils new documentary material into an analysis of the role of Sephardic *cristãos novos* in the formation of Creole society in Cabo Verde and Guiné (Caboverdean space). The role of pre-existing anti-Semitic stereotypes in otherization in the Atlantic world is examined; Sephardic involvement in Cabo Verde was accompanied by transference of subalternity in the Atlantic world from Sephardim to Africans, ensuring that the *cristãos novos* of Cabo Verde were, indeed, masters of difference.

It is argued that the *cristãos novos*' doubleness of identity facilitated their success in Cabo Verde, where protean cultural identities emerged. As a destination of (successful) escape for *cristãos novos* fleeing the Inquisition, Cabo Verde lacked effective control by the metropolis, and was a place where an autonomous Creole identity could develop in which malleable worldviews were key.

The thesis highlights the pan-Atlantic nature of the *cristão novo* diaspora in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, where West Africa was of comparable importance to the American communities in Cartagena and Lima. The symbiotic relationship of hegemonies and rebellions against hegemonies is, finally, examined in this local and international framework which elucidates crucial aspects of the formation of Creole and modern identities.

*I dedicate this thesis to my supervisor, Paulo Farias,  
friend, teacher and kindred spirit,  
without whom it would not exist*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The act of researching and writing a PhD thesis incurs the author in an unparalleled number of debts, which, if the truth be told, it will take a lifetime to repay. It is my hope simply that I may in the future be able to respond with the same degree of intellectual and personal generosity with which my endeavours have been greeted in so many different places around the world.

This piece of research would never have got underway had it not been for my doctoral supervisor, Paulo de Moraes Farias. I well remember our first meeting, one autumn's afternoon in Birmingham; we spoke for two hours, and it was I who had to leave in order to catch my train. This was just a foretaste of the immense generosity of spirit and intellect which it has been my lasting privilege to receive from Paulo. It was he who sensed the intellectual possibilities that might derive from this study; it was he who guided me so shrewdly into all kinds of fascinating and essential avenues of thought and inquiry. I can only hope that this thesis in some way measures up to the extraordinary confidence and belief which he has always shown in this project.

I have been equally as fortunate with my second supervisor at Birmingham, Tom McCaskie. His effervescent intelligence and wit have made the daunting nature of the research always seem more manageable and more human. His large intellectual horizons and his personal and academic honesty have helped greatly to mould the sort of history which I wanted to write.

The Centre of West African Studies at Birmingham University has in every way been a wonderful place in which to base myself for this research. The sense of academic generosity and interdisciplinary comradeship have helped to mould an exciting sense of the possibilities of

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Since this is a thesis which relies so heavily upon archival material, one of the greatest debts which I have incurred has been to archivists. I must thank all the staff at the following institutions: in Portugal, the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo, the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, the Biblioteca da Ajuda, the Sociedade de Geografia, the Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre, the Biblioteca Municipal de Elvas, and the Arquivo da Alfândega de Lisboa; in Spain, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Archivo General de las Indias and the Archivo General de Simancas; in the Vatican State, the staff at the Archivio Secreto Vaticano; in the Netherlands, the Gemeentearchief of Amsterdam; in the United Kingdom, the British Library and the University College London Special Collections Department. The job of being an archivist is a painstaking and an exacting one; I was always impressed by the vast erudition and care which these remarkable people brought to the priceless documents in their care.

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They were always there for me when I returned from my research trips, and always reminded me of the essential humanity and love which I try to bring to my work, and which I hope manage to emerge along with the many emotions which surround, and have surrounded, the subject of my doctoral research.

*Shrewsbury, July 2006*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

ADP – Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre

AGI – Archivo General de las Indias

AGS – Archivo General de Simancas

AHN – Archivo Histórico Nacional

AHNCV – Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Cabo Verde

AHP - Arquivo Histórico Portuguez (Freire, Anselmo Braancamp et al. (eds.)).

AHU – Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

AG - As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo (1960-1975).

ASV – Archivio Segretto Vaticano

BA – Biblioteca da Ajuda

BL – British Library

CGSO – Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício (documentary resource in IAN/TT)

CN - *Colecção de Notícias para a História e Geografia das Nações Ultramarinas, que Vivem nos Domínios Portuguezes, ou lhes são Visinhas.*

CRP - *Crónicas de Rui de Pina* (Lopes de Almeida, ed.).

GAA – Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam

HGCV: CD – História Geral de Cabo Verde: Corpo Documental

IAN/TT – Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo

ML – Mocatta Library, in the University College London Special Collections

MMA – *Monumenta Misonária Africana: Segunda Série.* (Brásio, António ed.).

NA – Notarial Archive (documentary resource in GAA).

NGC - *A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels: Consisting of The Most Esteemed Relations, Which Have Hitherto Been Published in any Language: Comprehending Every Thing Remarkable in its Kind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.*

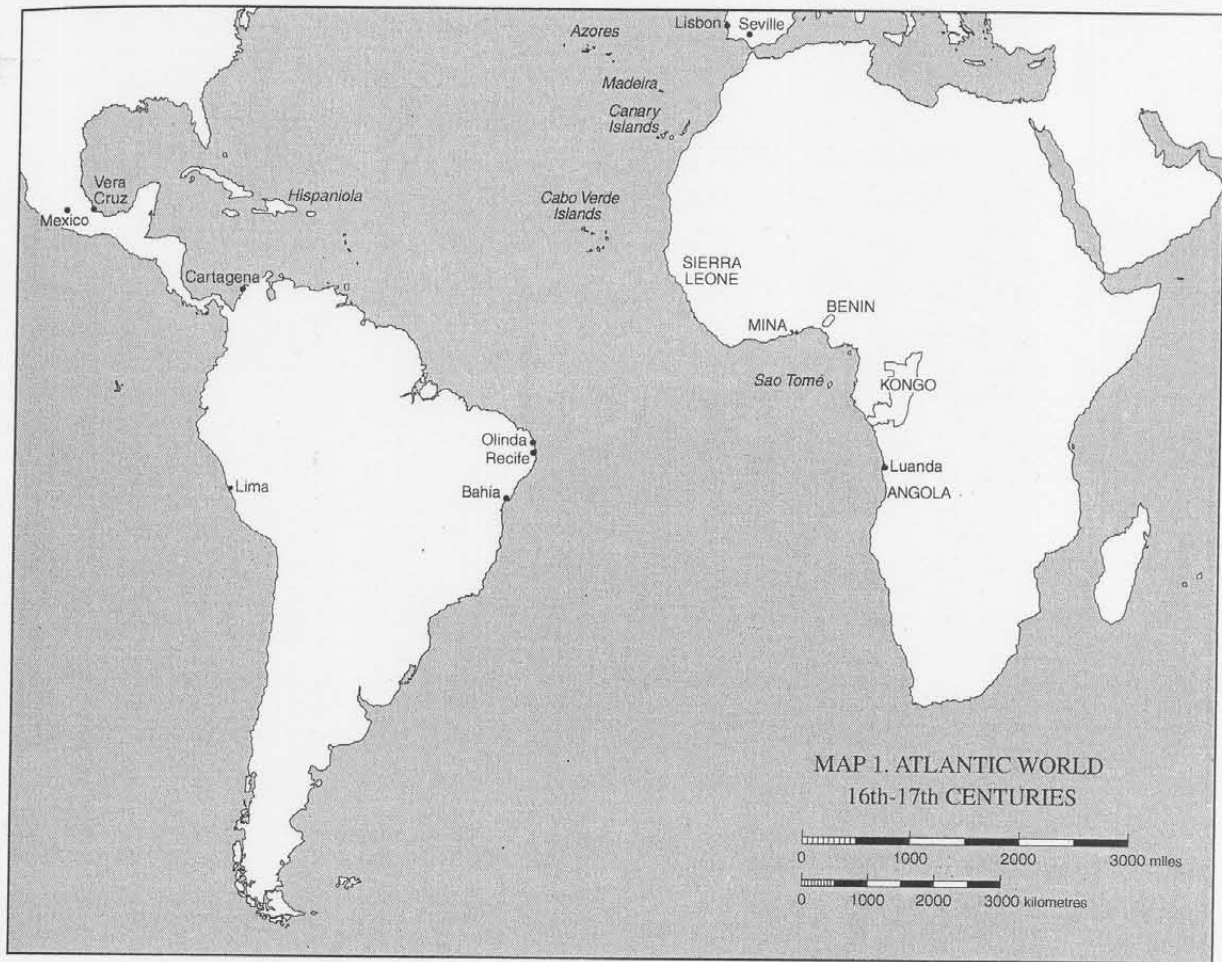
PV - *Primeira Visitação do Santo Officio Ás Partes do Brasil: Denunciações da Bahia, 1591-1593.*

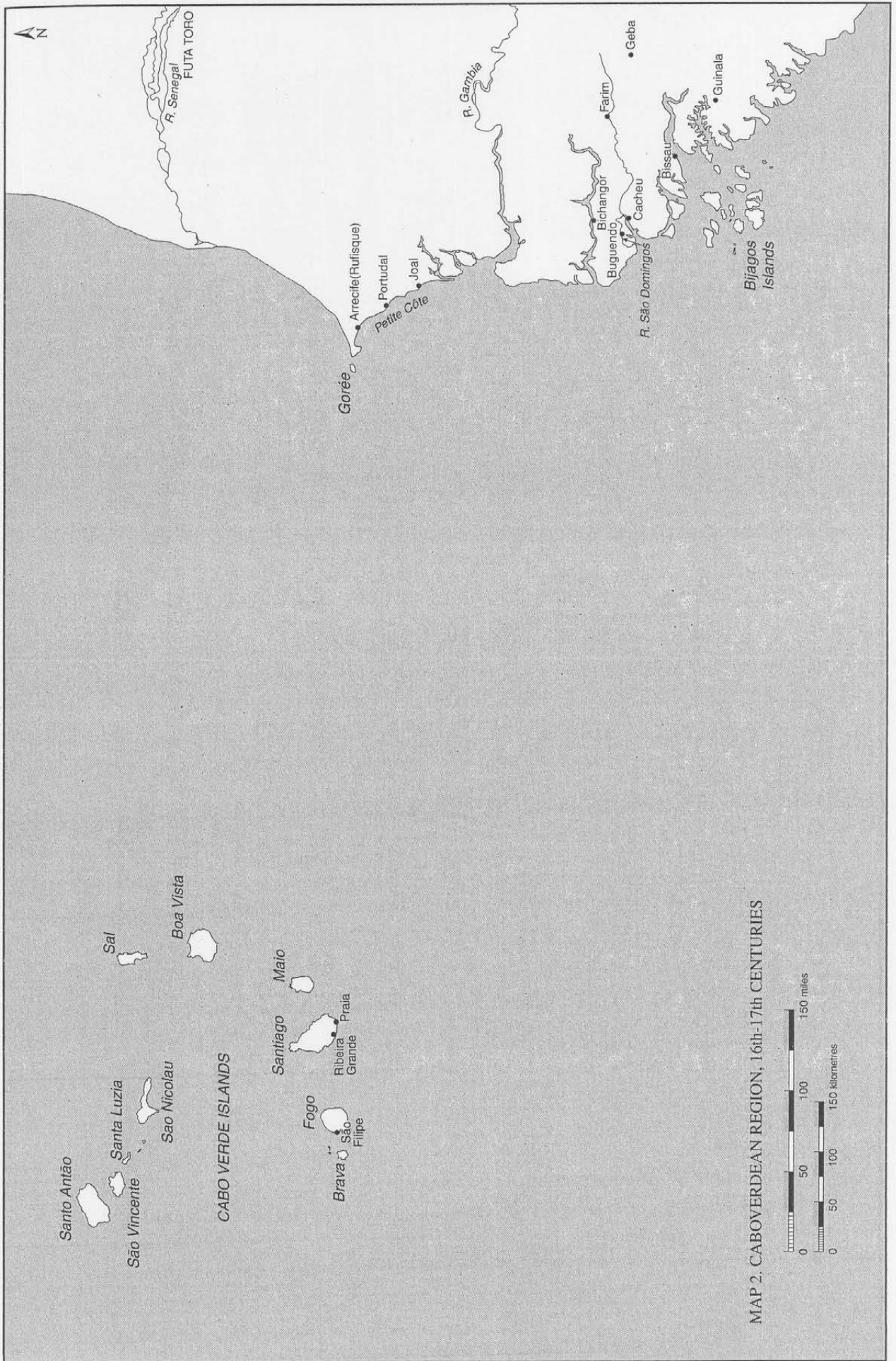
RD – *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi Pubblicati Dalla R. Commissione Colombiana del Quarto Centenario della Scoperta dell’America*

SE – Standard Edition of Freud

SG – Sociedade da Geografia

**(Note: AHU documents are usually without folio numbers, so it is only possible to refer to the document in the reference).**

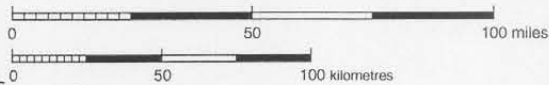




MAP 2. CABOVERDEAN REGION, 16th-17th CENTURIES



MAP 3. PORTUGAL IN 16th-17th CENTURIES



Medina del Campo ●

# **INTRODUCTION**

## **TOWARDS A METHODOLOGY FOR THE HISTORY OF JEWS AND JUDAISERS IN CABO VERDE**

## Prologue: For a Study of the Forgotten Jews of Cabo Verde

On July 30<sup>th</sup> 1629 the Governor of Cabo Verde<sup>1</sup>, João Pereira Corte Real, put to trial one João Rodrigues Freire<sup>2</sup>, a goldsmith inhabiting the city of Ribeira Grande on Santiago Island suspected of harbouring Jewish beliefs<sup>3</sup>. Among the evidence was a letter of Freire's addressed to his brother-in-law, Francisco Nunes Barbossa, who lived in Pernambuco (Brazil)<sup>4</sup>; the letter contained a string of Freire's lamentations as to his condition "in this hell"<sup>5</sup>, living somewhere so isolated and forgotten that it was "not found on *mapa mundi*..."<sup>6</sup>.

The historiography of Cabo Verde is a posthumous justification of Freire's distress. Particularly in the Anglophone world, this remote archipelago has been ignored, and – worse still – misrepresented. A recent example is *Rivers of Gold* by Hugh Thomas, a narrative of the conquest and early settlement of the New World. In discussing Columbus's third voyage to the Americas – which stopped at Cabo Verde – Thomas attempts to evoke the atmosphere of the archipelago in 1498, describing how the governor, Álvaro de Caminha, had arrived with 2000 Jewish orphans which had been sent with him by King Manoel I of Portugal<sup>7</sup>; there are so many

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis I shall use "Cabo Verde" to refer to the Caboverdean islands – that is, the modern nation of Cabo Verde; the piece of the African coast then known as the "Guiné do Cabo Verde" (the "Guinea of Cape Verde") shall be called "Guiné". The phrases "Caboverdean space" and "the Caboverdean region" refer to Cabo Verde, Guiné, and the maritime space which links the two nodes of the region.

<sup>2</sup> As this thesis is concerned primarily with Lusophone territories, I shall always use the Portuguese spelling for an individual's Christian and family names, except where that individual is referred to exclusively in a Hispanic context, where the Castilian variant shall be used.

<sup>3</sup> Details of the trial are found in IAN/TT's Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 214, folio 11rff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, folio 11r – "*Francisco Nunez Barbossa seu cunhado é Pernãobuquo*".

<sup>5</sup> Ibid – "*neste inferno*".

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., folio 13r – "*vivendo neste q não esta em mapa mundi*".

<sup>7</sup> Hugh Thomas (2003), 152 : "He [Columbus] arrived at Fogo on 1 July. There were then about fifty settlers, mostly criminals. The Portuguese Governor, Álvaro de Caminha, was busy buying and selling slaves from nearby Africa, copper objects, and sugar. He also had with him at that time two thousand Jewish boys and girls, who had been separated from their parents in Lisbon after King Manuel had introduced laws expelling the Jews the previous year".

errors in this passage that it is difficult to know where to begin: Caminha and the 2000 Jewish boys had been sent to São Tomé, not to Cabo Verde<sup>8</sup>: they had been despatched by João II, not Manoel I, in 1493 and not 1497<sup>9</sup>: and furthermore, Manoel had not expelled the Jews – rather, he had forcibly converted them<sup>10</sup>.

Beginning a work of history with criticisms of another historian's accuracy is almost certainly foolhardy. Nevertheless, Thomas's string of errors is significant for understanding the place of Cabo Verde in much historical literature; for my purposes, the sole nugget of gold is in their composite nature, as his mistakes relate not just to the history of Cabo Verde, but also to the presence of Sephardic Jewry both here and on São Tomé. For if Cabo Verde is often bypassed in reconstructing the history of the Atlantic, the question of the Jewish presence on the islands (and elsewhere in Africa) is a veritable no-through road. Footnotes, generalizations, and virtually nothing in the way of systematic archival research: this is what this history has been reduced to<sup>11</sup>.

To enter into a study of the Jews and Judaizers of Cabo Verde is therefore to enter into a study of the almost entirely forgotten and the traduced living on a place which has been mostly forgotten and traduced<sup>12</sup>. And while oblivion is often seen as the best of anaesthetics for pain, it

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<sup>8</sup> For more background to this, see Moshé Liba (with the editorial cooperation of Norman Simms) (2003).

<sup>9</sup> CRP, 1019 – the date given by Rui de Pina in his chronicle of the life of King João II.

<sup>10</sup> I do not wish to imply that Thomas's work is always of such poor quality. His history of the conquest of Mexico, in particular, is a seminal work. See Hugh Thomas (1993).

<sup>11</sup> This has only belatedly begun to change in the last few years, with work by Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (2002) in the Inquisition archives. Da Silva's work deals with West Africa as a whole, and even her admirable investigation is just the beginning of a long process: as with the history of the *cristãos novos* in America and the work begun by Novinsky, Böhm and Liebman in the 1970s, it may well take decades for this history to be properly integrated into Atlantic discourse.

<sup>12</sup> Of course, Lusophone historians have not engaged in such a collective amnesia as have their Anglophone counterparts. Nevertheless, Thomas's errors are suggestive of the archipelago's place in wider historical consciousness. Recent years have seen the publication of an extensive literature in English on, for instance, Angola and Mozambique (and for a brief time on Guiné-Bissau), and one could not imagine such basic errors being

is also often the best of masks for ignorance and vested interests. In fact, treading the pathways of the forgotten may well prove to be the best way we have of reconstructing the emotional and structural developments which have shaped the tortured dynamic of today's world. The study of the forgotten is in many ways the study of the complexity of history, and of the inadequacy of ideologies.

So the present obscurity of this subject – the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde from 1497 to 1672, and its connection to the process of creolization - is an invitation, not an impossible challenge. It gives us the opportunity to compensate for those who have been forgotten and to think our way towards a modulated understanding of vital ideas and problems which these forgotten people have, in their own way, helped to create.

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countenanced for accounts of these Luso-African nations; for Cabo Verde (and São Tomé), by contrast, it would appear that historians can get away with playing “fast and loose”.

## CHAPTER 1: ON THE HISTORY AND HISTORIANS OF CABO VERDE

Researching the history of the modern nation of Cabo Verde, which only attained independence as recently as 1975, raises difficult questions. The colonial legacy remains raw. One of the main historiographical factors stems from Cabo Verde's status as a nation that only ever had colonial government until a generation ago. This virtually unique situation<sup>13</sup> has led to two broad currents of Caboverdean historiography: one before independence, which largely sought to grasp the Portuguese experience in the islands from "discovery" onwards; and one after independence, which has freed itself of this European focus.

This process is illustrated by the debate as to how and when the 10 main islands of Cabo Verde, situated some 500km off the coast of northern Senegal, were settled<sup>14</sup>. This debate has recently seen an expansion of the question of discovery from a purely European issue to one embracing Africa and the Arab world, and is resonant of the archipelago's attempt to (re)construct the identity of the islands after centuries of Portuguese domination. Until Cabo Verde's independence, discussion of early settlement primarily revolved around whether Alvise de Cadamosto, Diogo Gomes or Antoni di Noli was the first person to reach the archipelago, *ca.* 1460<sup>15</sup>; however, the discussion now centres around whether the islands had not been long known by the Arabs prior to this European arrival<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> The only other instances I am aware of are those of São Tomé e Príncipe and Réunion. I stand of course to be corrected.

<sup>14</sup> Today the archipelago is constituted by 9 inhabited islands – Boavista, Brava, Fogo, Maio, Sal, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Santiago and Santo Antão – together with the uninhabited island of Santa Luzia and several islets.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (ed.) (1945), Vol. III, 276-87 – Godinho holds that Cadamosto was telling the truth as to his landing in the islands in 1456, but that as he was only interested in gold and spices he did not write about his discovery until the publication of his account in 1497; for a contrary view, see António Brásio (1962) - Brásio dismisses Cadamosto as a liar in favour of the swift-sailed Gomes, who he claims arrived in

Thus Nafafé suggests that Jolof people were on Santiago island prior to European arrival<sup>17</sup>. Lima points to a map of 1400 from Arab geographers which is said to mark the archipelago<sup>18</sup>; he argues that Arabs came to Sal to harvest salt, and that the lack of fresh water there took them on to Boavista<sup>19</sup>. Andrade also cites cartographic evidence, in particular maps accompanying the texts of the geographer Al-Idrisi (1154) which are said to show the islands, and the Mappa Mundi of Mecia de Viladestes showing two islands off the mouth of the River Senegal in 1413<sup>20</sup>. However Carvalho notes a Mappa Mundi of the Italian Fra Mauro in 1460, which shows no islands<sup>21</sup>; he proceeds to qualify this debate as academic, and in the sense that the truth of the matter may never be known he is justified in so doing<sup>22</sup>: but, placed in the prism of the current (re)construction of Caboverdean identity, these discussions reveal the nature of contemporary Caboverdean historiography, which lends its support to this (re)construction in contradistinction to the preceding approach to Caboverdean history.

For prior to independence in 1975, the ideology of Salazar's authoritarian *Estado Novo* government held that the Portuguese "nation" was indivisible, and consisted of Portugal as well as "her" overseas territories. Indeed, the existence of these territories was crucial to the concept

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the islands before the Genoese di Noli during these expeditions conducted under the auspices of Henry the Navigator.

16 An important exception to this general trend is A.H. de Oliveira Marques (1972: Vol. 1, 136), who held that Arabs and Africans visited the islands for salt long before the arrival of the Europeans. Simão Barros (c.1939: 6-8) also wrote persuasively of the likelihood of some human knowledge of the islands prior to the Portuguese arrival, holding that the islands were probably uninhabited when the Portuguese arrived, but had been previously visited.

<sup>17</sup> José Lingna Nafafé (2001), 36 n.80.

<sup>18</sup> António Germano Lima (1997), 40.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>20</sup> Elisa Silva Andrade (1996), 32.

<sup>21</sup> Inácio dos Santos Carvalho (1998), 16.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 15; recent archaeological finds on Santiago Island may in fact support the notion of pre-European habitation (personal communication, Philip J. Havik), but this does not remove the ideological emphasis of the current debate.

of the grandeur of Portuguese history<sup>23</sup>, and in Cabo Verde the “greatness” of Portugal’s trajectory was said to begin with the archipelago’s discovery. All too often, imperialist eulogies constituted an irksome subtext of typical (Portuguese) histories of Cabo Verde, and thus to understand the contemporary historiography of Cabo Verde we must grasp something of its colonial predecessors.

\*

Perhaps the doyen of Caboverdean historiography prior to the islands’ independence was António Brásio, whose seven volumes of documentation concerning the early history of Cabo Verde and Guiné remain an impressive achievement<sup>24</sup>. The volumes contain much evidence on the administrative and ecclesiastical history of the islands, and are indispensable.

However, when one examines Brásio’s creations of historical analysis, the nature of his work comes into question. Thus, in his work *Os Pretos em Portugal* [“The Blacks in Portugal”] Brásio contrasted the “moral and social helplessness of individuals of the black race” with the help they had received from Portuguese institutions in former times<sup>25</sup>. And, in an article relating

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<sup>23</sup> As an editorial of *O Mundo Portugues* put it in 1935: “We must always keep alive in the Portuguese people the dream of the *Ultramar* and the consciousness and pride of empire. Africa is more than a land to be exploited...Africa is for us a moral justification and a ‘raison d’être’ as a power. Without it we would be a small nation; with it we are a great country” - Cit., Fernando Andresen Guimarães (1998), 10.

<sup>24</sup> António Brásio (1961-2004). This is not to mention his first series of transcribed documents, which relate to Angola and São Tomé.

<sup>25</sup> António Brásio (1944), 120 – “o desamparo moral e social a que está votado o indivíduo de raça preta”.



to the discovery, settlement and evangelization of the islands, Brásio heralded his subject-matter thus:

'Whenever we are given the privilege of treading on any piece of Portugal's overseas territories...we feel as though we embody all the greatness, all the glory, all the pride of being Portuguese, by means of an inexpressible sentiment of intense historical re-enactment.'<sup>26</sup>

This pride was intimately connected – in Brásio's mind - to the idea that the islands were discovered and settled by the Portuguese. Hence, in this article, Cadamosto is dismissed as a charlatan (who happens to be Venetian), and the discovery of the islands is safely placed in the hands of Diogo Gomes and not Antoni di Noli (Gomes just happening to be the only Portuguese among these three Europeans)<sup>27</sup>: and so the great programme of Portugal's enlightenment of the dark corners of the globe is secured.

The very concentration on this issue of “discovery” reveals the subtext of nationalism which, as just mentioned, impregnated the colonial historical discourse. Although the debate was erudite, it is the topic selected for discussion which reveals the unstated agendas. For of course, the idea that it was the Portuguese who had discovered the islands suited not only the myths about the grandeur of Portugal's historical trajectory, but also the Salazarist claim that Portugal had an inalienable right to control the archipelago<sup>28</sup>.

Thus not only did Brásio embody the Salazarist pride in the *Ultramar*, but his choice of topics for study was a further echo of the *Estado Novo*'s concerns. He did not doubt the moral

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26 “Sempre que nos é dado o privilégio de pisar qualquer parcela de Portugal Ultramarino...sentimos corporizar-se em nós, num sentimento inexprimível de intensa vivência histórica, toda a grandeza, toda a glória, todo o orgulho de ser português.” António Brásio (1962), 50.

27 See above, page 5 n.15.

28 The *Estado Novo* depended both politically and economically on the colonies of *Ultramar* – more so than the other European colonial nations in Africa, which did not face the near bankruptcy of the Portuguese state which Salazar found on taking the reins of power – and so it was extremely problematic for the regime to decolonize on one hand and survive in Portugal on the other, as events were to prove. The *Estado Novo*'s ideology thus had to legitimize its control of colonies such as Cabo Verde. See Fernando Andresen Guimarães (1998), 15.

benefits which Portugal had brought to Africa from the very beginning. In 1958, he described the new life of the first slaves brought from West Africa to Portugal in the 1440s in delusional terms, saying that “the captives found in Portugal, under the aegis of the Infante [Henry the Navigator], a new way of life, more dignified, more human”<sup>29</sup>. He held, in the early 1960s, that only a few “surviving African traits have resisted their fatal dilution amid a superior, assimilationist culture”<sup>30</sup>. For Brásio, these risible customs would not last long, and would be absorbed by their surrounding Christian culture.

In the work of many of Brásio’s contemporaries one finds comparable preconceptions clouding both the fields studied and the approaches taken to interpret them. A classic instance of this is that of the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre. During the first half of the 1950s, Freyre visited Lusophone Africa, and praised the Portuguese colonial policy<sup>31</sup>. This viewpoint suited his theory of Lusotropicalism; this was the idea that the medieval Moorish domination of Iberia had led to a fetishization of Moorish women by the Portuguese peasantry, through folktales such as that of the *Moura encantada* (enchanted Moorish princess), from which it was but a short step to the mixing of races in the Lusophone colonies and a lack of racism among the Portuguese<sup>32</sup>. Yet this was not the reality experienced under Portuguese colonial domination, where the greater benefits given to “*assimilados*” and “*mestiços*” revealed an ideology that was

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<sup>29</sup> António Brásio (1958), 86; as Russell put it, “few people with imagination enough to consider what had happened to these captives before they were put up for auction in the slave-markets of Lagos and elsewhere could venture to go that far” – P.E. Russell (1995), 25.

<sup>30</sup> “*As sobrevivências africanas que têm resistido à sua fatal diluição na cultura superior assimiladora*”. António Brásio (1962), 84.

<sup>31</sup> For a Caboverdean perspective on this visit, see José Vicente Lopes (2002), 77-8.

<sup>32</sup> In the Brazilian context, this idea was fleshed out in Gilberto Freyre (1963); the notion of “racial democracy” was developed in Gilberto Freyre (1946). Freyre’s ideas are also discussed disparagingly in C.R. Boxer (1969).

precisely a racist one<sup>33</sup>: as the independence leader Amílcar Cabral sardonically put it, “Gilberto Freyre transformed all of us who live in Portugal's colonial provinces into happy inhabitants of a tropical Lusophone paradise”<sup>34</sup>.

Returning to Cabo Verde, in an influential book on the island of Santiago Amaral wrote of how the *crioulo* was “born of the harmonious fusion of the White with black slaves”<sup>35</sup>. The fact that Amaral capitalised the European and not the African colour is suggestive of the preconceptions that underlay this assertion; however, the notion that the skewed power relations extant between male European slavers and their female African slaves could possibly have led to a harmonious fusion is difficult to sustain<sup>36</sup>.

The question of “discovery” suggested that colonialist preconceptions helped form the guidelines for investigations of Cabo Verde in the Salazar era<sup>37</sup>; we can now see that these preconceptions touched all areas of historiography. Thus although the actual proportion of whites in Cabo Verde was tiny<sup>38</sup>, Amaral is typical in seeing the island's history as involving the mixing of whites and blacks<sup>39</sup>. Those documents which survived told of the deeds of Portuguese

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<sup>33</sup> This process was by no means confined to Cabo Verde. Indeed, the post-independence problems of Angola stem from precisely these racist distinctions. The MPLA's core began as a *mestiço* movement in Luanda, a privileged position which both the FNLA and Jonas Savimbi of UNITA defined themselves against – see Fernando Andresen Guimarães (1998), 26. Similarly, in Cabo Verde and Guiné-Bissau, the favouritism directed by the Portuguese towards Caboverdeans because of their whiter colour contributed significantly to the post-independence frictions that have developed between Cabo Verde and Guiné-Bissau – see Joshua B. Forrest (1992), 45-56.

<sup>34</sup> Cit. José Vicente Lopes (2002), 78.

<sup>35</sup> Ilídio do Amaral (1964), 19; “*nascido da fusão harmoniosa do Branco com os escravos negros*”.

<sup>36</sup> The sexual exploitation by European colonists of their female African slaves in the early Caboverdean colony is cited also by Trevor P. Hall (1992: Vol. 1, 294-5); this is of course not to stigmatize the society that followed, but rather to place it in a broader context.

<sup>37</sup> See above, pages 6-7.

<sup>38</sup> This point is made in Manuel Veiga (2000), 20. The famous letter of relation of Francisco de Andrade in 1582 shows that the slaves outnumbered the “vizinhos” of Santiago roughly 11:1 at this time; on Fogo, the ratio was roughly 7:1 - see MMA Vol. III., 100. Many of the vizinhos were probably mulattos. By 1869, whites constituted just 1.2% of the island population (António Carreira (1972: 456).

<sup>39</sup> Ilídio do Amaral (1964), 188.

officials, and entire works were based on this material as if this alone constituted the history of the islands<sup>40</sup>.

Only more perceptive writers noted the enormous lacunae that existed as a result. As Orlando Ribeiro put it, “as is the case with most of the themes of the Portuguese expansion, the problem of discovery is virtually the only problem to have preoccupied historians, with little being known of the evolution of the islands' settlement and of the occupation of the land”<sup>41</sup>. Crucial to that settlement and occupation was of course the movement of Africans from Guiné to the islands, about which there was an uncomfortable degree of documentary and historical silence.

The one genuine exception to this trend was António Carreira and particularly his work on Cabo Verde's history as a slave-owning culture, which stepped outside the traditional framework to provide a nuanced analysis of the role of slavery in the formation of Caboverdean society<sup>42</sup>. But this work came when the winds of change were already blowing through Portuguese Africa, and could not alone compensate for the vast body of work to which it was in ideological opposition.

It can, then, be seen that the histories written of Cabo Verde in the colonial period were inadequate for Caboverdeans<sup>43</sup>. At the time of independence, Caboverdeans were bequeathed a body of history constructing a national identity which to them was almost worthless, concentrating as it did on the derring-do of a tiny proportion of their ancestors in an attempt to

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40 See for instance Clarisse Virginia Cardona (1964).

41 Orlando Ribeiro (1954), 91 n.1.

42 António Carreira (1972).

43 In a curious way, older histories are in fact more reliable. One takes as an example the work of Simão Barros on pre-Portuguese settlement (see above, page 5 n. 17), and Christiano José de Senna Barcellos's seminal work (1899), which remains highly regarded. The fact that it was during the Salazar era that a growing polarity developed between historical perspectives and Caboverdean experience indicates just how far the *Estado Novo* clouded the intellectual atmosphere.

justify the nobility of their egregious actions: this was, to twist Wilde's famous view of hunting<sup>44</sup>, the unspeakable in pursuit of the palatable.

Even the most important body of transcribed documents had been published by someone who considered the islands' African cultural heritage as subject to an inevitable erosion by the "superior assimilationist culture"<sup>45</sup>, so that in spite of Brásio's superb paleographic work his ideological sympathies raise uncomfortable questions. As an example, this thesis will provide ample evidence of the Jewish presence on Cabo Verde in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is irrefutable, and yet such evidence is by and large lacking from his collections; one wonders why Brásio did not examine the archives of the Inquisition, and one suspects that the answer may well be that, perhaps unconsciously, he preferred not to risk discoveries which might have raised awkward questions for his own worldview as a Franciscan and a Salazarist. In short, where Brásio is concerned, one begins to smell a rat, albeit a highly erudite one.

Even those documents that had been consulted by historians prior to 1975, then, were in need of comprehensive reappraisal at the moment of Cabo Verde's independence. One understands why independence had been so eagerly awaited for so long, and also why the first president, Pedro Pires, would later say that on the night before being sworn in he felt "like a cripple who has been taken off his crutch and asked to walk alone"<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> "The unspeakable in pursuit of the inedible".

<sup>45</sup> See above, page 9 n.30.

<sup>46</sup> José Vicente Lopes (2002), 22.

For Caboverdean historians, the problems they faced in 1975 were manifold. Not only had their history been turned into a political tool of the now defunct Portuguese dictatorship, but the documentation which could allow them to reconstruct a national identity had been treated as callously as their own history.

A UNESCO report of 1981 found that the archival situation of the islands was parlous<sup>47</sup>. It had long been well known that much of the early documentation concerning the islands had been burnt during the repeated attacks of Portugal's European rivals in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Added to this, as Brásio described it flamboyantly in 1962, was an almost wilful disregard over the centuries for the preservation of the islands' history by the various administrators<sup>48</sup>.

Then, in 1818, according to Paulo de Azevedo, author of the UNESCO report, the Portuguese authorities selected the documents which they found most interesting from the Customs' archives and transported them to Lisbon, burning the remainder<sup>49</sup>. This pillaging of the Caboverdean customs' archives has been compounded in more recent times with the disappearance of the entire holdings of the precious *Arquivo Geral das Alfândegas de Lisboa*,

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<sup>47</sup> AHNCV, Coleção Cidade Velha, no. 01946.

<sup>48</sup> “*A dança em que andou o governo e o prelado, de ilha em ilha, através dos séculos, o desinteresse absolute e geral pela organização e cuidadosa manutenção dos arquivos fo governo-geral, da diocese e das paróquias, levaram ao total desaparecimento da documentação dos séculos XV e XVI, e do século XVII muito pouco se salvou e de somenos valor.*” António Brásio (1962), 92. Tr.: 'The dance which the offices of the Governor and the Prelate led, from island to island, over the centuries, combined with the general and absolute lack of interest for the careful organization and maintenance of the archives of the Governor-General, the diocese and the parishes, brought about the total disappearance of documents from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and meant that very few things were saved from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and that even those were of questionable value.'

<sup>49</sup> AHNCV, Coleção Cidade Velha, no. 01946, 13-4. Azevedo suggests that this conflagration was a result of the Portuguese desire for there not to be any traces of the “trade in people which they had practiced for centuries” (ibid.), and that this action destroyed at a stroke a hugely important body of documentation on the slave trade. However, it would seem more plausible that the complex political situation then current in Portugal was of more significance.

where much of the surviving documentation brought from Cabo Verde in 1818 would probably have been found<sup>50</sup>. To round off this tale of documentary woe, the episcopal archive of Cabo Verde, which had been moved to the island of São Nicolau in the 1770s, was burnt by order of the bishop himself in the 1940s<sup>51</sup>. And all this was quite apart from the loss of the Archive of the Casa da Guiné in Lagos in 1755, following the famous earthquake<sup>52</sup>.

Whilst few would go as far as Brásio, whose genuine love of paleaography led him to declare that “the electric chair or the gas chamber seem to us (sic) to be luxurious punishments” for those guilty of the rape of Cabo Verde's archives<sup>53</sup>, the attempt to (re)construct Caboverdean identity through a postcolonial historical understanding can only be compromised by this extremely unfortunate documentary situation; a step forward was taken with the foundation of Cabo Verde's National Archive in Praia, and the transportation of documentation thither from other islands, but even that process has led to problems which have yet entirely to be resolved<sup>54</sup>.

Nevertheless, important steps have been taken forward to redress this situation. After independence in 1975, the process of training the new generation of Caboverdean historical researchers had to begin from scratch, but it bore fruit with the *História Geral de Cabo Verde*

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<sup>50</sup> In November 2004 I visited the Arquivo das Alfândegas de Lisboa, in the building of the general headquarters of the Alfândega of Lisbon, on the Terreiro do Trigo, under the mistaken impression that this was the old *Arquivo Geral das Alfândegas de Lisboa*. It was then that I discovered that the holdings of the Arquivo Geral had disappeared in recent times – “*posto no lixo*” (“put away with the rubbish”), as I was told. The staff were unwilling to disclose exactly when and how this occurred, but it is clear that this was a comparatively recent event.

<sup>51</sup> AHNCV, Coleção Cidade Velha, no. 01946, 14.

<sup>52</sup> António Brásio (1962), 92.

<sup>53</sup> “*a cadeira eléctrica ou a câmara de gás nos parece castigo de luxo*”. Ibid., 89.

<sup>54</sup> The archival material from Fogo, for instance, was all supposed to be transferred to the national archive in Praia. Yet in practice some of the documentation remained behind and has not been systematically ordered (indeed the Municipality of Fogo denies it exists at all, though during my visit to Fogo in November 2003 I saw some of it behind a locked gate); meanwhile, not all the documentation which was transferred to Praia has been classified yet, and is thus not open to investigation. (Information from a personal informant, São Filipe, Fogo, November 2003).

(HGCV)<sup>55</sup>, a project of collaboration among numerous historians, both Caboverdean and Portuguese. Based on an exhaustive study of such archival material as has survived, largely – though not exclusively – in Portugal, and trying to be both scientific in its scope and to reach beyond old categories in its interpretations, this was the first historical work which could attempt to wrest the historical interpretation of the islands from a purely Portuguese vision; the project has thus far reached the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Many of the Caboverdean historians involved in this project have moved on into their own fields of inquiry. Correia e Silva has addressed the role of physical space in the formation of the history of the islands, taking the spatial location of the archipelago as an essential reference point in the evolution of Cabo Verde's history<sup>56</sup>. Cohen, meanwhile, has written persuasive monographs on the nexus between the administrative history and the crown's need to exert economic control of the islands<sup>57</sup>. This materialist reinterpretation has also guided Andrade's work on the islands' history<sup>58</sup>.

Indeed, this neo-Marxist materialist perspective is one of the more apparent characteristics of recent Caboverdean historiography<sup>59</sup>. This in itself, one suspects, is grounded in the Caboverdean independence movement, whose leading force, the PAIGC<sup>60</sup>, was guided by Marxist philosophy in its beginnings. It was, furthermore, almost inevitable that the first generations of intellectuals in decolonized nations should react to the adverse effects of

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<sup>55</sup> This has been published in 3 volumes: Vol. 1, eds. Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos (1991); Vols. 2 (1995) and 3 (2002), ed. Maria Emília Madeira Santos.

<sup>56</sup> António Leão Correia e Silva (1990); idem., (1996).

<sup>57</sup> Zelinda Cohen (1994); idem., (1992).

<sup>58</sup> Elisa Silva Andrade (1996) - though Andrade is not a part of the team which is working on the HGCV.

<sup>59</sup> Andrade, for instance, admits at the start of her work to having a Marxist view of history – ibid., 13. Something of this heritage is also apparent in José Vicente Lopes (2003), e.g. 47, 85-7.

<sup>60</sup> *Partido Africano Da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*.



colonialism by choosing a political stance which contained a trenchant critique of colonialist ideology<sup>61</sup>.

Moreover, if the historical perspective of the new generation of Caboverdean historians is explicable through circumstance, so is their choice of subject-matter. A project such as the HGCV inevitably has to centre itself on the accepted major themes of the islands' history. In a similar vein, the independence movement was bound to attract the attentions of the nation's foremost researchers and writers, leading to works such as Lopes's seminal *Cabo Verde: Os Bastidores da Independência*<sup>62</sup>. Meanwhile, the crucial role of the slave trade in the islands' history had already been addressed in Carreira's *Cabo Verde: Formação e Extinção de uma Sociedade Escravocrata (1460-1878)*<sup>63</sup>.

This introductory grounding in the perspectives of contemporary Caboverdean historians is not a mere display of bibliographical tub-thumping. It is in fact central to any historiographical project related to the region. For this process of Cabo Verde's historical (re)construction is still new, and the vagaries of Caboverdean historiography illustrate that many other themes have yet to be tackled within this process. One such theme is that of the Judaic origins of some of the earliest settlers of the islands, and the level of influence their presence may have had on the formation of Caboverdean identity.

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<sup>61</sup> Indeed, one could argue that decolonization – and empire – rendered the confrontation between Capitalism and Communism of the later 20<sup>th</sup> century unavoidable, through the creation of a large number of countries whose sympathies were likely to lie with ideologies such as Marxism, that opposed the neo-mercantilist ideologies of their former colonial masters. Ironically, however, Marx's own view on the issue of colonialism was more pro than anti, as he saw colonialism as a means of expanding industrialization and thus the size of the proletariat in readiness for the revolution; thus the inadequacy of Marxist philosophies to deal with the practical consequences of independence in the Global South should come as no surprise. See especially Marx's view on British imperialism in India, "The Future Effects of British Rule in India", in David McLellan (ed.) (1972), 332-7.

<sup>62</sup> José Vicente Lopes (2002).

<sup>63</sup> António Carreira (1972).

## CHAPTER 2: THE NEED FOR A STUDY OF CABO VERDE'S JEWISH PRESENCE

Any study of the Jewish presence in the Portuguese *Ultramar* is a study of the *cristãos novos*, or “new Christians”. These were Jews who had been forcibly converted to Christianity in Portugal by Manoel I in 1497; the term was also used, however, to refer to their descendants, and in this thesis it refers to all people of Jewish descent in Cabo Verde and Guiné, excepting those who publicly professed their Jewish faith, who are here called Jews<sup>64</sup>. Many of those converted in Portugal in 1497 had been from Castile and had sought refuge in Portugal after Fernando and Isabel expelled the Jews in 1492<sup>65</sup>.

For over a century it has been broadly accepted by historians of Cabo Verde that *cristãos novos* were an important presence during early European settlement. Barcellos made repeated references to them in his well-known study<sup>66</sup>. Yet though there were many clues here, Barcellos provided nothing like a systematic analysis of these documentary references to *cristãos novos* and what their actual purport might have been. Nevertheless, Barcellos' work remained the benchmark for the question of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde until independence.

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<sup>64</sup> It is important to note, however, that over the course of the next two centuries, several terms other than “*cristãos novos*” were used to refer to this group of people, in particular *homens da nação* and *homens de negócios* (Yosef Haim Yerushalmi (1981: 17)); another common term was *criptojudeu*, or “crypto-Jew”: these people were also known as “*judaizantes*”, or “Judaizers, referring to *cristãos novos* who partook in Judaic practices in any of the Iberian territories: as such practices were banned, these people performed their rituals in secret, hence the import of the sobriquet “crypto”. The evolution of the terminology related to *cristãos novos* is a fascinating subject in its own right, which I hope to analyze at some future point; the many different categories reflect both the fundamental confusion of the mentality of the Iberian majority with relation to these people – a confusion essentially caused by the fact that these categories were an attempt to rationalize an attitude of hostility that was not rational – and the evolution of concepts of nationhood and group identity in this period.

<sup>65</sup> This was an important precursor to the development of tropes of alienation and modernity among the *cristãos novos* of Portugal, and must have affected the delineation of these ideas among *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde. For a detailed outline and analysis of how this process developed in Iberia, and its subtext as a form of nationalism and otherization emerging from an increased abstraction in labour and in thinking, see Appendix B, The Jews of Spain. <sup>66</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899).

So Barros referred to the “semitic blood” of the colony, without making any documentary references<sup>67</sup>. Ribeiro, apparently drawing on Barcellos's comments on Fogo, claimed that there were many *cristãos novos* on that island by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>68</sup>. The documents transcribed by Brásio added little to what was already known about the Jewish presence from Barcellos<sup>69</sup>; and Carreira drew on Barcellos's account of the arguments between Ribeira Grande and Fogo in 1544 relating to the *cristãos novos*<sup>70</sup>.

So, by the time of the independence of Cabo Verde in 1975, though there was a knowledge of this early Jewish presence, there had been no systematic study of what this might have meant for Caboverdean history. Since independence, the main work in supplying new material in this area has been furnished by the team involved in the HGCV. Here there are citations of previously unreferenced documents found referring to accusations of Judaizers<sup>71</sup> on the island of Brava<sup>72</sup>, and to *cristão novo* officials in Ribeira Grande<sup>73</sup>. There are also references to the supposedly scandalous behaviour of groups of *cristãos novos* who mocked the birth of Christ; these people were based in Guiné and had numerous connections to residents of Cabo Verde<sup>74</sup>.

These documents have certainly added to the knowledge of the role of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde. However, understandably, the attentions of the authors of the HGCV have not dwelt significantly on the role of this group. The focus on Caboverdean themes in the HGCV

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67 Simão Barros (c.1939), 39.

68 Orlando Ribeiro (1954), 98.

69 In fact there were no documents in the MMA that added to what Barcellos had already transcribed – something that supports my assertion that Brásio was unwilling to explore this element of Cabo Verde's history any further.

70 António Carreira (1972), 71.

<sup>71</sup> See above, page 17 n.64.

72 HGCV, Vol. III (2002), 131-2. See below, page 80.

73 Ibid., 88; see also Vol. I. (1991), 169.

74 Ibid., Vol. II. (1995), 64, 487; this material has also been cited widely by other historians, such as Philip J. Havik (2004a: 104) and Trevor P. Hall (1992: Vol. 1, 163-4); for my own interpretation, see below pages 116-137.

means that an analysis of how wider Sephardic issues and history might have affected the role and influence of these *crístãos novos* has not been attempted; and furthermore, because each chapter of the HGCV is the work of a separate historian, there has been no attempt to bind the references into a unified whole and to draw appropriate conclusions from them.

This thesis intends to fill this lacuna and provide a fuller knowledge of the role of the *crístãos novos* in the formation of Cabo Verde's history and identity. Substantial new bodies of documentation previously unexplored in this context permit the reconsideration that this subject so sorely merits.

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The lack of any full study of the role of the *crístãos novos* for Cabo Verde is unfortunate, especially given the increasing amount of work available on the role of people of Jewish descent in virtually every Iberian colony in the world of the discoveries.

Looking at the Lusophone world, for instance, the work of Novinsky<sup>75</sup>, Salvador<sup>76</sup>, Wiznitzer<sup>77</sup> and the Wolffs<sup>78</sup> has cast much light on the highly important role of Jews and *crístãos novos* in the formation of Brazil. In the former Hispanic dominions there has, similarly,

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75 See in particular Anita Novinsky (1972).

76 In particular José Gonçalves Salvador (1969) and (1978).

77 One cites particularly Wiznitzer's pioneering work on the congregations of Jews in Dutch Brazil: see Arnold Wiznitzer (1954) and (1955).

78 Egon and Frieda Wolff (1986) and (1989).

been much work done, particularly by MesaBernal<sup>79</sup> and Splendiani<sup>80</sup> in Colombia, by Liebman<sup>81</sup> (and earlier by Toro<sup>82</sup>) in Mexico, by Böhm<sup>83</sup> in Chile and by Guibovich Pérez<sup>84</sup> and Millar Carvacho<sup>85</sup> in Perú. To these must be added the more recent works of Israel<sup>86</sup> and Wachtel<sup>87</sup>, which have placed this subject within the mainstream of historiography.

Moreover, in the one part of sub-Saharan Africa which has received a detailed analysis of the role of the Sephardim, important discoveries have been made. This is Senegambia, where the publication of works by Boulègue<sup>88</sup>, Carreira<sup>89</sup> and Moraes<sup>90</sup> referring to a 17<sup>th</sup>-century Sephardic presence drew the attention of Africanists to this question. More recent archival research by Mendes<sup>91</sup>, Mark and Horta<sup>92</sup> and Green<sup>93</sup> has expanded historical knowledge related to these communities, showing how they were integrated into wider international trading networks and how the Sephardic presence here raises important questions relating to the commercial and social relationships between African peoples and European traders at this time, questions which potentially have far-reaching implications for our understanding of the processes of creolization and the development of mutual discourses.

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<sup>79</sup> Daniel MesaBernal (1996).

<sup>80</sup> Splendiani's monumental work in transcribing and analyzing the books of the Inquisition on Cartagena will remain the standard work on the subject for years to come. See Anna-Maria Splendiani (1997).

<sup>81</sup> Seymour B. Liebman (1970).

<sup>82</sup> Alfonso Toro (1932) and (1944).

<sup>83</sup> Gunther Böhm (1948) and (1963).

<sup>84</sup> Pedro Guibovich Pérez (1998).

<sup>85</sup> René Millar Carvacho (1997).

<sup>86</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (2002).

<sup>87</sup> Nathan Wachtel (2001a).

<sup>88</sup> Jean Boulègue (1972), 57-62.

<sup>89</sup> António Carreira (1984), 44-6.

<sup>90</sup> Nize Isabel de Moraes (1972: 38-40); see also *idem.*, (1995: 300) and (1969: 989-1013).

<sup>91</sup> António de Almeida Mendes (2004).

<sup>92</sup> Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta (2004).

<sup>93</sup> Tobias Green (2005).

This work *in toto* has made it impossible to doubt that Jews and *cristãos novos* played a crucial role in the conquest and ideological conversion of the lands that first appeared on European horizons in the late fifteenth century. In virtually every colony of Iberian influence where a serious study has been done, the concept of national identity - and the role that people of Jewish descent played in the formation of it – has had to be revised. In Brazil, for instance, Salvador has argued that the *cristãos novos* were vital in shaping what he sees as the tolerant nature of the Brazilian national character<sup>94</sup>. MesaBernal, meanwhile, has highlighted the possibility of Jewish influence on the highly distinctive culture of Antioquia, pointing to the fact that the idiosyncrasies of the Antioqueñan dialect are identical to those of the Ladino dialect of Sephardic Jewry, for instance in the use of “vos” rather than “tu” and in the pronunciation of the Spanish letter “ll”<sup>95</sup>.

It is clear, then, both that there was a substantial Judaic input in the settlement of the Iberian colonies, and that this input influenced the cultures that arose in these colonies. Though this does not prove that the same thing happened in the Caboverdean region, it does show that a proper study of the potential presence and activity of the *cristãos novos* here is not out of place. Such a study may also contribute to this process of the (re)construction of national identity which has been ongoing since Cabo Verde's independence in 1975. Though the question of the influence of the Jewish presence on this identity has not yet been systematically asked by

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94 José Gonçalves Salvador (1978), 134.

95 Daniel MesaBernal (1996), 224-5. Indeed, the people of Antioquia today are well aware of their Jewish origins. When asked if they knew of them, two women from the Antioqueñan city of Medellín replied that they did, and that indeed it was their dream to die in Jerusalem – information supplied by Tim Dowling, resident in Medellín for nine years, August 2003. As MesaBernal notes, these inflections are shared with the region of the River Plate, where many settlers were said to be of Jewish origin. The similarity between the Antioqueñan dialect and that of Ladino was confirmed to me in a personal communication in June 2006 by the Ladino speaker Silvio Muti; Mr Muti, a former administrator of the UNESCO World heritage programme, has extensive experience of the differing dialects spoken in Latin America.

Caboverdean historians, it is not one of which they are unaware, as the references scattered throughout the HGCV and a recent study by Claudia Correia attest<sup>96</sup>. Thus the criterion of some Caboverdeans that questions of historical identity must relate to the questions which Caboverdeans are asking today can be met by the subject of this thesis, even if this is not a criterion which everyone would accept<sup>97</sup>.

However, terms of reference will not be restricted to the modern nation of Cabo Verde, but will include the area of “Cabo Verde” as it was understood in the period being studied. This included not only the archipelago which constitutes the modern nation, but also the areas of the African mainland which fell under the theoretical administrative jurisdiction of the islands. In practical terms, this area comprised the coastal regions of what today is Guiné-Bissau and Casamance; in the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries it also included Senegambia, although the growing French presence in the latter 16<sup>th</sup> century and Dutch presence from the early 1600s decisively altered this picture as we shall see.

While initially this study was intended to focus solely on the Caboverdean archipelago, over the course of research it became clear that this wider definition of Caboverdean space was more appropriate. Anyone who reads through the documents of the *Conselho Ultramarino* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century for Cabo Verde and Guiné can only be struck by the common interests and concerns which these two areas had in this period, and thus to study the history of this period

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<sup>96</sup> Claudia Correia (1998). Indeed, during a research visit to Cabo Verde in October-November 2003, I was repeatedly struck by the interest of Caboverdeans in my research project. The woman running the local bar said that her surname was Levi; at another watering hole, I fell into a conversation with a group of three people, all of whom claimed recent Jewish ancestry; the surname of one of these people was Ben Simon. Bars may not be the best places for the conduct of academic research, but they are indispensable barometers of the atmosphere of a nation.

<sup>97</sup> With reference to the HGCV, it has been said that “without knowing the questions which Caboverdeans are asking today, this people will not recognize itself in the *História Geral de Cabo Verde*” (HGCV Vol. II (2001), back cover): “*sem conhecer-mos as questões que o povo cabo-verdiano se põe hoje, não poderíamos contribuir para que esse povo se reconhecesse na História Geral de Cabo Verde*”.

without referring both to Cabo Verde and Guiné would be artificial<sup>98</sup>. Moreover, the fact that the Creole dialects of many of the Caboverdean islands and Guiné are mutually intelligible confirms that this is a shared cultural space<sup>99</sup>; thus by focusing on what I call “Caboverdean space”<sup>100</sup>, I am really stressing the important cultural aspect of this thesis, where culture is itself increasingly defined by specialists as a space<sup>101</sup>.

In interpreting the history of this space, I will not limit myself to any particular historical school or theoretical orientation. Criticisms of the “scientific” mode of history have mounted in recent years with the rise of postmodernism; much of this criticism is justified, but there is a danger of replacing one dogmatic outlook with another. Historians should aim to achieve understanding by creating as rich an interpretation as possible. An interpretation which is limited to any particular ideology is not a rich interpretation; only a rich synthetic interpretation will create the type of nuanced understanding that is needed to engage with any historical subject<sup>102</sup>.

Nevertheless, some may wish to criticize these terms of reference in general, since choosing a subject that focuses more on a European group than one relating directly to Africa could be said to repeat the egregious historiographical errors of the colonial age. However, historical processes should not be isolated from one another, and nor should they be subjected to the whims of each passing age. Such compartmentalization renders understanding less complex, and ultimately modes of explanation become less potent than they need to be if we are to

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<sup>98</sup> Many historians have noted that in this period the historical trajectories of the Cabo Verde islands and the coast of Guiné are extremely closely related. See for instance Jean Boulègue (1972), 60 and Peter Mark (2002), 14. Similarly, Havik expands the definition of “Guiné” to include Casamance (Philip Havik 2004a: 99, n.1).

<sup>99</sup> Nicolas Quint (2000), 99.

<sup>100</sup> See above, page 1 n.1.

<sup>101</sup> Don Mitchell (2000), 63.

<sup>102</sup> For a fuller discussion of the issues involved here, see Appendix A, Methods of History.



develop an historical awareness which speaks for the forgotten, and, as well as interpreting the past, inters it.

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If there is a need for a study of the Jewish presence on Cabo Verde to fill out a lacuna in Caboverdean historiography, then the same is also true for the world of Sephardic studies. Indeed, it could be argued that in this field the gap is even greater, as no historian of the Sephardim has addressed this area in any depth, whereas at least, as we have seen, the issue is not unknown to historians of Cabo Verde.

One might have hoped that one or two of the many researchers of Sephardic history might have entered the arena. Yet with the exception of a work by Serels<sup>103</sup> this hope has been unfulfilled, and furthermore Serels' book is inadequate. Serels claims, for instance, first that Jews settled in Cabo Verde between the islands' first colonization in 1462 and the forced conversion in Portugal in 1497<sup>104</sup>, and secondly that after 1497 very few people of Jewish origin settled in the archipelago<sup>105</sup>. Yet in neither case does he adduce any evidence, and the second claim would seem largely to be based on the history of royal decrees from Portugal concerning the settlement of *cristãos novos* outside the kingdom – decrees which historians of the Sephardic settlement of the Americas have shown were frequently circumvented. While Schorsch has

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103 M. Mitchell Serels (1997).

104 Ibid., 7.

105 Ibid., 4.

recently stepped superbly into the breach with a series of magisterial analyses of the relationship of Jews and Africans in the early modern world, no work of detail exists for the Jewish presence in Africa at this time<sup>106</sup>.

It is surprising that so few researchers of Sephardic history have addressed the history of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde (or for that matter other parts of West Africa such as Angola and Senegambia<sup>107</sup>). The reason for this absence of attention is perhaps an uncomfortable one. One suspects that fears that some of the Sephardic activity in Africa related to slaving may not have encouraged researchers of a group whose history is usually deemed to be characterized more by resistance in the face of persecution than by persecuting. Moreover, this group of Sephardim may seem anomalous to Sephardic specialists who are engaged in the study of how their subjects developed patterns of resistance to the hegemony of others in Europe, leading ultimately to their emancipation.

Thus where historians of the Sephardim have looked at the involvement of Jews with plantations in the Caribbean, they have often suggested that Jewish plantation owners treated their slaves much better than did the Christians<sup>108</sup>; and in one of the few instances where historians of the Sephardim have studied the activities of the Sephardim in Africa, this has been from the standpoint of their subjects as victims<sup>109</sup>.

This perspective helps little in the creation of the nuanced picture that is the historical process. There is no scope in this approach to acknowledge the complexity of history, or the sad

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<sup>106</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2002); idem., (2004) and (2005).

<sup>107</sup> I have already referred to the strong Jewish presence in Senegambia in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. On Angola, C.R. Boxer (1965: 112-3) noted the prejudice of the officials of the *câmara* of Luanda against *cristãos novos*, with the officials complaining in 1656 that some of them were on the council.

<sup>108</sup> Mordechai Arbell (2002), especially 30-2, and 107-8. See also Eli Faber (1998), who argues that the Jewish involvement in the slave trade was in fact far less than would be suggested by their proportionate involvement in international trade.

<sup>109</sup> See, for instance, Moshé Liba (with the editorial co-operation of Norman Simms) (2003).

truth that humanity provides all too many instances of those who, having been abused, become abusers. And while such a perspective is entirely comprehensible given the history of the Jewish people, it cannot easily escape the charge of corresponding to a form of mytho-nationalism that may sit uneasily with historical inquiry.

For historians should not approach their subjects with a view to creating a particular identity or reference frame, but should especially seek to challenge any ideas which they already have about the past. Subjects which are avoided because they might provide awkward counterarguments to cherished beliefs are precisely the subjects which should be examined, and not forgotten. As we have seen, the Sephardim of Cabo Verde fall precisely into this category of the forgotten, and this is why they must be studied, if we are not to lapse into a simplified prism for understanding the past.

## CONCLUSION: THE ORGANIZATION AND ARGUMENT OF THIS THESIS

This thesis is divided into 4 parts, which cover a span of 175 years. Before outlining the contents of each part, it will help if some of the main arguments of this thesis are placed in the reader's mind.

The fundamental argument of this thesis is that the adaptive nature of *cristãos novos*, which was a corollary of their experiences in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, contributed significantly towards the culture of emergent Creole society in Cabo Verde and to the Lusoafrikan class in Guiné. This adaptiveness, it will be argued, was symbiotic with the developing sense of modernity which accompanied the opening up of the Atlantic world. The way in which this process unfolded can be followed with peculiar acuity in the Caboverdean region, one of the first areas involved in Atlantic trade; this makes Cabo Verde something of a paradigm for understanding the development of the early Atlantic world: indeed, as Hall noted with great insight, Cabo Verde was the first location in the world where slaves were drawn solely from African peoples, and is thus a fundamental paradigm for understanding the development of both the slave trade and modern forms of racism<sup>110</sup>.

In making this argument, it is of course important to recognize that the terms “Creole” and “creolization” are themselves notoriously slippery<sup>111</sup>; but here I follow Vaughan's definition for Mauritius, where she suggests that an island that lacked an original population required the production of a space open to multiple cultural and linguistic influences<sup>112</sup>. While creolization has important linguistic connotations, it can also be seen, as Trajano Filho suggests,

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<sup>110</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 1, 2; Vol. 2, 632.

<sup>111</sup> Megan Vaughan (2005), 2.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid..

as a metaphor “to refer to the processes of social and cultural change involving a mass of people with different ties of social and political belonging”<sup>113</sup>. It is in this sense that I use the term in this thesis; and my argument is that, just as Creoles are often seen as cultural brokers<sup>114</sup>, this was a capacity which earlier had been an important facet of the identity of *cristãos novos*.

These arguments concerning adaptability and creolization will be made by drawing on the history of the Sephardic presence in Cabo Verde during the years in question. The analysis of this presence will show, first, that by the 17<sup>th</sup> century the *cristãos novos* were the predominant European social group in Cabo Verde and Guiné<sup>115</sup>; secondly, that the *doubleness* of identity of the *cristãos novos* – caused by their status as an ambiguous group within their host communities – was peculiarly suited to the development of both modernity and Creole societies: modernity at this time appeared to require a sense of differentiation<sup>116</sup>, and the awareness of different viewpoints inherent in the evolution of the ambiguous *cristão novo* identity facilitated the ability to differentiate, while also entrenching their position as taboo outsiders<sup>117</sup>: the development of this trope of being both inside and outside a culture was then transferred to the position of Europeans living in Africa, the *lançados*, and was vital both in the development of this trading class and in the fact that this class was perceived as being peopled largely by *cristãos novos*; thirdly, it will therefore be argued that it was the structural rather than theological components of Judaism which appealed to crypto-Jews in the Caboverdean region:

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<sup>113</sup> Wilson Trajano Filho (2003), 4: “*uma metáfora para..referir aos processos de mudança social e cultural envolvendo uma massa de gente como diferentes laços de pertencimento social e político*”.

<sup>114</sup> For this point in a Senegambian context, see Amanda Sackur (1999: 273), who argues that the 18<sup>th</sup> century Creoles of St. Louis and Gorée saw themselves as cultural brokers.

<sup>115</sup> Indeed, Guiné accounted for a third of all denunciations to the Inquisition in Lisbon in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century; many of these denunciations related to crypto-Judaism – Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (2002: 141, 146, 159).

<sup>116</sup> Here I largely follow Mary Douglas (1984: 77)’s idea of modernity as differentiation.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 38 – here Douglas magisterially analyzes the dangers which “ambiguous” groups are seen to pose to order in societies.

crypto-Judaism will be shown to have been something like a counter-cultural practice in the development of identity in Cabo Verde.

These findings concerning the presence of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde will then allow for points of theoretical interest to be made concerning creolization and modernity. Firstly, we will see that the decline of Cabo Verde in the Atlantic world in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century coincided with the rise of less hierarchical societies and of the Creole class. I will argue that this is no mere coincidence, and that the emergence of a powerful Creole class was predicated on the decline of the externally-oriented money-based economy which had been central to the more hierarchical society that had gone before; however, in its own way, this made the rise of the Creole class itself dependent on a powerful supervenient hegemonic system then at work in the Atlantic. This will, secondly, lead to the most important theoretical argument of the thesis, which is that the effectiveness of subversive ideologies is shown to depend upon the power of the ideology against which they rebel; this is itself something of an echo of Gramsci's dictum that "subaltern groups are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up"<sup>118</sup>.

The discussion of these ideas will put into focus the nature of the modernizing world, and the way in which the new modernized consciousness emerged in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. We will see that pre-existing mental structures were essential, but that in order to be successful they had to be reconfigured in new ways in the Atlantic world; differentiation and the ability to be many things at once were essential to the development of modernity, and to the evolution of Creole society in Cabo Verde.

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<sup>118</sup> Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds. and tr.) (1971), 55.

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Part 1 of this thesis covers the year 1497-1550, and deals with the colonization of Cabo Verde, the first *cristão novo* settlers, and the close links between Cabo Verde and Brazil at this time. The importance of the *cristão novo* community is shown from various cases, and it is suggested that this community had links to the Canaries and Brazil. It is argued that some traces of *cristão novo* influence in the development of Creole societies can be gleaned towards the end of this period.

Part 2 covers the years 1550-1600, and looks in detail at case studies of the Carvajal/Leão nexus and the Gramaxo family. In these case studies I adduce substantial new documentary material which allows for an understanding of how *cristão novo* networks were beginning to operate in practice. It is argued that a sense of being the perceived outsider facilitated the operation of *cristão novo* groups in the Caboverdean region, and enabled their integration with African communities – Africanization – as well as their role in influencing to some degree the emergence of Creole society<sup>119</sup>. It is also shown how through the prism of their understanding of categories of difference, something of emerging ideas on race can be gleaned.

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<sup>119</sup> It is important to distinguish between Africanization and Creolization. Most of the *cristão novo* groups in Guiné assimilated fairly rapidly into their host cultures and Africanized; on the islands, something different occurred, which became creolization – this is why the historiographical focus of the literature discussed in this introduction has been on Cabo Verde and not Guiné.

Part 3 covers the years 1600-1640. Here important new documentary evidence reveals links of *cristão novo* groups in Senegambia with Amsterdam, and fills out our understanding of what was in fact a pan-Atlantic *cristão novo* trading diaspora. Here the African experiences of famous crypto-Jews such as Manuel Bautista Pérez and Sebastián Duarte are stressed, in arguing that the development of the Atlantic should not be compartmentalized and that these were fluid groups with fluid identities. It is shown that the crypto-Jewish identity of this group developed as a diasporic trading religion, and that this was therefore more of a cultural than a religious form of identity.

Part 4 covers the years 1640-1672 and charts the rise of the Creole class in Cabo Verde and the assimilation of *cristão novo* communities into this society. Here the main arguments of the thesis coalesce, and the importance of the sense of difference of the *cristãos novos* – itself a fundamental aspect of modernity – is stressed in the way in which fused social forms were developed.

My intention is that this work will take its place within a wider body which in recent years has stressed the significance of the issue of the renegotiation of identities<sup>120</sup>. In Cabo Verde, identity is still being (re)constructed after independence; in the wider discussion of Atlantic space, African experiences are in need of much greater emphasis<sup>121</sup>: my hope is that this thesis will contribute a little towards the realization of both these aims.

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<sup>120</sup> Jean-Loup Amselle (1998), 54-5.

<sup>121</sup> Sanjay Subrahmanyam (1993: 117) provides a typical summary of the global spread of *cristão novo* networks in the years 1580-1630; the sole region characterized by its absence from this list is Africa.



## **PART ONE**

### **DIFFERENTIATING SPACE**

**Cabo Verde and Portugal's *Cristãos Novos*, 1497-1550**

## INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

In this part of the thesis, the first organization of Caboverdean space is delimited.

In the first two chapters, the nature of Caboverdean society in 1500 and the complex history of the *cristãos novos* are examined. It is argued that the Jews in Portugal were hated as an urban people, and that Iberia became a bridging ground for the emergence of the new modernizing mentality grounded in the capacity to differentiate. This capacity for differentiation was enforced by a process of abstraction from ideas of Iberian society as a *place* whose cultural heterogeneity was akin to the Islamic communities of North Africa, to the view of Iberia as a more theoretical *space*; such abstract ideas would then be taken to Cabo Verde. This allows us to see how, because of the circumstances in Cabo Verde in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Caboverdean space was also a focal point for emergent modernity in the Atlantic world.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus more strongly on the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde. Evidence is considered on the networks of *rendeiros* in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, which were connected to well-known *cristãos novos* such as Fernam de Loronha and João Rodrigues Mascarenhas. It is argued that there is solid evidence for an important Jewish presence in these early years, related both to these important individuals and to more isolated and provincial parts of Caboverdean space such as the island of Brava; the growth of this presence was related to Cabo Verde's important role in the internationalization of trade.

In the final chapter, I look at how this early configuration of Caboverdean space can tell us much about the changing conceptual tropes then at work in the Atlantic, and how the possibility of *cristãos novos* engaged in hybrid cultural practices in Guiné imply that the inherent doubleness of the *cristão novo* condition in Portugal was already contributing to the fused cultural mix which would give rise to creolization.

**TABLE 1: KNOWN *CRISTÃOS NOVOS* IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE, 1497-1550<sup>1</sup>**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATES ACTIVE</b>	<b>BIRTHPLACE</b>	<b>OTHER LOCALES OF ACTIVITY</b>	<b>RESIDENCE IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE</b>
Fernam de Loronha	c. 1504- 1507	?	Brazil, Mina, Slave Rivers (Benin/Nigeria)	Transient
Antonio Rodrigues Mascarenhas	c. 1510- 1516	?	?	None/Transient
Duarte Gonçales	c. 1527-34?	Canary Islands	Canary Islands	Ribeira Grande
Diogo and João da Fonseca	c. 1518-42	?	None	Brava
Pero Moniz	c. 1533-45?	?	Coimbra	Ribeira Grande
Duarte de Leão	1540s	Mogadouro	Lisbon, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo	Transient

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the fact that the Portuguese Inquisition did not begin its fullest sphere of operations until 1547, and to the fact that it would be the Inquisition who would be most concerned with the activity of the *cristãos novos*, the number of known *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde in this period is comparatively low; however, as the evidence discussed in this part attests, this in itself does not mean that their presence was negligible.

## CHAPTER 1: CABO VERDE IN 1500

### 1.1 Initial Settlement: 1462-1480

By 1500 Cabo Verde was almost 40 years into a colonial experiment whose repercussions would encompass both sides of the Atlantic and the following 500 years. The archipelago's distance from the coast made it an ideal trading station for Europeans still struggling to accommodate experiences and cultures that fundamentally challenged their worldview. These remote islands, taken as uninhabited by the European mariners, were perhaps required by them to be uninhabited; as a blank on the map, they could be reconfigured into accepted categories in a way that the African mainland never could.

When Ribeira Grande, the main settlement on Santiago island, was first settled in 1462<sup>2</sup>, Senegambia was controlled by the Jolof empire led by the "Grand Jolof"<sup>3</sup>. The Jolof polity was increasingly independent of the empire of Mali, with Senegambia an identifiable political unit<sup>4</sup>. Jolof consisted of 5 provinces<sup>5</sup> and its regional power came from its impressive cavalry and its proximity to the termini of the Western caravan routes across the Sahara<sup>6</sup>.

South of the River Gambia were the regions of Casamance and Guiné. The main power in Guiné at the time of the foundation of Ribeira Grande was Kaabu, the principality of Mali centred in modern Guiné-Bissau; like Jolof, Kaabu was increasingly independent, with the

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<sup>2</sup> AG, Vol. 11, 32: *Carta de Privilegios dos Moradores da Ilha de Santiago*, June 12<sup>th</sup> 1466: "como averia quatro anos que elle começara povorar a sua ilha de Santiago..."; see also João Barreto (1938), 65.

<sup>3</sup> André Alvares d'Almada (1994), 23-5.

<sup>4</sup> Bouabacar Barry (1998), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Jolof, Cayor, Waalo, Bawol and Sine-Saloum, the latter founded only circa 1500.

<sup>6</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 11. For a general account of the Wolof kingdoms see Jean Boulègue (1987).

major break with Mali occurring circa 1480-90 following the Fulani/Peul migrations led by Koli Tenguela<sup>7</sup>, and even after Mali's decline Kaabu maintained its influence<sup>8</sup>.

However, Guiné was characterised more by cultural and ethnic heterogeneity than by the power of Kaabu. Important coastal ethnic groups included the Diola – known by the Portuguese as Felupes – Bagnuns, Pepels – known by the Portuguese as the Buramos – Cassangas, Beafadas, Balanta, Manjacos and Bijagos<sup>9</sup>. Some have suggested that forms of creolization had already taken place, pointing to some of the shared cultural practices of these groups: the sacrifice of slaves and wives of dead kings at their funerals by the Pepels, Mandinga and Beafadas, for instance, and the important role of blacksmiths in many of these cultures<sup>10</sup>. It was from this mosaic of cultures with both shared and distinct practices that Cabo Verde drew its African inhabitants, and thus Caboverdean space had long been one where cultural mixing and brokerage were widespread; evidently, this would be a significant factor when a later process of creolization occurred.

The principal focus in the first 20 years after settlement by the Portuguese was to consolidate colonization of the islands. The privileges given to the residents of Ribeira Grande in 1466 stated that these were necessary in order to encourage settlement<sup>11</sup>. Three years later the

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<sup>7</sup> Bouabacar Barry (1998), 20-2. See also Walter Rodney (1970), 12; Philip D. Curtin (1975), 8; Nehemiah Levtzion (1980), 95.

<sup>8</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 8. For a more detailed account of the history of Kaabu see Jorge Vellez Caroco (1948).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Peter Mark (1985), 7-17, Walter Rodney (1970), 5-32; Mark's book also has much detail on Diola cultural and political history. For a thorough summary of the ethnicities of the Guiné region see Havik (2004b: 86-147). On the Bagnuns, see Charles de Lespinay (1987); for a map of the peoples of modern Casamance and Guiné-Bissau, see Toby Green (2001), xiii.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson Trajano Filho (2003), 13-4 ; Trajano Filho refers to this inter-African creolization as "primary creolization".

<sup>11</sup> AG, Vol. 11, 32: *Carta de Privilégios dos Moradores da Ilha de Santiago*, June 12<sup>th</sup> 1466.

*capitanias* of Ribeira Grande and Alcatraz were founded on Santiago<sup>12</sup>, and the first contract of trade was made for the Guinea coast with Fernão Gomes<sup>13</sup>.

The importance of settlement was cultural, psychological, and of course economic. The other Atlantic archipelagos under Portuguese control – the Azores and Madeira - had familiar geographical and climatic conditions, and thus could readily be assimilated to European space<sup>14</sup>. However, the “island Sahel” of Cabo Verde<sup>15</sup> belonged to a different register, and it was therefore much harder to find colonists; yet the islands could not be deemed a conquest, or become an arm of economic diversification, without settlement: in the end, this early Caboverdean colony had a strong Genoese flavour to it<sup>16</sup>.

With the novelty of the geographical and cultural space which the islands represented for the Portuguese went the development of new types of economic activity. By 1469, *urzela* was being traded to Portugal by two merchants from Seville, Joham and Pero de Lugo<sup>17</sup>. Already, however, slaving was important; by 1472 ships from Madeira were being provisioned by people in Cabo Verde and sent to trade in Guiné, whence slaves were most likely despatched to work

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<sup>12</sup> João Barreto (1938), 67.

<sup>13</sup> This dated from November 1469, with Gomes paying a yearly sum of 200,000 *reais* to the crown and guaranteeing to explore new sections of the West African coast each year in return for a trading monopoly on all parts of the coast hitherto discovered. See Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 97, 27; Gomes had previously been the receiver of all slaves and goods from Guinea since 1456 (James L. Vogt (1973: 2)).

<sup>14</sup> Alfred W. Crosby (1986), 72-3; see also Isabel Castro Henriques (2000), 31.

<sup>15</sup> The phrase is Antonio Leão Correia e Silva's – see the title of Antonio Leão Correia e Silva (1996).

<sup>16</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 2, 599.

<sup>17</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 23.

on Madeira's burgeoning sugar plantations<sup>18</sup>. By the 1480s horses were probably being bred on the islands for the slave trade<sup>19</sup>.

These developments were not insignificant in the Atlantic context. It is clear that, by 1480, the unfamiliarity of Caboverdean space had not prevented its developing a position of growing importance in Iberian economic affairs. In 1476, during the struggle for the succession to the Castillian throne between Isabel and Juana la Beltraneja<sup>20</sup> Ribeira Grande was attacked by Spanish ships and the captain of the islands, Antonio di Noli, was captured along with several hundred African slaves<sup>21</sup>; even after the truce, Spanish ships were feared as interlopers trading illegally in Guinea<sup>22</sup>, an indication of the growing importance of the region to Portugal and of the recognition of this among Spaniards.

Nevertheless, after 1480 Spain never seriously challenged Portugal's "right" to Caboverdean space. The islands, meanwhile, became a testing ground, with Ribeira Grande the first European settlement of any size in the tropics<sup>23</sup>. This conferred role as a laboratory for the new was not unique to Cabo Verde, and was in fact integral to the experience of Atlantic islands

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 25 - a document of February 8<sup>th</sup> 1472. By 1472 Madeira's sugar industry had grown to significant proportions. While circa 1450 the island did not consume more than 1/3 of its wheat production, by 1479 Madeira had become an importer of wheat, largely through the growth of sugar plantations and vineyards (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981: Vol. 4, 233-5)); the expansion of the sugar plantations was probably not unconnected to the growth in availability of slaves that had arisen from the Portuguese voyages to Guinea.

<sup>19</sup> George E. Brooks (1993), 127; on the importance of horses in general in the slave trade see Trevor P. Hall (1992) - the Genoese sailor Alvise de Ca da Mosto wrote that in 1455 a horse was sold on the coast for between 9 and 14 slaves, according to the quality of the horse: see Ca da Mosto's account in Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (ed.) (1945), Vol. II., 160.

<sup>20</sup> Isabel was the half-sister of the deceased king, Enrique IV; Juana "la Beltraneja" was said to have been fathered by one of Enrique's courtiers, since Enrique himself was said to be impotent - but "la Beltraneja" was supported by Portugal.

<sup>21</sup> J.W. Blake (ed.) (1942), Vol. 1, 212-26.

<sup>22</sup> José Ramos Coelho (ed.) (1892), 45: such interlopers were to be treated without mercy, their ships being confiscated before they were thrown overboard and left to die of natural causes: "*todos ser e sejam deytados no mar, pera que mouram logo naturalmente*".

<sup>23</sup> João Barreto (1938), 67.

in general<sup>24</sup>. Brazil's system of *capitanias*, for instance, was imported directly from the Atlantic archipelagos<sup>25</sup>, while its intensive sugar plantations had first been tried and tested in Madeira<sup>26</sup> and then São Tomé<sup>27</sup>; Madeira had also been a crucial proving ground for navigators such as Columbus<sup>28</sup>, enabling them to develop new maritime knowledge which would allow them to make the “voyages of discovery”. In this sense, therefore, though Cabo Verde represented a new space in the Portuguese geographical and conceptual lexicon, there were elements of continuity. Moreover, precisely because at this very early moment of European expansion the Atlantic islands represented testing grounds, they held a disproportionate institutional and cultural importance. Thus, it was in the Caboverdean archipelago that Portugal's hegemony over the region was established, attempts at conquest of Guiné having been fleeting and unsuccessful<sup>29</sup>.

## 1.2 The Organization of Caboverdean Space, 1480-1500

Hindsight, that simple and dangerous weapon, has tended to distort the initial Portuguese voyages to West Africa; given the subsequent importance of slavery and the Caribbean plantations to worldwide economic expansion, slavery can hold a disproportionate position of importance in discussions of the early explorations. Yet gold, not slaving, was the primary focus of these voyages<sup>30</sup>, and Portugal's arrival at the Gold Coast – or Mina – and the foundation of

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<sup>24</sup> As David Brion Davis puts it: “Today it is difficult to appreciate the importance of the rugged, volcanic Atlantic islands as crucibles of New World institutions”. David Brion Davis (1984), 61.

<sup>25</sup> See José Gonçalves Salvador (1978), 243.

<sup>26</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981), Vol. 4, 233-5.

<sup>27</sup> As early as 1495, Antwerp was receiving sugar from São Tomé, an indication of how quickly the Madeiran experiment was transferred here: David Brion Davis (1984), 63.

<sup>28</sup> Carlos Riley (1998), 148.

<sup>29</sup> John K. Thornton (1995), 121-2.

<sup>30</sup> J.D. Fage (1969). 54-5; for a detailed account of the pivotal role of the “*soif de l'or*” in propelling the Portuguese voyages of discovery, see Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1969), 149-63.



the factory there in 1482 was hugely significant<sup>31</sup>. The most important slave trade in Portugal's eyes at this time was not that linking Africa to Europe, but that within Africa itself, as the Portuguese acted as middlemen trading slaves from Benin to Mina and exchanging them there for gold<sup>32</sup>; the significance of Mina's role in the 13 years that followed its foundation is shown by Godinho, since during the reign of João II (1481-95) Mina's gold provided a public revenue of 120,000 *cruzados*, in comparison to 126,688 *cruzados* from other sources<sup>33</sup>.

The opening of Mina's factory was but a part of a significant expansionist movement led by João II in Africa, and though Cabo Verde is far from Mina these developments were to have significant implications for the islands<sup>34</sup>. New contacts with the Obas of Benin and the Manicongos would ensure that Cabo Verde was no longer of merely regional importance, but a vital way station: Vasco da Gama stopped here en route to India, as did Columbus on his third voyage to the Caribbean<sup>35</sup>.

The internationalization of the Atlantic brought with it an expansion of Cabo Verde's trade. By 1480 there was an important trade in shells from the islands to Portugal<sup>36</sup> and the following years saw trade in hides and salt<sup>37</sup>. By 1493, the islands were also active in the ivory trade, and horse breeding took place, though the most profitable trades were in slaves and

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<sup>31</sup> The Portuguese appear first to have reconnoitred the area of the Gold Coast between 1469 and 1475, following the award of the contract to Fernão Gomes in return for further explorations of the coastline beyond Sierra Leone. See A.F.C. Ryder (1969), 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-7.

<sup>33</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1969), 829. Godinho shows that this importance was soon superseded by trade with India, and that by 1507 revenues from India superseded those from Africa (*ibid.*, 830); but in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the importance of West Africa to the Portuguese economy cannot be overstated.

<sup>34</sup> On this policy of João II, see A.F.C. Ryder (1969), 28-9.

<sup>35</sup> Eric Axelson (ed.) (1998), 21-2; for Columbus see e.g. Hugh Thomas (2004), 152: both expeditions passed the archipelago in 1497. On Cabo Verde's role as a stopover see Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981), Vol. 4, 47.

<sup>36</sup> *AG*, Vol. 5, 143-5. See also Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius (1977), 310.

<sup>37</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981), Vol. 4, 47.

cotton<sup>38</sup>. By 1497 there were farriers on the islands to shoe horses, an active weaving industry and a growth in the trade in hides<sup>39</sup>. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century there had also been an attempt to grow sugar, but the aridity made this industry fall away quickly<sup>40</sup>.

The period through to 1500 clearly saw the attempt to consolidate economic foundations; the growth of Portuguese interests down the whole western coast of Africa was significant, as it increased the prospects for trade with passing vessels and of more settlers. The expansion of trade had two major developments: the effective organization of the islands' administration, and the development of Cabo Verde as the major international slaving hub.

In terms of administration, even in 1485 there were still significant gaps in the coverage of Santiago, with fugitives readily finding hideaways in the interior<sup>41</sup>. The island abounded with feral cattle, advancing the desertification which would accompany the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>. Yet by the turn of the century matters had developed significantly: the accounts of the 1490s of the almoxarifes of the islands implies growing efficiency<sup>43</sup>, and by 1500 there was a public jail in Ribeira Grande with an employed jailer<sup>44</sup>. The administrative advances implied by the building

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<sup>38</sup> This is known from the accounts of the Almojarife of Cabo Verde, Afonso Annes do Campo, of 1491-3, producing for the crown 1,914,050 from the sale of slaves. Published in AHP, Vol. 1, 95.

<sup>39</sup> This is known from the account of Pisival Machado of monies received in Cabo Verde owing to the king, published in AHP, Vol. 5, 240.

<sup>40</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz (1985), 12-3; by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century the islands were exporting only 4000 *arrobas* of sugar annually.

<sup>41</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 43: "*E fazer malleficio a alguum homem em alguma parteda dita Ilha porque mereça de seer açoutado e fugir pera outra parte...*"

<sup>42</sup> Ibid; see also HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 53.

<sup>43</sup> See above, notes 38 and 39.

<sup>44</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. I, 123-4, 131-2, 139: three documents which refer to prisoners in the jail of Santiago between 1501 and 1504; the third document also refers to a jailer (*cacereiro*). The jail itself was of doubtful efficiency, as prisoners were continually escaping

of a jail and the thoroughness of the *almoxarifes* doubtless contributed to the ability of the settlers to populate the island of Fogo<sup>45</sup>.

Yet from some perspectives administration is not an untrammelled good. The rise of widespread literacy among officials has been put forward as a cause of the development of persecuting societies in medieval Europe, with writing becoming an instrument of persecution and the new literate class seeking objects of persecution at which to direct this new skill<sup>46</sup>. Administration not only organizes a space; it also subjugates it to existing paradigms. In the case of Cabo Verde, however, as in most cases, the new space was not entirely suited to those paradigms.

The corollary of the islands' growing administrative organization was the growth of slaving; and, whereas the slave trade of the Bight of Benin was predominantly local, the trade in Cabo Verde was at once local and international. To be sure, the development of the weaving trade on the islands depended on African techniques<sup>47</sup>, and the cotton and sugar plantations (such as these were) relied on slaves brought locally: but at the same time the establishment of the Casa dos Escravos and of the post of *Almoxarife dos Escravos* in Lisbon in 1486 shows the increasing importance of slaving in an international context, centralizing a trade which had hitherto been confined to the Algarve<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, the Caboverdean slave trade was not limited to the Lisbon run: almost half of the slaves shipped to Valencia between 1479 and 1516 were

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<sup>45</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos put this at just before 1500 (1899: 57), though as the first church in Fogo dated from 1480 this view should perhaps be revised – see Frederico Cerrone (1983), 14.

<sup>46</sup> R.I. Moore (1987), 137-40; José Angel García Cortázar shows, in a different context, how the development of writing in the 11<sup>th</sup> century led to the destruction of the communitarian Castilian *aldeas* and their rights, and, concomitantly, to the subordination of women in the social hierarchy (1988: 43, 53-4). The view that writing can lead to persecution and oppression is one with which anyone who has read through the archives of the Inquisition can readily sympathize.

<sup>47</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 72.

<sup>48</sup> James L. Vogt (1973), 2-4.

Wolofs from Senegambia<sup>49</sup>, and by 1499 the Canary Islands were looking increasingly to Cabo Verde rather than the Mauritanian coast as a source of slaves<sup>50</sup>.

These developments were significant in a regional as well as an international context. The drawing of slaves from Senegambia and Guiné led to a rise in the cavalry powers of the coastal peoples, enabling them to break away from their subordination to Mali<sup>51</sup>; in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this process would also lead to the disintegration of the Jolof empire and the formation of separate provinces on the coast<sup>52</sup>. The rise of the caravel and the comparative decline of the caravan in the western Sahara contributed to the weakening of Mali and the transfer of Mande power east to Songhay<sup>53</sup>. Of course, all these developments had vital internal factors propelling them, but the shift in the vectors of the Sahel region from the desert to the sea should not be underestimated as a force, and the result on the coast was the fragmentation of this distant arm of Mali's hegemony.

By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, then, Portuguese power was increasingly significant in Caboverdean space. Cabo Verde's international importance is underlined by its role in the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, as the reference point against which the relative "dominions" of Portugal and Spain were defined<sup>54</sup>. Such an important space needed to be subordinated to the Portuguese worldview, and by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the hold of Catholicism on the islands is evident, with denunciations of witchcraft<sup>55</sup> and a widespread presence of clerics and friars<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 1, 115.

<sup>50</sup> Antonio Rumeu de Armas (1956), 418.

<sup>51</sup> Nehemia Levtzion (1980), 96.

<sup>52</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 9.

<sup>53</sup> Songhay's power was built up by Sonni Ali (1464-92): see J.O. Hunwick (1971), Vol. 1, 225-232.

<sup>54</sup> This point is made by João Ameal (1966: 105).

<sup>55</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. I, 123-4, 131-2: both these cases of prisoners in the jail of Ribeira Grande from 1501 involve accusations of witchcraft; in the first, João Jorge was accused of selling pieces of paper with images in Guiné – these may have been *gris-gris* (see Toby Green (2001)), or they may alternatively have represented Mediterranean

Yet though this is evidence that Portuguese power was extensive, the existence of denunciations for witchcraft at this early time shows that a fine line was being trodden between the rigid demands of the old worldview and the emergent hybrid realities of Cabo Verde<sup>57</sup>.

In this environment, there were as yet only small glimpses of the Jewish presence that escalated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Though the Jew Rodrigo Afonso was sentenced to exile to Cabo Verde in 1473, this was commuted to Tangier and there is no evidence of other Jews having been exiled to the islands<sup>58</sup>. João II did despatch his Jewish astronomer, Joseph Vizinho, to examine the altitude of the sun in Guinea in the 1480s<sup>59</sup>, however, and there was a Jewish surgeon at Mina, Mestre Jerónimo, who was paid off and told to leave after the forced conversion in Portugal in 1497<sup>60</sup>.

Yet such references are scattered; the Jewish presence is hard to prove. The greatest symbol of this is Columbus, who spent long periods in Madeira prior to 1492 and had intimate first-hand knowledge of Cabo Verde, whither he had shipped for slaves<sup>61</sup>. The debate as to Columbus's origins is constant, with protagonists of the traditional Genoese and the later crypto-Jewish schools still active<sup>62</sup>; supporters of the latter argue that Columbus used Hebrew letters as

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forms of superstition brought to Cabo Verde - and in the second Guiomar Fernandes was accused of being a procurer (*alcoveteira*) for witchcraft.

<sup>56</sup> By 1480, there were churches on Santiago and Fogo – see Frederico Cerrone (1983), 14. Osório held that Franciscans were present on the island from the 1460s – see João de Castro Osório (1937), 259.

<sup>57</sup> Here perhaps we should recall Mary Douglas (1984: 38): “There are several ways of treating anomalies. Negatively, we can ignore them, just not perceive them, or perceiving we can condemn. Positively we can deliberately confront the anomaly and try to create a new pattern of reality in which it has a place”. It would appear that the censorship of African cultural practices as witchcraft is more in the camp of the negative response, while the adoption of such practices is more of the positive-type response referred to here by Douglas.

<sup>58</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 47-8.

<sup>59</sup> Meyer Kayserling (2002), 17.

<sup>60</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1987), 34.

<sup>61</sup> Hugh Thomas (1997), 88: in 1496, he wrote to the *Reyes Católicos* regarding the price of slaves on the islands. This of course is further evidence of the slaving connections between Cabo Verde and Madeira in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>62</sup> For a trenchant defence of the Genoese school, see Hugh Thomas (2004), 43-9. Mario Cohen (2000: 39-40) summarizes the arguments for the crypto-Jewish theory.

a monogram at the top of private correspondence<sup>63</sup>; moreover, Columbus's contacts in Palos (near Seville) included several *converso*<sup>64</sup> families, members of which were subsequently tried by the Inquisition<sup>65</sup>: this is particularly significant for this thesis since, prior to 1492, the people of Palos had been engaged in illegal trade in Guiné, and part of their punishment was to help equip Columbus's voyage – this might suggest that *conversos* had been involved in the very early trade to Guiné<sup>66</sup>.

Still, the evidence is not conclusive one way or the other. One suspects that Columbus would not have been unhappy that this sort of enigma should emerge regarding his origins. The presence of one of the most enigmatic, and emblematic, of potential crypto-Jews in the Cabo Verde region was symptomatic of much of what would follow. Columbus's identity was always hidden, double, unclear; and this can stand, as we shall see, for much of what the Jewish presence would mean in Cabo Verde in the years to come.

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<sup>63</sup> These letters, **יהו**, were an abbreviation for Baruch Hashem, or “Praised be the Lord” Maurice David (1933), 66; this palaeography has subsequently been confirmed by analysts in Jerusalem (confirmed in an oral presentation by Gloria Mound of the Institute of Marrano-Anusim Studies from Israel at the Conference “Beyond the Nation”, University of Birmingham, June 2005).

<sup>64</sup> The Spanish term for *cristão novo*.

<sup>65</sup> Juan Gil (2000), Vol. 1, 181: Gil cites the Pintos of Palos as contacts of Columbus, and that on departing Seville in 1492 he left his son Diego in the hands of Juan Rodríguez Cabezudo, later reconciled by the Inquisition.

<sup>66</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 2, 438.

## CHAPTER 2: THE *CRISTÃOS NOVOS* OF PORTUGAL

### 2.1 The Forced Conversions in Lisbon, 1497

While Caboverdean space was still being defined in 1500, the forces that were to drive Sephardic Jews there were crystallizing: in 1497, Manoel I had forcibly converted the vast majority of Portugal's Jews to Christianity<sup>67</sup>. That Portugal should have followed previous expulsions of Jews from England (1290), France (1306) and Spain (1492) was immensely significant; Portugal had hitherto been protected from the anti-Semitism unleashed by the first crusade by its distance from the European heartland<sup>68</sup>, and Manoel's decision effectively brought his country into a wider European cultural space to an unprecedented degree: this was, as we shall see, representative of Portugal's definitive inclusion within European *space*, in contradistinction to what we may call earlier Iberian *place*.

Jews had been present in Iberia since before the Common Era, and had been in Portugal ever since its definition as a state in 1179. As soon as Affonso Henriques (1143-85) took Santarém, for instance, the Jews were allowed a synagogue there, while Affonso's son Sancho I (1185-1211) allowed Jews a synagogue in Lisbon<sup>69</sup>. During the reign of Affonso II (1211-23), Jews had Christian slaves and held public office in Portugal<sup>70</sup>. By the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century there were some limitations on Jewish activity, however, as Affonso III decreed that Jews could not be prosecutors in Christian trials and that in legal cases between Jews and Christians Jews

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<sup>67</sup> Traditional historiography suggests that only 7 or 8 Jews escaped Portugal unconverted (see e.g. A. Herculano (1854: Vol. 1, 127), or Cecil Roth (1959: 60)); this number has, however, been challenged by José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim (1997: 83-4), who cites various references that imply it to be a considerable understatement.

<sup>68</sup> See Léon Poliakov (2003b), 147 for a statement of this idea.

<sup>69</sup> J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895), Vol. 1, 119, 121-2; for Sancho I and the Jews in Lisbon, see also José Amador de los Ríos (1960), 149-50..

<sup>70</sup> J. Lúcio d'Azevedo (1922), 7.

required Christian witnesses<sup>71</sup>. Nevertheless, during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century Jews had considerable freedoms and these were only eroded in the 1350s under Affonso IV<sup>72</sup>. Though the rise of the House of Aviz under João I (1385-1433) initially appeared to threaten their position in Portugal, João actively protected them from pogroms similar to those in Castile in 1391, and subsequently from the firebrand preaching of Vicente Ferrer<sup>73</sup>.

In the early 15<sup>th</sup> century nowhere did European Jewry act so freely as in Portugal<sup>74</sup>. Jews were “perfectly integrated into national economic life”<sup>75</sup>. Their shops were on the main commercial streets of the Christian areas, and a few families – the Abravanel, Latam, Negro and Palaçanos – were part of the world of Christian high finance; Jews went to regional fairs and sold goods from Europe, were well known as doctors, engaged in crafts ranging from all types of metalwork to shoemaking and the dyeing and weaving of cloth, and were active in agriculture as both landowners and workers<sup>76</sup>. Nevertheless, the Jews were “considered to be a nation to a certain degree apart”<sup>77</sup>: they had their own communal organization and courts which retained a connection to the Crown through the post of *rabi mor* (Chief Rabbi)<sup>78</sup>, and various types of contact with Christians – especially with Christian women – were prohibited<sup>79</sup>.

As the 15<sup>th</sup> century progressed, this isolation from the majority Christian community was accentuated, and the cultural atmosphere was prepared for the events of 1497. The sacking of

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<sup>71</sup> J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895), Vol. 1, 135-6.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 146-51, J. Lúcio d’Azevedo (1922), 8: Jews were required by Affonso IV to wear a heptagonal star on their hats and were prohibited from leaving the country without his permission; several new taxes were also imposed on the community.

<sup>73</sup> When Ferrer sought permission to come, João I’s response was that he could come with a melting crown of iron on his head – Samuel Usque (1989) **NB: THIS EDITION HAS NO PAGE NUMBERS.**

<sup>74</sup> J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895), Vol. 1, 170-220.

<sup>75</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 273.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 273-80. The Jewish role as craftsmen was of such importance that it was one of the reasons cited in council against the expulsion of the Jews in 1497 – see Damião de Góis (1949), Vol. 1, 39.

<sup>77</sup> A. Herculano (1854), Vol. I, 85.

<sup>78</sup> See especially Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 107-33.

<sup>79</sup> A. Herculano (1854), Vol. I, 89-90.



Lisbon's *judiaria* in 1449 was a harbinger of things to come, although the crown reacted swiftly, executing the ringleaders<sup>80</sup>. By 1472, resentment of the Jewish population was rife: in that year there were protests at the Cortes at Jewish participation in maritime trade<sup>81</sup>, while the Jews of Évora proposed increasing the taxes they paid to diminish the abuse they usually received<sup>82</sup>. The popular representatives at the Cortes of Évora in 1481-2 expressed the envy and dislike with which the Jews were widely seen<sup>83</sup>.

These complaints at Évora appear to suggest that one of the causes of resentment of the Jews was economic, and indeed the cry accompanying the 1449 riot in Lisbon had been "let's kill them and rob them!"<sup>84</sup>. Yet as we will see, other causes were also of importance, and pivotal in the changing view of Portugal's Jews were events in neighbouring Castilla. The problems of the wide-scale conversions here in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the rise of the *converso* class in the cities had contributed to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, with the first trials held in Seville in 1481<sup>85</sup>. Fleeing the burnings which had followed, many *conversos* went to Portugal, where their presence exacerbated the tensions between Christians and Jews<sup>86</sup>. The plague which afflicted Portugal in every year between 1477 and 1496 was blamed on the arrival

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 421; J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895), Vol. 1, 230-2.

<sup>81</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 283.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 187.

<sup>83</sup> J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895), Vol. 1, 240: : "*Vemos os judeus em cavallos e muares ricamente ajaezados...o peor de tudo é que andam sem signaes por serem rendeiros, vexam os christãos e fazem-se senhores onde naturalmente sam servos*"; tr. "We see the Jews riding...richly adorned horses and mules...and the worst of all is that they go about without signs as they are tax collectors, vexing the Christians and acting as masters where naturally they are serfs".

<sup>84</sup> A. Herculano (1854), Vol. 1, 93: "*Matemo-los e roubemo-los*".

<sup>85</sup> For a fuller account of the growth of tensions between Christians and Jews in Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see Appendix B, The Jews of Spain. The two most important recent (and contrasting) views of the rise of the Inquisition in Spain have been provided by B. Netanyahu (1995) and Norman Roth (2002): Netanyahu sees the primary cause as the development of myths around the *converso* class grounded in economic hatred which had a racial manifestation and had been gestating for a long period; Roth argues that the entire 15<sup>th</sup> century saw much better relationships between Christians and Jews in Spain than is widely recognized by the historiography, and that the Inquisition and expulsion represented a radical departure from previous relationships between the two faiths.

<sup>86</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 424-6; I.S. Révah (1971), 281-2.

of the *conversos* and then on the Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492<sup>87</sup>. Estimates of the numbers of Jews who arrived in Portugal in 1492 range from 10,000 to 250,000<sup>88</sup>. Though the Jews of Lisbon still held a vital cultural role, printing 16 of the first 21 books printed in Portugal between 1487 and 1496, this vast influx meant that the popular mood was against them<sup>89</sup>. With the arrival of Spain's Jews the Sephardim constituted, according to some estimates, 1/10 of Portugal's population<sup>90</sup>, and the growing demonization of this substantial minority made the forced conversion of 1497 acceptable to Portuguese society. Thus it was that over 1500 years of Jewish history in Iberia ended in the fountains of Lisbon<sup>91</sup>.

The accession to the throne of João II in 1481 was crucial in this process. João, as has been previously remarked, helped Portugal to look outwards, most notably in Africa<sup>92</sup>. But in parallel with this engagement with the world of external Otherness there appears to have been a growing need to expel, or purify, the internal Other. The growth of anti-Semitic decrees throughout the 1480s may therefore have met inner needs as well as manifest causes of resentment<sup>93</sup>. Thus the accusations at the Cortes at 1481 that Jews were entering churches and profaning the sacrament<sup>94</sup> and that Jewish officials were raping Christian women in the countryside while their menfolk were working in the fields<sup>95</sup>, of the Jew Mestre Gudelha

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<sup>87</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 425; A. Herculano (1854), Vol. 1, 108.

<sup>88</sup> 10,000 being the estimate of I. Loeb (1887), 181-2, and 250,000 that of A. Herculano (1854), Vol. 1, 197; Andres Bernaldez estimated around 93,000, Damião de Góis 100,000. For a summary of the various estimates, see Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 253; she estimates the Jewish population in Portugal in the 15<sup>th</sup> century at around 30,000 (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, 74).

<sup>89</sup> I.S. Révah (1971), 481.

<sup>90</sup> I.S. Révah (1971), 483.

<sup>91</sup> For the classic account of the forced baptisms, see Damião de Góis (1949), Vol. 1, 41-3.

<sup>92</sup> See above, page 40.

<sup>93</sup> As Tavares puts it, "this unusual aggression in Portugal stemmed from physical and psychic insecurity" – Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 424.

<sup>94</sup> António Baião et al. (eds.) (1937), Vol. 3, 99.

<sup>95</sup> Fortunato de Almeida (1967), 390.

poisoning Christians and sleeping with their women in 1484<sup>96</sup>, and of treason and spying against Isaac Abravanel in 1485<sup>97</sup>, can be interpreted as part of the growing desire to purify the local in order to confront the perceived impurities of the external<sup>98</sup>, and of the need to create local order to confront (perceived) external dis-order<sup>99</sup>: accusations of poisoning and sexual transgressions are, after all, typical of what has come to be recognized as projection to guard against neurosis<sup>100</sup>.

## 2.2 Interpreting the Forced Conversion: The Death of the Medieval Worldview

Economic considerations are often cited as key to the rise of Iberian anti-Semitism. In the Portuguese context, Herculano held that the Jews controlled almost all of Portugal's monetary capital<sup>101</sup>. Azevedo referred to the "extortions" and "abuses" of the people through the Jewish role in collecting taxes and public offices<sup>102</sup>. More recently, Tavares has also suggested that the hatred of Jews in Portugal was apparent "more on the level of power and economics than through a spirit of religious fanaticism or intolerance"<sup>103</sup>: Jews were demonized so that their possessions might be purloined.

Yet as I suggested above, using any one individual prism as a sole interpretative focus can lead to a narrowing of understanding<sup>104</sup>. This is, as we shall see, a danger with the

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<sup>96</sup> AG, Vol. 4, 518-9.

<sup>97</sup> AHP, Vol. 2, 31-2.

<sup>98</sup> Maria Luisa Tucci Carneiro (1983), 51: "The task of the anti-Semite is not to build a society but to purify that already in existence" – "*a tarefa do anti-semita não é construir a sociedade, mas purificar a já existente*".

<sup>99</sup> Mary Douglas (1984).

<sup>100</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961e). For a fuller discussion of this author's view on the potential of aspects of psychoanalysis in the unfolding of historical interpretation, see Appendix A, Methods of History, pages 360-366.

<sup>101</sup> A. Herculano (1854), Vol. 1, 101, 109-10.

<sup>102</sup> J. Lúcio d'Azevedo (1922), 17-20.

<sup>103</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1987), 17; it should be noted in the context of the following discussion that Tavares's ideas embrace much more than a narrow materialistic perspective.

<sup>104</sup> See above, page 23.

interpretation of Iberian anti-Semitism, which needs to be viewed as a complete and autonomous ideology in its own right. It was in fact the ambiguous role of Jews as insiders and outsiders, and then of *cristãos novos* as “Jewish Christians”, that prompted their demonization and the necessity to create order; in this circumstance, economic, political and religious pressures coalesced<sup>105</sup>.

The need for this synthetic understanding emerges clearly when looking at economicist interpretations. Most Jews in Portugal in 1497 were not large-scale financiers in Lisbon, but petty merchants and craftspeople<sup>106</sup>, and there were divisions between the oligarchy of Portuguese Jewish society and the rest of the community<sup>107</sup>. Furthermore, the arrival of the Jews from Spain, while socially disruptive, arguably brought great wealth into Portugal: the receptor of the entry taxes from the Spanish Jews collected 8,951,312 *reais* in Évora alone<sup>108</sup>. Thus the *povo miúdo*'s anger at economic injustices appears to have fastened on a scapegoat for their frustration, rather than on the root cause of it.

Moreover, anti-Semitism in medieval Europe was not always the result of economic considerations, and indeed the pogroms of the late 11<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> centuries in Central Europe arose under utterly different economic conditions. This suggests that economic motivation cannot be a necessary condition of persecution, and is unlikely either to be a sufficient condition for it; it needs therefore to be conjoined with other forces.

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<sup>105</sup> It is in any case something of a projection of the present into the past to attempt the separation of economic and religious motivations; with religion the overwhelming hegemonic ideology of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it would have been difficult for people in Portugal to understand any separation of its requirements from those of economics – and as Sanjay Subrahmanyam (1993: 49) points out, the most religious people were often the most mercantile (an example is Henry the Navigator).

<sup>106</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 330.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 125-6; J. Lúcio d’Azevedo (1922), 22.

<sup>108</sup> AHP, Vol. 3, 472.

Such a position poses a challenge to the numerous exponents of economic and material theories of history. Of course, many histories of the Atlantic and of Africa have been shaped by materialist and Marxist ideas<sup>109</sup>, and the explanatory power of materialist interpretations for societal changes is significant. It is clear that economic forces give rise to migrations, technological changes and new institutions. Yet I would argue that the tendency to read exclusively materialistic schemas into history is more than anything a projection of contemporary attitudes into the past. Such schemas involve an “emptying out” of ethical content from historical interpretation, since everything can be reduced to material forces. Furthermore, their uncritical use involves becoming captive of a bourgeois ideology which has itself reduced life to materiality and profit.

Similarly, it is not difficult to see the limits of an exclusively religio-centred interpretation of 1497. Indeed, the religious interpretation of the events of 1497 in Portugal is much less apparent in the historiography than it is for the events of 1492 in Spain. In the works of Herculano, Tavares, Azevedo and Remedios one does not find the religious justifications for the persecution of the Sephardim that one finds even among some 20<sup>th</sup> century authors in Spain<sup>110</sup>. Among the contemporary accounts, too, a marked difference exists; whereas Bernaldez laid the blame squarely at the door of the Jews for their religious blindness and on the *conversos* for their heresy, De Góis admitted that the Jews were treated worse than the Moslems in Portugal because of fears of Moslem reprisals in North Africa<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> See e.g., Walter Rodney (1970); Bill Freund (1998).

<sup>110</sup> The classic example of this is Nicolás López Martínez (1954); see Appendix B, The Jews of Spain, pages 393-394.

<sup>111</sup> Andrés Bernaldez (1965), 94-100, 251-61; Damião de Góis (1949), Vol. 1, 43.

Nonetheless, religion's contribution to the events should be considered. The role of the Christian religion in anti-Semitism has been seen by some authors to be the prevailing factor. Poliakov suggests that both the preservation and the persecution of Jewish culture is concomitant to its existence within the Christian sphere, since, with one or two exceptions, in areas where this sphere was not dominant Jewish culture disappeared<sup>112</sup>; more recently, Ettinger has argued that hostility to Judaism was integral to the expansion of Christianity in Roman times and has therefore become a part of its fabric<sup>113</sup>.

Nonetheless, on closer analysis, as with economic factors, religion alone cannot explain what occurred, since the conversion of the Jews did not, as was hoped, solve the Jewish "problem" – that is, the hatred of the Jews. Over two centuries of inquisitorial persecution would follow to expunge the "stain", action that was distinguished in part by its lack of success<sup>114</sup>.

On a theoretical level, too, Althusser's classic work on ideology is of note here. Ideology is characterized by its "*denegation* of the ideological character of ideology"<sup>115</sup>: that is, ideology does not announce itself to those in its thrall, and so people who declare a motivation may not recognize the ideological content of their declaration<sup>116</sup>. That is, the declaration that religion is the motivation of a certain action – in this case, the conversion of the Jews – may have an ideological content which masks other, less acceptable motivations. Thus, to give too much

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<sup>112</sup> Léon Poliakov (2003a), vii-x; a psychoanalytic spin was placed on this by Herbert Marcuse, who saw the preservation of the Jews as the preservation of a father-figure against which the son – Christ – had triumphed: see Herbert Marcuse (1966), 69.

<sup>113</sup> Shmuel Ettinger (1988), 8-10; a view, which, it may be said, is probably not without its own inheritance of anti-Christian bias.

<sup>114</sup> See e.g. Amílcar Paulo (n.d.) on the widespread existence of communities preserving aspects of Judaism in Portugal in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>115</sup> Louis Althusser (1971), 175.

<sup>116</sup> "That is why those who are in ideology believe themselves by definition outside ideology" – *ibid.*.

weight to the stated doctrines of Christianity in analyzing the forced conversions is to give too much weight to people's stated motivations, when other motivations may be discernible. Christianity may, therefore, provide a rationale for the events of 1497, but it does not explicate unstated motivations, such as they may have been.

This brings us to psychoanalytic considerations. Again, it is instructive to notice differences in historiographical approach for Spain and Portugal. Whereas references to underlying psychological needs are remarkable by their absence in the commentary on Spain's Jews, they are evident in Portugal<sup>117</sup>. Tavares suggests, for instance, that the Christian rejection of Jews "occurs at the level of the collective unconscious and is a phenomenon of mental structure"<sup>118</sup>; meanwhile, Saraiva holds that Jews were not the cause of anti-Semitism but its pretext<sup>119</sup>. Saraiva's analysis here comes quite close to Sartre's formulation that, if the Jew did not exist, the anti-Semite would invent him<sup>120</sup>: the hater is actually dependent on the object of their hatred<sup>121</sup>.

These ideas might seem like assertions, but the enormous inconsistencies in stereotypes of the Jews imply that something strange is occurring on a psychological level; that is, that the "nature" of the Jews reflects not what the anti-Semite perceives, but something of their own

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<sup>117</sup> Such subtle but important differences in the historiography of the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardim are suggestive of the two Iberian countries' different experiences of Judaism: in Portugal, with the longer history of active crypto-Jewry and of the failure of persecution to eradicate what Wachtel (2001a) calls the "faith of memory", the willingness to look beyond conscious motivations to the unconscious suggests awareness that rationalizations of hatred such as those which created the condition of crypto-Jewry in the first place are never sufficient.

<sup>118</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 397: "*sucedee a nível de inconsciente collective e é um fenómeno de estrutura mental*".

<sup>119</sup> António José Saraiva (1985), 39.

<sup>120</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre (1985), 14: "*si le Juif n'existait pas, l'antisémite l'inventerait*".

<sup>121</sup> Ever since Horkheimer and Adorno (1986: 168-208), such psychoanalytical interpretations of Jew-hatred have formed an important part of the phenomenon's analysis. For a fuller analysis of this argument, see Appendix A, page 365.

psychology<sup>122</sup>. As Žižek has put it more recently, Jews condense opposing features; the displacement derives its energy precisely because the figure of the Jew is invested with heterogenous antagonisms<sup>123</sup>, and society projects its own negativity onto the figure of the “Jew”<sup>124</sup>.

Again, however, the psychoanalytic approach to phenomena such as Portugal’s growth in anti-Semitism is not without its critics. Some have pointed out that the degree of hatred felt towards Jews varies, and that a blanket theory cannot account for this<sup>125</sup>. Moreover, Freudian theory has in general declined in popularity, meaning that some will find such an approach anachronistic<sup>126</sup>.

Economics, religion and underlying psychology by no means exhaust the potential for interpretation of the mass conversion of 1497. These causes, and others, coalesced into the synthetic ideology of anti-Semitism which was a projection and an expression of resentment and hardship. When trying to weigh up the importance of the various motivations, with the very particular field of hatred it is worth noting that as hatred is irrational, its causes may be better sought not in rationally-declared motivations – such as economics and religion – but in other areas such as the unconscious. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the justification for the emergent ideology was often couched in economic terms, and the origins of this must themselves be considered.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 58 – so Jews are seen as both successful and low-class, as communists and capitalists, as clannish and as intruding, as oversexed and impotent, as strong and with powerful contacts and as weak: “the anti-Semite sees whatever he needs to see in the Jew”.

<sup>123</sup> Slavoj Žižek (1989), 125.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>125</sup> Shmuel Ettinger (1988), 5-6.

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. David Stannard (1980), Hans Eysenck (1985); Jeffrey Masson (1990); Frederick Crews (1993). See Appendix A, Methods of History, pages 364-365.



What I would like to argue here is that the protests about the Jews' wealth in fact reveal the growing importance of material concerns to Portuguese society as a whole. This in turn reflected social changes, and in particular growing urbanization and the change in outlook that this required. While envy and hostility towards Jewish tax collectors had existed earlier in Christian Iberia, it had not been translated into the ideology and idiom of organized anti-Semitism which now developed. The notion that *cristãos velhos* worked in the fields while *cristãos novos* luxuriated in the towns was frequently cited as a cause of hatred, something which really reveals resentment of urban life<sup>127</sup>. The development of wage labour that resulted from urbanization led to changes in lifestyle that caused widespread discontent<sup>128</sup>. Migration to cities was usually reluctant and the source of unhappiness, so that racism itself was an urban phenomenon<sup>129</sup>, a function of modernization and perhaps above all of the visceral feeling of anger that migrants to cities felt at being separated from the land. Such feelings were at bottom the product of fear: fear of the new way of life in the towns<sup>130</sup>, which in migrants' minds was most ostentatiously expressed by the Jews<sup>131</sup>.

These ideas are explored more fully in Appendix B, where I show in the specific case of Seville how the expropriation of communal lands and the increased urbanization and abstraction from the land which followed closely prefigured the first riots against the Jews of Seville in

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<sup>127</sup> See e.g. AG, Vol. 1, 105-6 – a letter to the Inquisitor-General in Spain on Portugal's *cristãos novos*.

<sup>128</sup> Jean Baechler (1975), 14-5.

<sup>129</sup> This point is made by Maria Luisa Tucci Carneiro (1983), 53; on the role of separation from the land in the rise of anti-Semitism in Spain, see Appendix A.

<sup>130</sup> Moreover, the resentment of the towns by rural dwellers was often returned with scorn. For a penetrating account of the conflicts between town and country in Iberia at this time, see Stephen Gilman (1972), 410-411.

<sup>131</sup> Fear is itself a vital and oft-neglected source of motivation and a cause of historical events. For accounts of the role of fear in critical historical events, see Jean Delumeau (1978); idem. (1983); also Paul Newman (2000) and Tobias Green (2006a).

1391<sup>132</sup>. However, this process was also applicable to the Portuguese case and to the increasing abstraction being experienced here. In particular, the growth of money in Portugal following the exploitation of Mina's gold inevitably paved the way for the abstraction of value and perception<sup>133</sup>. Such abstraction was a central element of emergent modernity; modernity, as differentiation, is represented in increasingly monetarized economies through the equivalence which objects of production are granted by their being exchangeable through a system of universal value<sup>134</sup>: thus the urbanization and modernization of the economy was accompanied by a sense of abstraction and alienation which must have been exceptionally difficult for the pre-existing mindset to accommodate.

The increasing mental abstraction circumscribed by this more materialistic way of life in these contested urban spaces was accompanied by a process of lexical abstraction that was itself not unconnected to events in places such as Cabo Verde: the term *descobrir* was first used to signify the discovery of new lands in 1472, while the more abstract term for “discovery”, *descobrimento*, surfaced in 1486, the abstraction residing in the fact that the latter was not predicated on an agent to undertake the discovering<sup>135</sup>. The Atlantic had itself become a “space to discover”, as Fonseca puts it, superseding a geography dominated by *places* (occupied by humans) with one occupied by abstract *spaces*<sup>136</sup>. In parallel to this abstraction came the new

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<sup>132</sup> See Appendix B, pages 404-405.

<sup>133</sup> The connection between monetarization and alienation is discussed by Marx in the *Grundrisse* – see David McLellan (ed.) (1971), 60-1. On the flood of gold from Mina, see above page 38.

<sup>134</sup> Georg Simmel (1990), 120, 128-9.

<sup>135</sup> Luís Adão da Fonseca (1995), 15.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-6. An interesting insight into this is provided by Todorov's analysis of Columbus's journal from 1492, which shows more interest in lands than in people “[une] préférence pour les terres plutôt que les homes”: Tzvetan Todorov (1982), 39. As has been remarked above, Columbus had previously spent long periods in the African Atlantic. See above, page 44.

scientific mentality and the development of new navigational techniques<sup>137</sup>, which themselves required a rupture with earlier modes of thought. Discovery discovered the new, and was therefore predicated on the value of experience and not classical authorities which told the sailor what was already there<sup>138</sup>.

What is crucial for modes of thought in 15<sup>th</sup> century Iberia was that this process of abstraction was itself being replicated for regional identities. Whereas medieval Iberia had represented an Islamic (and thus North African and Middle Eastern) model of *place*, with different communities co-existing<sup>139</sup>, the new Iberia was a culturally purified *space*, tied *spatially* to the rest of Europe through its geography, and *conceptually* by this new mode of abstract thought which was developing along with the voyages of discovery: the end of the previous model of place that came with the forced conversions of 1497 tied Portugal culturally to this new vision of reality<sup>140</sup>. Thus in the urban spaces of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, several levels of abstraction were at work: physical (from the land to the towns), economic (with the growing value of money, which can be seen in the emphasis placed on materialism in the envy of the Jews), and psychological (with the shift in Iberia's conception of itself). It was anger at the death throes of the previous worldview which was directed at the Jews, an anger which would not be entirely dampened until the abolition of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1821.

I would argue, then, that the Jews were hated in Portugal not as Jews but as a largely urban people. The resentment of Jews' role in collecting taxes was resentment not of Jews, but of taxes. It was the new system and way of being that was resented. Humans are not creatures

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<sup>137</sup> Luís de Albuquerque (1983).

<sup>138</sup> See Tzvetan Todorov (1982: 27-9) for an account of the role of classic accounts in Columbus's perception of his own voyage to the Indies.

<sup>139</sup> José María Perceval (1997), 88-9; Norman Roth (1994), 41; A.H. de Oliveira Marques (1972), Vol. 1, 82-3.

<sup>140</sup> For instances of just how different Iberia was culturally from the rest of Europe, see Américo Castro (1954), especially 85-135, and Juan Blázquez Miguel (1989), 65-6.

that respond well to rapid changes; hatreds may be formed through them: persecutions may develop. It was an inevitable condition of Jewish life in Iberia that they should be part of this bourgeois vision, barred as they largely were from significant landholdings and the status this provided in feudal societies<sup>141</sup>. They could therefore easily be identified with the new system: they were the perfect scapegoats.

The growth of anti-Semitism in Iberia was thus a reflection of new social realities and of the new psychological priorities and understandings with which they coincided. Iberia, as the spearhead of the discoveries, was the spearhead of the new mentalities: it was thus here that the phenomenon of Jew-hatred, and the racism which followed it, had its first modern manifestation.

Thus just as the triangular slave trade was first organized in Portugal, giving Portugal a disproportionate theoretical importance in the study of slavery and racism<sup>142</sup>, Iberia was the bridge and the testing ground for modern ways of thought and their social correlates<sup>143</sup>. For the Jews this meant victimization and, in Portugal, forced conversion. Those Jews who went to Cabo Verde would bring this experience with them, sharing the suffering at the hands of this alien mode of categorization in common with many of the peoples they found in Africa.

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<sup>141</sup> José Ramos Tinhorão (1988), 20 n.9; see also Georg Simmel (1990: 224)'s analysis of the importance of money to strangers in societies, as it can easily be exported outside the group.

<sup>142</sup> A.C. de C.M. Saunders (1982), xi.

<sup>143</sup> Indeed it can be argued that the doubleness and capacity for differentiation went further back than merely these exchanges; the crypto-Jewish ability to be both Jew and Christian may go back to the Islamic concept of *taqiyya*, whereby forced converts to other faiths commit no sin if they maintain their loyalty to Islam in their hearts (Léon Poliakov (2003b: 67)); on the role of the *taqiyya* in 16<sup>th</sup> century Spain, see Louis Cardaillac (1977: 87-90) and Mercedes García Arenal (1996: 44-5).

## CHAPTER 3: STRUCTURES OF THE FIRST *CRISTÃO-NOVO* PRESENCE, 1497-1517

### 3.1 “Them”: The Perceived Presence of *Cristãos Novos* in Cabo Verde

The previous chapter would suggest that the *cristãos novos* who came to Cabo Verde early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were perforce reluctant travellers; moreover, they were reluctant travellers who had been forced to the forefront of the changing modes of consciousness in Europe by their condition as scapegoats. In Cabo Verde, this group encountered a space then spearheading the new economic realities which, as we have also seen, were also substantially predicated on this changing consciousness. Thus, here in Cabo Verde two early products of this change in the medieval European worldview came together: their interaction would contribute towards the development of many of the commercial and psychological factors which would shape subsequent Atlantic history.

Sweeping accusations came quickly as to the activities of the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde. The *cristãos novos* were “them”, a generalized mass most often incapable of differentiation in the eyes of their perceivers; thus as we shall see, a dichotomy emerged rapidly between the modernized differentiation developing among people who were both Jew and Christian, in contrast to their perceivers who found it difficult to assimilate such ambiguity.

The perception of the early Jewish presence in Cabo Verde is significant, as it can tell us much about how both Jews and Africans were already being perceived. In the Ibero-Atlantic world as a whole Jews and people of Jewish descent were often “confused in the Iberian imagination with other Others”<sup>144</sup>, and the existence of generalized denunciations of “them” in a

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<sup>144</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2005), 111. Thus in the Americas, for instance, scribes frequently made orthographic errors, inserting “*judio*” in place of “*indio*” – *ibid.*, 112; Boleslao Lewin (1960: 60-2). It is also significant here that such

context of growing marginalization of Africans is itself expressive of how Africans were coming to be perceived.

The classic example of this pattern in Caboverdean space is the perception that the griots – the praise-singers of the area – were Jews. The earliest description is from Valentim Fernandes, circa 1506: “In this land [of the Wolofs] and among the Mandinga there are Jews called *Gaul* [gawol] and they are black like the people of the land although they do not have synagogues nor practice the rites of the other Jews. And they do not live with the other blacks but apart in their own villages”<sup>145</sup>. Such references would be commonplace throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century; even Almada, who knew the region intimately said that such people were held to be Jews<sup>146</sup>, and as late as 1684 Francisco de Lemos would refer to the griots as Jews<sup>147</sup>.

In his book on griots, Hale suggests that this misconception arose from Portuguese confusion with the term *Juddy*, a rendering of *jeli* that appears in some 17<sup>th</sup> century writings<sup>148</sup>. Yet far more likely is that the structural similarities of the separation of griots from the rest of society to the condition of Jews in Portugal created the misconception that they “had” to be Jews. It is significant that Fernandes’ account does not represent his own experience, but the accounts of Portuguese sailors, for his summary therefore indicates not his isolated perception but how the griots were generally perceived. Moreover, that projection of inherited preconceptions about Jews was involved in this process is suggested by Almada’s surprising assertion that these

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elisions between Jews and the demonized also prevailed in Iberia; thus Alonso de la Fuente, the scourge of the *alumbrados* – or illuminists – of Extremadura in the 1570s declaimed how of the 70 priests in the *alumbrado* hotbed of Zafra, 60 were “*judíos*” [i.e. *conversos*] (Álvaro Huerga (1978: 363)).

<sup>145</sup> R. Mauny, Th. Monod, and A. Teixeira da Mota (eds.) (1951), 8: “*Em esta terra e em Mādinga ha judeus e chamā os Gaul e sō negros como a gēte da terra porem nō tem synagogas nē usā de cerimoniais dos outros iudeus. E nō vivē cō os outros negros se nō apartados sobre sy em suas aldeas*”.

<sup>146</sup> André Alvares de Almada (1994), 46: “*Há em toda esta terra dos Jalofois, Berbecins, e Mandingas, uma nação havida entre eles por Judeus*”.

<sup>147</sup> Damião de Peres (ed.) (1953), 101.

<sup>148</sup> Thomas A. Hale (1998), 83.

Jews/griots had “large noses” (*abastados de narizes*)<sup>149</sup>; there is little evidence that the griots of West Africa were renowned for the size of their noses – this was not the case, of course, in Portugal where the perception of the Jews was concerned<sup>150</sup>.

Such considerations allow us to suggest that the structural similarities between the perception of the condition of Africans and that of the Jews allowed for the accommodation of this “other Other” to the existing Portuguese worldview. It was therefore through the lens of the condition of others in Portugal that otherizing began in West Africa; such misapplied ideas stuck, as even today the term for griot in Kriolu remains *djidiu*<sup>151</sup>.

Though such references deal with the otherized misconception of Africans, generalizations were also soon applied to the *cristãos novos*. In a well-known letter of October 25<sup>th</sup> 1512, the *camara* of Ribeira Grande complained that the “*cristãos novos* who act as *rendeiros* [tax farmers] here” were damaging the interests of the Court Secretary, Antonio Carneiro<sup>152</sup>; in a letter dated the previous day, they had complained that the *cristãos novos* had misinformed the Crown with damaging results for the islands<sup>153</sup>. Manoel I soon took account, and a royal privilege of May 8<sup>th</sup> 1515 barred *cristãos novos* from living or passing through Santiago once the contract of Francisco Martíz had ended<sup>154</sup>.

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<sup>149</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 46.

<sup>150</sup> See for instance IAN/TT, Inquisição d’Évora, Livro 91, folios 174r-v: a case from 1594 where a student from Faro, Francisco Nunes, denounced an old man he had met the previous day who had taken him for a *cristão novo* and let him into his confidence, describing him in what were clearly preconceived ideas of what such a person might look like; “*hū home velho có barba quasi toda branca pequeno de corpo e tem o naariz grande*” (tr.: “an old, short man with a beard almost entirely white and a large nose”).

<sup>151</sup> Although see Philip J. Havik (2004b: 56 n.68) who notes that the Kriolu term *djidiu* refers to Jews as well as to griots today; this would imply a certain cultural slippage in the concept, and that peoples of Guiné following their exchanges with the Portuguese may *also* have seen a similarity in the structural condition of griots and Jews.

<sup>152</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 57: “*se algū mall se faz, os crystãos novos que quá sam rendeyros fazem todo esto*”.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 53: “*Ora, a requerimento de allgūos christão novos que a V.A. mal ynformarão*”.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 97: “*Acabado o arrendamēto da dita ylha que ora teem Francisco Martíz, ally por diante nã posam nella viver de morada, nem estar nhūs christãos novos.*”

Another disliked group in Cabo Verde at this time were the *lançados*, the Portuguese who abandoned their peninsular identity to live in Guiné. Manuelling legislation with regard to these people was just as rigorous as for the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde, with people prohibited from becoming *lançados* in 1514<sup>155</sup>, a decree of 1517 ordering that all the property of Christians in Guiné should be declared lost to them<sup>156</sup>, and a law of 1518 making it a capital offence to live in Guiné and barring direct trade between Cabo Verde and Guiné<sup>157</sup>. Yet none of this justifies the assertion that measures taken against the *lançados* were designed to “get at the Jews”<sup>158</sup>, and contrary to Carreira’s assertion no document of the time specifies that there were Jews among the *lançados*<sup>159</sup>; in fact, as we shall see, such ideas merely reveal associations in the minds of their proponents between *cristãos novos* and *lançados*, associations which are themselves of interest.

More significant is the fact that these documents have lent some currency to the notion that the early *rendeiros* of Cabo Verde were *cristãos novos*<sup>160</sup>, being people whose origins appear to have lain completely outside the structures of the nobility<sup>161</sup>. An analysis of these early *rendeiros* shows that indeed the *rendeiros* were the motors of the early Jewish presence in Cabo Verde. The generalized fear of “them” was concretized in Caboverdean space through the *rendeiros*, since only the *cristãos novos* had the requisite abilities to organize commerce and collect revenues which the Crown required if it was to open up Caboverdean space as it desired.

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<sup>155</sup> Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 97, 32.

<sup>156</sup> João Barreto (1938), 75.

<sup>157</sup> C.R. Boxer (1963), 9; Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 97, 33.

<sup>158</sup> João Barreto (1938), 75 “*atingir os judeus*”; for a similar view, see Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 97, 32.

<sup>159</sup> Antonio Carreira (1972), 51.

<sup>160</sup> Zelinda Cohen (2002), 89, n.89.

<sup>161</sup> Zelinda Cohen (1994), 346.



### 3.2 The Rendeiros of Cabo Verde, 1500-1517

By these early years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Portugal had consolidated its system of “monarchical capitalism” with the Crown as the main trader<sup>162</sup>. This transformation of monarchy into a “large state business” suited the centralization of power that had accompanied the reconquest<sup>163</sup>. The growth of Portuguese influence in the East was well underway, something which would radically reshape the Portuguese economy; yet at the same time, the persistence of the *cristãos novos* as *rendeiros* in Cabo Verde illustrates just how hard it would be to supersede some aspects of the economic system.

During the 15<sup>th</sup> century Jewish traders in Portugal had specialised in being the Crown’s *rendeiros*<sup>164</sup>. The fact that the early *rendeiros* of Cabo Verde were *cristãos novos* therefore suggests a structural continuity. Cabo Verde may have been a new space, but it was hard to transcend pre-existing archetypes; it appears that people of Jewish origin were seen as essential to the task of collecting taxes. Thus what the presence of the *cristãos novos* as *rendeiros* in this period in Cabo Verde confirms is how difficult it was to assimilate the fact that such locales were fundamentally new spaces, in which different archetypes would be required.

This role of the *cristãos novos* is underlined by the mechanism for putting the Caboverdean contracts out to tender. When bidding for the new contract was announced in Lisbon in 1507, the factor of the Portuguese islands and Almojarife of the slave house sent someone down the Rua Nova shouting for bids from “whoever wants to take up the contract of

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<sup>162</sup> J. Lúcio d’Azevedo (1929), 123-4: the phrase “monarchical capitalism” is that of Manuel Nunes Dias (1963-4): for a good elucidation of Portugal’s “state capitalism” see Sanjay Subrahmanyam (1993), 45-7.

<sup>163</sup> José Ramos Tinhorão (1988), 23: “*grande empresa estatal*”.

<sup>164</sup> António de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo (1979), 519; the influential communities of Florentine and Genoese merchants specialized more in the sugar trade with Madeira (ibid.).

the islands of Santiago and Fogo and the rights of the island of Maio”<sup>165</sup>. After the events of 1497, the old *judiarias* or Jewish quarters of Portugal were called “*vilas novas*” or “*ruas novas*” and reoccupied by their former inhabitants<sup>166</sup>. By asking for bids for the Cabo Verde contract in this way, the Crown was guaranteeing that it would be taken up by *crístãos novos*; the exploitation of Caboverdean space therefore depended on their expertise.

That the Caboverdean contracts were typically parcelled out in this way is indicated by the identities of the *rendeiros* prior to this contract. In 1504, the contracts had been assigned to Duarte Rodrigues, Pero Francisco and Gil Álvares, whose guarantor had been Fernam de Loronha<sup>167</sup>. Loronha was Rodrigues’s uncle<sup>168</sup>; he was also the head of a consortium of *crístãos novos* who had been given the contract for Brazil after the voyage of Cabral.

Though Loronha’s connection to the Caboverdean contracts and the fact that these contracts were assigned in the *Rua Nova* has been referenced<sup>169</sup>, it has not been pointed out that Loronha was a well-known *crístão novo*. A letter of October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1502 from Pietro Rondinelli refers to the fact that the rights in Brazil had been leased to a group of *crístãos novos* led by Loronha<sup>170</sup>. This has led some historians to assume that Loronha had converted in 1497<sup>171</sup>; in

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<sup>165</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 171 – a document of February 6<sup>th</sup> 1507: the whole passage reads: “*E o dito feitor [Gonçalo Lopes] e eu, escrivão [Álvaro Anes],..mandamos [a Diogo Fernandes, porteiro do concelho] que se fosse per a Rua Nova e per as ruas acostumbradas e que afrontasse que se havia logo d’arrematar. E o dito porteiro começou de dizer altas vozes quem quizer lançar nas ilhas de Santiago e do Fogo e nos direitos da ilha de Maio*”.

<sup>166</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1987), 43; José Amador de los Ríos (1960), 747. In Lisbon, the Rua Nova had formerly housed the largest synagogues, and after 1497 it continued to be inhabited largely by *crístãos novos*, making it the site of riots and later of stone-throwing on the days of *Autos da Fé* (Elias Lipiner (1977: 122-3).

<sup>167</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 141-7.

<sup>168</sup> Zelinda Cohen (1994), 344.

<sup>169</sup> António Leão Correia e Silva (1991), 365-7.

<sup>170</sup> RD, Vol. II, Part III, 120-1. See also Elias Lipiner (1969), 15; Maria Luisa Tucci Carneiro (1983), 197.

<sup>171</sup> See e.g. Hugh Thomas (1997), 111.

fact the evidence is more complex, since he was already a member of the royal household by 1494 and had converted by this time<sup>172</sup>.

Nevertheless, Loronha's Jewish origins should not be ignored. Although the evidence shows that he was not forcibly converted in 1497, it also shows that he had active dealings with members of the Jewish community just before the forced conversions. A document from 1500 shows that prior to 1497 he acted as receptor for rents due on cottages belonging to the royal household, and that the sums involved included 495,495 *reais* which Salamam [Salomon] Negro owed to Afonso Fernandes dating back to the reign of João II, and which were charged to Loronha and his partners as they were also partners of Negro at that time<sup>173</sup>. The Negro family, it will be recalled, was one of the Jewish families involved in high finance in Lisbon<sup>174</sup>.

Moreover, the evidence for Loronha's nephew Duarte Rodrigues evinces a similar trajectory. A quittance from the receptor João Álvares Rangel of 1496 includes monies received from Duarte Rodrigues as part of the dues from the factor of Guiné<sup>175</sup>; associated with Rodrigues is Yoçe Cabanas, Yoçe being a typical transliteration of the Jewish name Yosef in Iberian documents of the time<sup>176</sup>. Thus like his uncle Loronha, Rodrigues had also converted prior to 1497 – as evidenced by his Christian name - and also remained associated with members of the Jewish community at that time.

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<sup>172</sup> Egon and Frieda Wolff (1986), 141: “*Na época do batismo forçado em Portugal, em 1497, Noronha já era cavaleiro da casa real, ao menos desde 1494*”.

<sup>173</sup> AHP, Vol. 2, 351: “*495: 495 rs que Salamam Negro devia a Afonso Fernandes, thesoureiro que foi de el rei que Deus tem, e foram aqui carregados ao ditto Fernam de Noronha e seus parceiros, por serem parceiros em o ditto Salamam Negro ao trauto das moradias de el Rei que Deus tem*”: tr. “495,495 *reis* that Salomon Negro owed to Afonso Fernandes, late treasurer to the king, who were charged to Fernam de Noronha and his partners, having been partners with the said Salomon Negro in the business of the late king [João II]’s cottages”. Note that Noronha and Loronha are variants of the same name.

<sup>174</sup> See above, page 47.

<sup>175</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 105.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*: “*500 [cruzados] que recebeo de Lopo Mendes e 1.580 rs. de Duarte Rodrigues e os 150 de Yoçe Cabanas...*”.

These factors are important when considering the Loronha/Rodrigues consortium of *cristãos novos*. Though there is no evidence that Loronha and Rodrigues themselves were Judaizers, some of their colleagues – with whom they may previously have had dealings when they were Jews – were more likely to have been, as they had forcibly been converted. Furthermore, the activities of this consortium were widespread across West Africa. In 1502 and 1503 Loronha held the contract for the Rios dos Escravos (modern Benin and Nigeria) and for the pepper from Guiné and Mina<sup>177</sup>, and therefore his dealings in Cabo Verde merely constituted an extension of this interest.

This evidence suggests a need to reconsider the career of this well-known Atlantic consortium. The fact that there are many more historians of Brazil than of Caboverdean space has tended to present Loronha in a Brazilian context, whereas his activities spanned the Atlantic; this evidence shows that in the beginning the Atlantic was perceived as a whole in which both Cabo Verde and Brazil were related parts, not as the compartmentalised entity which later superseded it<sup>178</sup>.

Moreover, it would appear that something of a trend was set by this *cristão novo* consortium. Loronha and Rodrigues were soon followed as contractors in Cabo Verde by Antonio Rodrigues Mascarenhas, who took up the contract in 1510<sup>179</sup>. Mascarenhas was the son of João Rodrigues Mascarenhas<sup>180</sup>, one of the leading *cristão novo* merchants of Lisbon, killed

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<sup>177</sup> AHP, Vol. 2, 239: a document of June 15<sup>th</sup> 1509 detailing the dues owed by Loronha to the crown.

<sup>178</sup> One of the few exceptions to this rule is José Gonçalves Salvador (1981: 19), who recognizes Loronha's equally important role in the African context. It should also be noted in general that the Portuguese had difficulty in grasping the spaces of the newly discovered territories – see P.F. de Moraes Farias (1974: 16 n.42, 17-8) on Almada's belief that the gold of Timbuktu came from Sofala [modern Mozambique].

<sup>179</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 66.

<sup>180</sup> José Gonçalves Salvador (1981), 19.

by a mob during the riots of 1506<sup>181</sup>. Part of João Rodrigues Mascarenhas's trade from 1500 onwards had involved bartering in the Guiné<sup>182</sup>, and he had been leased the *vintena* of Guiné from the years 1505 to 1507 prior to his untimely death<sup>183</sup>. His son Antonio's involvement in Cabo Verde continued until at least 1516, and thus *cristãos novos* were pivotal to the collecting of taxes throughout this early period of administration<sup>184</sup>.

The involvement of these influential *cristãos novos* is certain to have had an impact on the type of person to be found in Cabo Verde. Following the riots of 1506 against Lisbon's *cristãos novos*, Manoel had passed a law permitting the departure of *cristãos novos* from Portugal without his permission in March 1507<sup>185</sup>; this facility, combined with the dangers of staying in Portugal, made their presence somewhere like Cabo Verde almost inevitable, particularly given that the contracts were controlled by other *cristãos novos*.

This material forms the background to the documents complaining of the *cristão novo rendeiros* and their minions in Cabo Verde. Historians tend to look for organizational and structural similarities in order to understand the process of history, but in this case motivation came substantially from fear. The horrid pogrom of 1506 made anywhere seem attractive – even somewhere as unknown as Cabo Verde. Both these riots and the parcelling out of Caboverdean contracts to the *cristãos novos* were, as we have seen, structural legacies of earlier modes of

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<sup>181</sup> Cecil Roth (1959), 65.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> AHP, Vol. 4, 73; he had also previously held the licence to trade on the Gambia at Cantor (ibid., 72).

<sup>184</sup> Zelinda Cohen (1994), 343. It is, however, unlikely that Antonio Rodrigues Macarenhas lived in Cabo Verde. Though Barcellos claims that Mascarenhas lived on Cabo Verde (1899: 75), Cohen puts this in doubt (1994: 343). The fact that Mascarenhas's partner was Nicolao Rodrigues (AHP, Vol. 2, 440-1), the one *rendeiro* for these early years who is known to have lived in the islands (Zelinda Cohen (1994,: 339), makes it unlikely that he lived there as well.

<sup>185</sup> I.S. Révah (1971), 488.

interaction and economic relations, modes which were, with agonizing slowness, in the process of being overhauled.

Yet these Caboverdean *cristãos novos* were only in a marginal sense representatives of the order which had persecuted them. Many had previously come from Spain to Portugal in 1492, and so held dearly to their persecuted beliefs, being thus far more likely to preserve them in whatever form possible<sup>186</sup>; in 1524, an investigation by Jorge Temudo in the parishes of Lisbon would reveal numerous doctrinal failings and Jewish practices among them<sup>187</sup>. Thus those who came to Cabo Verde in these early years brought with them a compendium of remembered practice that would not sit easily with the ideology beginning to emerge alongside Portuguese expansion, with its conceptual lexicon of restitution and chosenness<sup>188</sup>.

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<sup>186</sup> E.g. Cecil Roth (1959), 61.

<sup>187</sup> AG, Vol. 1, 343-4: the *conversos* did not go to church on Sundays or at festivals, they did not bury themselves in cloisters or convents, they did not ask for extreme unction on their deathbeds, nor for masses to be said for their souls in their wills, and they were suspected of keeping the Jewish Sabbath and Jewish festival of Passover; however, Temudo had found that they married in churches and were baptised, and that they confessed during Lent.

<sup>188</sup> See A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1978: 26-8) for an analysis of the development of this ideology. Restitution was the idea that St Thomas had converted the Orient to Christianity, and that the faith had to be restituted; Portugal's control of the spice trade was justified by the need to sustain this fight to reconstitute faith against the infidel.

## CHAPTER 4: CABO VERDE AND THE EMERGING ATLANTIC WORLD, 1517-1547

### 4.1 The “Growth” of Ribeira Grande

There are many ways in which Ribeira Grande grew through the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As a city, the increasing maritime traffic saw it expand; as a foothold of Europe’s widening horizons, the creation of a see in 1533 consolidated ideological hegemony; as a commercial centre, this was a period of constant development; and as a focus for the extractive processes being visited upon the African coastline, the city was the growth to beat them all.

At the heart of this growth was Ribeira Grande’s pivotal role in the slave trade. Here, the ideological hegemony of the Catholic church was manifest. Following St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, participants in the slave trade subscribed to the Aristotelian doctrine of natural law, that in essence slavery was of benefit to both master and slave as fulfilling the reality that slaves needed masters to make their choices for them<sup>189</sup>.

The rise of slaving was exponential. In 1513, Cabo Verde had legally exported 565 slaves; by 1515, this had grown to 1,423<sup>190</sup>. This was the phase of the take-off of slave exports; it was around 1513 that the first slaves were sent to Brazil also<sup>191</sup>, and by 1514 at the latest Caboverdeans were shipping slaves direct to the Caribbean<sup>192</sup>. In 1517, the first *asiento* for the movement of slaves direct from Africa to the Indies was signed, with Lorenzo de Garrevod

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<sup>189</sup> A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1978), 33-4.

<sup>190</sup> João Barreto (1938), 73; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981), Vol. 4, 160; Maria Emília Madeira Santos and Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1989), 9.

<sup>191</sup> António Carreira (1972), 127.

<sup>192</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 2, 439-40.

given permission to take 4000 Africans across the Atlantic “direct from the isles of Guinea”<sup>193</sup> – that is, Cabo Verde.

In the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century this position for the Caboverdean region was consolidated. Slaving voyages from Seville to Cabo Verde grew from the 1520s onwards, with almost all the traders being *conversos*<sup>194</sup>. One such was Juan de la Barrera, who was regularly making the Seville-Cabo Verde-Veracruz run by the 1530s<sup>195</sup>. Between 1532 and 1534 the number of Africans in Cuba doubled and by 1536 the Audiencia of Hispaniola had written to the Crown stating that the price of slaves had more than doubled in Cabo Verde<sup>196</sup>. During the 1530s, letters permitting the transfer of slaves from Africa to the New World tended to refer exclusively to Cabo Verde and Guiné<sup>197</sup>, and in Mexico Cortés himself contracted in 1542 to bring 500 slaves from Cabo Verde<sup>198</sup>.

The infernal dance of demand and supply was beginning to take hold of the slave market in Cabo Verde. Estimates of the numbers concerned vary, but they were certainly significant. Curtin suggests that between 1526 and 1550 almost 80% of the slaves making for the New World came from the region, and Thomas that in the period to 1550  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the slaves in Lima and

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<sup>193</sup> Elizabeth Donnan (1930), Vol. 1, 42; Edmundo Correia Lopes (1944), 4.

<sup>194</sup> Juan Gil (2001), Vol. 3, 149-51; this was of course partly a consequence of the disproportionate influence of *conversos* in Castillian commerce at the time: however it may also have reflected the consonance between the *converso* experience of modernity as differentiation and doubleness and the importance of such ideas in the opening up of the Atlantic spaces, which involved the slave trade.

<sup>195</sup> Ruth Pike (1972), 119. That Barrera probably did not bequeath a Jewish identity to his children is evidenced by the marriage of his daughter, Maria, to an English sailor, Robert Tomson, who had been tried by the Inquisition in Mexico in 1559 – see G.R.G. Conway (ed.) (1927), 14.

<sup>196</sup> Georges Scelle (1906), Vol. 1, 202 and 202 n.2.

<sup>197</sup> For instance, the instructions to Don Pedro de Mendoza for his voyage to the Río de la Plata in 1534 states that “*vos daremos licencia...para que destos Nuestrs Regnos o del reyno de Portugal o Islas de Cabo Verde y Guinea, vos o quien nuestro poder hubieres podais llevar y lleveis a las tierras....200 esclavos negros...*” Huguette and Pierre Chaunu (1955), Vol. 2, 245.

<sup>198</sup> Hugh Thomas (1997), 116.



Arequipa came from the “Guinea of Cape Verde”<sup>199</sup>; yet these may both be underestimates as between 1544 and 1550, of the 252 ships legally exporting slaves to the New World, 247 went via Cabo Verde<sup>200</sup>.

The growing importance of slaving not just to Cabo Verde but to the emergent Atlantic economy as a whole is underlined by accounts from the years 1510-1513 which show that, with the exception of Mina, Cabo Verde was the most profitable part of Africa for Portuguese trade<sup>201</sup>; that this position was owing to the sudden rise in demand for slaves from the New World is strongly suggested by the fact that just 4 years before, in 1506, state revenues from Cabo Verde, at 3000 *cruzados*, had been lower than that for any other area of the Portuguese *ultramar* with the exception of the Azores, with even Brazil, which had only been discovered by Cabral in 1500, providing 5000 *cruzados*<sup>202</sup>.

There were several factors behind Cabo Verde’s important position in the emerging transatlantic slave trade. Proximity to the African coast and the archipelago’s position as a bridgehead was of course one of them. In these early years the trade was dominated by Caboverdean islanders themselves, and geographical position was evidently pivotal for this<sup>203</sup>. Also relevant were cultural conditions in Senegambia, where the conflict between the Islamic Jolof and the animist Serer was an easy source of tension for the islanders to exploit; trading partners of European slavers in these early years were usually Serer rulers who could use the horses both to fight their Jolof neighbours and secure captives who would become slaves<sup>204</sup>.

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<sup>199</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 13; Hugh Thomas (1997), 117.

<sup>200</sup> For the statistics of these ships, including their names and destinations, see Maria da Graça Mateus Ventura (1999), 121-33.

<sup>201</sup> AHP, Vol. 2, 440-1.

<sup>202</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1969), 830.

<sup>203</sup> The key work for this is Trevor P. Hall (1992); see Vol. 1: 49, 231-51 and Vol. 2: 615.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 143-6.

Also important, however, in the rise of Caboverdean centrality to the slave trade was the decline in demand for African gold that followed the discovery of America, since by the 1540s West Africa was no longer supplying much gold<sup>205</sup>. While this of course affected the Mina area more than it did Cabo Verde, it was apparent that if Cabo Verde was to play the role that acquisitive minds had designated the region needed to develop other goods for trade. But whereas São Tomé was suited to profitable sugar mills along the Madeiran model – meaning that the slave trade from Kongo and Benin was more localized<sup>206</sup> – climatic factors and the proximity to the Sahel meant that this orientation was inappropriate for Cabo Verde.

Thus it was that people stepped in to the economic frame. Disregarding ethical considerations for a moment, even from the viewpoint of economic rationality, the slave trade as it was organized here had its flaws. The Caboverdean economy entered into a phase where it became unhealthily dependent on exports, and on its human wealth being extracted without replenishment. Such an export-led model can only eat away at economic strength from within, particularly when what is exported is perhaps the rawest of raw materials, people; and thus the skewed economic relations of Africa and Europe had begun.

#### **4.2 The Development of Urban Space and the Internationalization of Cabo Verde**

Cabo Verde's pre-eminent role in slaving had two major effects at this time: it would see the rise of the urban economy in Ribeira Grande, and it would also see Cabo Verde becoming a crucial stepping stone in the internationalization of Europe's Atlantic trade.

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 431.

<sup>206</sup> A.F.C. Ryder (1969), 35-9, 59-63

As the most important slaving factory in this part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>207</sup>, the development of new markets in the Americas stimulated commercial activity in Cabo Verde<sup>208</sup>. By 1550, an anonymous pilot would recount how ships were “continually arriving with goods from many countries, and provinces, principally the Spanish Indies”<sup>209</sup>, and the arrival of these goods allowed both trade and the urban apparatus which usually accompanies trade to grow. Ribeira Grande, said the pilot, was a city of 500 hearths<sup>210</sup>. The extent of the growth in the preceding generation is emphasised by the census of 1513 which gave the city a population of 74 residents [vyzinhos] and 56 temporary residents [estantes], 16 blacks [negros], 12 clerics and 3 friars<sup>211</sup>; although these figures exclude slaves, and the consonance between residents and hearths is inexact, considerable growth is clearly represented.

Ribeira Grande’s city status was confirmed by the creation of the see there in 1533<sup>212</sup>. The consolidation of urban space is also revealed by the growing attraction of the islands to other European powers, notably France. By 1536 there were reports of French ships in Cabo Verde<sup>213</sup>. By 1540, the attacks of pirate French ships in the African Atlantic were sufficient to make the brother of the King of Kongo fearful of the voyage to Lisbon<sup>214</sup>. French attacks were soon a part and parcel of Caboverdean life, with reports of these coming in 1542 and 1544<sup>215</sup>. Yet none of this was enough to deter the Portuguese traders, and by 1544 the city was important

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<sup>207</sup> Cf. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1977), 145.

<sup>208</sup> Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1991), 309.

<sup>209</sup> Anonymous (1551/2), 89.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>211</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 221.

<sup>212</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 235-6; this came with the bull *Pro Excellentia*.

<sup>213</sup> J.D.M. Ford (ed.) (1931), 274: a letter of João III which states that “*encomendovos muito que trabalhais pera aver verdadeira enformaçam dos navios de França, que dizeis que foram achados na Ilha de Cabo Verde*”.

<sup>214</sup> AG, Vol. 5, 160.

<sup>215</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 345, 370; Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 120.

enough that commercial families in Lisbon sent relatives there to act as their agents<sup>216</sup>. French attacks were as much as anything a product of Ribeira Grande's perceived success.

Ribeira Grande's growth was therefore part of the wider currents of the Atlantic. It was Caboverdean space's position at the heart of the web of connections linking Europe with Africa and America that saw its rapid expansion in this period. Its position at the heart of this network relied on its role in the slave trade. Thus internationalization – the forerunner of what today is called globalization – depended on an extractive economic cycle in Cabo Verde. Without unmediated extraction of local resources, there could be no growth – neither in Ribeira Grande, nor in the Atlantic as a whole.

Cabo Verde's important role in internationalization had begun early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. By 1512, the *camara* mentioned that the islands were an “important staging post” for ships going to Brazil, Mina, Guiné and São Tomé<sup>217</sup>. There were significant administrative and structural connections between Brazil and West Africa at this point, following on from the pattern that had emerged under Fernam de Loronha<sup>218</sup>. In 1533, armadas from Mina could often be expected to go straight to Brazil to perform service<sup>219</sup>; and in 1535, Francisco Fernandes was ordered to send certain sums from Brazil to the Treasurer of the Casa da Mina, underlining its position in the administrative hierarchy<sup>220</sup>.

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<sup>216</sup> AGI, Indiferente 416, Libro 2, 54v-55r: a document dated September 4<sup>th</sup> 1544 on the Armada of Francisco de orrellana going to Nueva Andalucía: “*en lo que dis que un hombre rrico português q vive en Portugal prometió al adelantado quando allí estubo de darle cinquenta vacas en la ysla de Santiago de Cabo Verde y que un hijo suyo questa en esa ciudad...*”

<sup>217</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 57: “*grande escala*”.

<sup>218</sup> See above, pages 65-67.

<sup>219</sup> See J.D.M. Ford (ed.) (1931), 69-70: a letter of January 21<sup>st</sup> 1533 referring to how the fleet of Duarte Coelho had been expected to go from Mina to defend possessions in Brazil.

<sup>220</sup> IAN/TT, CC, Parte I, Maço 56, no. 74 – November 12<sup>th</sup> 1535.

Cabo Verde's position as a crossroads meant that it acted as a point of interchange for crops and livestock as well as for people. Bahía, for instance, received its first cows from Cabo Verde<sup>221</sup>; growing contacts with the Indies meant that maize first arrived in Africa at the islands, probably in the 1520s<sup>222</sup>; the archipelago's position as a stopover en route to the East also meant that it was here that the coconut palm was first introduced from Asia, before being transferred across the Atlantic to the New World<sup>223</sup>.

Cabo Verde's growth was, moreover, of regional as well as international significance. If on the international level, Cabo Verde's position allowed economies, systems and ideologies to expand across the Atlantic, on the regional level, the growth in the demand for slaves accentuated the processes analyzed in Part I, Chapter 1 (I:1<sup>224</sup>) with regard to the incremental independence of the kingdoms of the African coast vis-à-vis Mali and the Jolof empire<sup>225</sup>. Though by now the focus of power had shifted from Mali to Songhay it was only in the 1540s that the disintegration of the Jolof empire into its constituent kingdoms occurred<sup>226</sup>. Thus the growth in the slave trade continued to fragment African kingdoms in the region, leading to an imbalance in concentrations of power which vectors of Atlantic trade would intensify over the coming centuries.

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<sup>221</sup> Orlando Ribeiro (1955), 29.

<sup>222</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981), Vol. 4, 47.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, 49; on Cabo Verde's position in the *carreira da Índia* see A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1998c), 249.

<sup>224</sup> Hereafter, I shall use this form of abbreviation to refer to parts of this thesis (Roman numerals) and chapters of this thesis (Arabic numerals).

<sup>225</sup> See above, page 43.

<sup>226</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 11.

### 4.3 The Role of the *Cristãos Novos* in the Consolidation of Cabo Verde

Cabo Verde's position, particularly with regard to Brazil, was vital to its development within the framework of *crístãos novos*. If, as was argued above<sup>227</sup>, the role of Fernam de Loronha's early network in Brazil needs to be extended to Cabo Verde, then likewise, the notion that there was a solid early Jewish presence in Brazil should be tested on Caboverdean material. The fact that there were administrative and human links between the two sides of the Atlantic suggests that this sort of analogy is useful.

At this time most of the Portuguese nobility was occupied in glory-hunting in India<sup>228</sup>; it was during this concentration on India that *crístãos novos* took the chance to leave for Brazil<sup>229</sup>. Such is the suggestiveness of the evidence for this early *crístão novo* presence in Brazil that Salvador has suggested a Hebrew provenance for some words in the Tupi language<sup>230</sup>. While such a theory probably owes more to overwork than to accuracy, there is clear evidence for a strong early *crístão novo* presence in Brazil. By 1543 there were people in Brazil with children in the jails of the Inquisition for Judaizing<sup>231</sup>; by 1553, people who had been accused by the

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<sup>227</sup> See page 67.

<sup>228</sup> J. Lúcio d'Azevedo (1929), 100-101.

<sup>229</sup> Anita Novinsky (1995), 515.

<sup>230</sup> José Gonçalves Salvador (1976), 215-6. It is interesting – dangerously so, even – to notice the similarities between the evidence on Tupi and the ideas that some such as Mesa Bernal have advanced with regard to other Amerindian languages. Mesa Bernal notes in particular the links between Quichua (from Perú and Bolivia) and Chibcha (from Colombia) and Hebrew; the linguistics expert Miguel Santamaría Puerto has even claimed that Chibcha has more links to Hebrew than does Latin to Spanish (Daniel Mesa Bernal (1996: 105)). Nonetheless one is inclined to feel that such ideas are more likely to give succour to the Mormon faith and its relentless advance in Latin America than to evidence that such links stem from contacts with very early *crístão novo* settlers. Moreover, there is a less than reputable history of unwitting proponents of European supremacy arguing for a Semitic provenance for languages outside Europe: see Joseph J. Williams (1930) and his ideas on similarities between Ashanti and Hebrew.

<sup>231</sup> Antonio Baião (1921), 141.

Inquisition had fled to Brazil, and there were complaints that “no one knows the mothers who gave birth to the captains here”, implying the possibility that they might not be Old Christians<sup>232</sup>.

What must be borne in mind in this discussion of early Brazil is its position as an extension of West African space, with ships from Mina and Cabo Verde used in defending Brazilian waters and Brazilian ships stopping in Cabo Verde en route to Lisbon. If, therefore, these ships were purveyors of *cristãos novos*, the effects of this may probably be seen in Cabo Verde as well as in Brazil.

How this worked in practice is revealed by a 1553 voyage made by Thomas Windham from Portsmouth to Guinea. Accompanying Windham was Antonio Anes Pinteado, “an expert pilot...[who] for his skill in Navigation had been in great Favour with the King of *Portugal*: Who committed to his Court the Coasts of *Brazil* and *Guinea*...He was likewise a Gentleman of the King’s Houshold (sic). But falling afterwards into disgrace, by the malicious Informations of some who envied his good Fortune, was forced, by Necessity, to come to England”<sup>233</sup>. Just what these “malicious Informations” were was suggested when, in trouble near Benin, Windham screamed at Pinteado “calling him Jew, and other opprobrious names, saying, this whoreson Jew hath promised to bring us to such places as cannot be found”<sup>234</sup>.

It seems likely that Pinteado had fled to England from the Inquisition. Although there was a widespread prejudice abroad in Europe that all expatriate Portuguese were Jews, the presence of Portuguese crypto-Jews in England at this time is well-known<sup>235</sup>; the absence of an

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<sup>232</sup> AG, Vol. 9, 204-5: “*os que aguora servem de capitães não os conhece a may que os pario*” (204).

<sup>233</sup> NGC, Vol. 1, Book 2, 142.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.. This was an ill-starred voyage. Windham soon got into a rage with Pinteado and died. His officers also took to calling Pinteado a Jew, and he was put in to work with the cabin boys. Pinteado died 6 days later. Ibid., Book 2, 143.

<sup>235</sup> Edgar Samuel (2004) 123-6 and 130-42; also Antonio Baião (1921), 177. On prejudices against Portuguese an instance is the Spanish proverb: “A Portuguese was born of a Jew’s fart” – cit. Seymour B. Liebman (1970), 183.

Inquisition and the direction of royal ire at Catholics made it a safe proposition. What matters here is that Pinteado's knowledge of the coasts of Brazil and Guinea – which given the date of his voyage with Windham dated from at the latest the 1540s - was perceived as of a piece, and that, given the links of Brazil and Cabo Verde at this time, this may be taken as representative of contemporary *cristão novo* experience in the Atlantic. Though this view must remain an interpretation only, it is supported by more specific evidence from numerous sources of a strong *cristão novo* presence in Cabo Verde.

Perhaps the most important comes from the Canariote Inquisition. The first burnings by the Canariote tribunal (established in 1504) occurred in 1526, with one of the main cases that of Álvaro Gonçalves and his wife Mencia Baez from Palma Island, who were burnt together with their son Sílvio<sup>236</sup>. Another son, Duarte, escaped with a *sanbenito*, which he was sentenced to wear for five years on Palma. However, his mother-in-law, Catalina Diaz, denounced him again to the Inquisition on April 8<sup>th</sup> 1527<sup>237</sup>, and Duarte soon plotted to flee. He went to a certain Juan Diaz on the island to ask for help to leave, and Diaz also came to the Inquisition, saying that Gonçalves had asked to be taken to Cabo Verde, where he had rich relatives<sup>238</sup>. Then on July 29<sup>th</sup> 1529, Catalina Diaz came to the Inquisition to say that she had heard that Duarte had been living with his uncle in Cabo Verde, but that he had died there<sup>239</sup>; however, Duarte may still have been alive in 1534<sup>240</sup>.

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236 Lucien Wolf (ed.) (1926), 18-79; Agustín Millares Torres (1981), Vol. I., 88-9.

237 Lucien Wolf (ed.) (1926), 78-9.

238 “Gonçalves had promised upon reaching Cape Verd, where he had rich relatives, to pay him [Diaz] forty or fifty doblas for this service, and that he had given a slave girl to the master of the ship in which he was to take passage. That since the said Duarte Gonçalves left the island he has not been seen or heard of”. Ibid., 79.

239 Ibid.

240 This is Wolf's contention: *ibid.*, 79, n.1.



This case shows both that there were wealthy *cristãos novos* living in Cabo Verde in the 1520s, and that these *cristãos novos* were probably crypto-Jews. For Duarte Gonçalves himself had asked his wife to work on a Sunday<sup>241</sup> – and so clearly did not keep the Christian sabbath – while his parents and brother were heavily involved in crypto-Judaism<sup>242</sup>. Clearly, at least some in the mercantile *cristão novo* community in Cabo Verde were therefore maintaining Jewish rites. International networks were important to them, as they held connections with the Canaries, to go with the earlier connections suggested for Brazil.

Yet while many in Cabo Verde's *cristão novo* community were involved in furthering the processes of internationalization that have been examined in this chapter, others were involved in more regional activities in Caboverdean space. Among these were the *rendeiros* of the remote island of Brava. Brava's first *rendeiro* had been Francisco da Fonseca, who was nominated in 1509, with profits coming from cleaning cotton and preparing it for export<sup>243</sup>. There were also some cattle on the island, and the rights to the island were passed on to his sons Diogo and João in 1518<sup>244</sup>. Things continued uneventfully in this remote outpost until 1542, when both Diogo and João were accused of Judaic practices on a caravel making to and from the archipelago<sup>245</sup>. Action was swiftly taken, and by 1545 the rights to Brava had passed on to João Pereira, a member of the royal council<sup>246</sup>.

The dealings of the FONSECAS appear to have been essentially small-scale and parochial. But they are part of a wider picture in which the presence of the *cristão novo* community was a

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 78-9.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 18-52. His father, Álvaro, had been accused of running a synagogue, speaking Hebrew, eating meat on Fridays, observing a day of rest on Saturday and not Sunday, and performing Judaic rites of slaughter

<sup>243</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 183-5.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>245</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 52, 169v, 173r-v; abstract published by Antonio Baião (1921: 130).

<sup>246</sup> Zelinda Cohen (2002), 131-2.

cause of considerable tension. The most notable manifestation of this was to come in 1546, when the *camara* of Santiago wrote a letter to the inquisitorial officers of Évora denouncing many officials of the island as *cristãos novos*.

This letter was first cited by Teixeira da Mota, and its purport was that about 200 *cristãos novos* lived among the Africans of Guiné, many having done so for 10, 15 and even 20 years, and that they performed Mosaic and animist rites together with the Africans and had become polygamous (something which is not proscribed by the Jewish faith)<sup>247</sup>. It would appear that the customs house in particular was singled out, with officials there accused of having despatched a known fugitive from the Inquisition in Lisbon to Guiné for his protection – this fugitive's father and brother were said to have been burnt in Lisbon<sup>248</sup>. The *camara* urged the king to establish the Inquisition in the islands<sup>249</sup>.

Some have seen this as a generic complaint grounded in economic competition and not religious affiliation<sup>250</sup>. A little while before the accusations of 1546, the *corregedor* of Ribeira Grande, Pero Moniz, had been accused by the Captain António Correia de Sousa of picking on *cristãos velhos*<sup>251</sup>. Moniz, a graduate of Coimbra, had been appointed in 1533<sup>252</sup>; by 1543 his enemies had closed in on him and he had been forced to flee to the African coast with his

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<sup>247</sup> A. Teixeira da Mota (1978), 8. Mota gave the following citation for this evidence: *Inquisição de Évora, Livro de Denúncias de 1544-1550*, folios 7-12v. However the current indices for the Inquisition of Évora contains no book of *denúncias* corresponding to this period, and I was unable to locate the relevant document. Moreover, this does not appear to be a new problem as Trevor P. Hall (1992: Vol. 1, 163 n.52) experienced the same difficulty during his research back in the 1980s.

<sup>248</sup> Ilídio Cabral Baleno (1991), 169; also cited by Antonio Leão Correia e Silva (1995), 4; Philip Havik (2004), 102 and George E. Brooks (1993), 158.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, and George E. Brooks (1993), 158.

<sup>250</sup> Ilídio Cabral Baleno (1991), 168 and 168 n.137.

<sup>251</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 370-3; a letter of 1544.

<sup>252</sup> IAN/TT, Chancelaria D. João III, Livro 38, 3v.

slave<sup>253</sup>. Yet Moniz was popular on the island of Fogo, and his unpopularity on Santiago may have been owing to his defence of interests foreign to the emergent oligarchy of the islands<sup>254</sup>.

Whatever the truth of the generalized accusations made by the *camara* and against Moniz, the foregoing argument shows that not all of them can have been entirely groundless, even though they may have been exaggerated by economic concern. In fact, the evidence that the *cristãos novos* had been in Guiné for 20 years is particularly significant, as it will be recalled that it was also circa 1520 that Manoel clamped down on their activities in Cabo Verde<sup>255</sup>. This might therefore suggest that these laws did not have a negligible effect, and encouraged many *cristãos novos* to move to Guiné<sup>256</sup>.

As these examples show, by 1550, the link between *cristãos novos* and Cabo Verde was well-established, a link that was not unconnected to the fact that the islands were a stepping stone to the rest of the Atlantic world. Cabo Verde's role in the development of Atlantic space was thus intimately connected to the Jewish presence on the islands, and vice versa. And as we have seen, the Caboverdean role was of immense significant in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century because of the slave trade. Yet while the Caboverdean economy had grown rapidly in this period in tandem with these processes, it had done so through the prism of a growing external dependency; external demand can be reapportioned, as it would be with the slave trade to other parts of West Africa in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, leaving the “producer” highly dependent.

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<sup>253</sup> Angela Domingues (1991), 112.

<sup>254</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 368.

<sup>255</sup> See above, page 62; indeed, what this might suggest is that, in contradiction to the claims of Barreto and Carreira (see above, page 63), the early *lançados* may not have been largely *cristão novo*, as in these years *cristãos novos* were able to act unhindered on the islands – it was only after the Manuelline legislation that a large number of *lançados* could be seen to be of *cristão novo* origin.

<sup>256</sup> This piece of evidence can also be shown to raise questions for the argument in Trevor P. Hall's excellent thesis that even in the very earliest years, the Caboverdean colony comprehensively ignored the demands of Lisbon (Vol. 2, 424-53).

Thus by 1550 forms of coercion, hegemony and dependence had been established that would take centuries to eradicate. Yet the *cristão novo* presence, although it had helped in the furtherance of the internationalization of the islands and thus in the acceleration of these processes of economic and thus imperial “progress”, also acted as an ideological check, counteracting the dominance of Christian customs through the “seditious” behaviour of the FONSECAS on Brava and their ilk.

Thus if on the one hand the *cristão novo* presence furthered Portugal’s control, in another sense it undermined it. The *cristãos novos* helped to open up the Atlantic, yet they were also a slap in the face to the dominant ideology that permitted expansion and the establishment of the Inquisition in this period. They were both a boon and a threat. This sort of paradox would prove typical of the doubleness of the Jewish history of the islands, and the layering up of such doubleness in one direction and another would ultimately undermine the Portuguese vision for the islands, and help to build a different type of identity in Cabo Verde.

## CHAPTER 5: RACE, RELIGION AND CREOLIZATION: THE FIRST CENTURY OF CABO VERDE'S ATLANTIC IDENTITY

### 5.1 Changing the Nodes of Antagonism

The orientation of Caboverdean space in 1550 was fundamentally different to what it had been a century earlier. In 1450, when the first leaking caravels were tentatively exploring the Senegalese coast, orientation had been directed towards the desert. A century later, a decisive shift had been effected in Caboverdean orientation, and the Islamic *mar arenoso* had been replaced by the Christian *mar oceânico*<sup>257</sup>. This shift in the orientation of the region towards the coast was accompanied by a shift in conceptual discourse: in how the world was made real to consciousness. On the coast such a shift overlaid an important body of inherited history and memory and took much longer to effect apparent changes<sup>258</sup>; on the islands, where any settlement prior to this period had been transient at best, a whole new mode of coexistence and conceptualization had to be manufactured from scratch.

Cabo Verde was therefore a meeting point of desert and ocean<sup>259</sup>. It was here, and in this period, that ideologies first began to alter to encompass Atlantic space, and that West Africa's external commercial orientation first began to shift from the interior to the coast - a process that continued for centuries until its final consolidation by the colonial regimes. Hence the paradigmatic importance of the Caboverdean region for African and Atlantic studies: as a

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<sup>257</sup> João de Castro Osório (1937), 223; "sea of sand" replaced by the "oceanic sea".

<sup>258</sup> Although such changes did eventually occur: while the River Senegal was not considered a political frontier until the 18<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest (Bouabacar Barry (1998: 14)), the strife between Mauritians and Senegalese in the 1980s and 1990s shows that cultural as well as political boundaries are now perceived to exist.

<sup>259</sup> "There and there alone the pattern of desert-edge history was overlaid on the maritime style of commercial contacts by sea" – Philip D. Curtin (1975), 6.

meeting point, and testing ground not just for the Atlantic but also for the internal dynamics of West African trade<sup>260</sup>.

The position of the *cristãos novos* in this process was critical. By 1546 there were mixed-race and black members of the council of the city<sup>261</sup>, who were therefore in a position to resist the vectors of Portuguese power in the islands. Thus, in the same year (1546) that the *camara* of Ribeira Grande wrote to the Inquisition of Évora complaining of the *cristãos novos*, the blacks and mulattos of Cabo Verde wrote to the crown urging that the *corregedores* [local governors] should not be censured<sup>262</sup>. Yet this position was in opposition to the usual view of local powerbrokers, who disliked the *corregedores* for interfering with their activities<sup>263</sup>. Therefore it is possible to see accusations of *corregedores* as part of a wider power struggle on the islands between the white Portuguese and the emergent African and mulatto groups, as the *corregedores* reined in the excesses likely to be directed at these groups.

At the same time, these accusations levelled at the *corregedores* often coincided with accusations of Jewishness: thus Pero Moniz, the graduate of Coimbra accused of picking on *cristãos velhos* by António Correia de Sousa, was a *corregedor*, and a similar accusation of a *corregedor* would come in 1555, levelled at João Rodrigues Cardoso for already having been imprisoned by the Inquisition and for blaspheming<sup>264</sup>. In other words, a now familiar pattern emerged: the traditional scapegoat in Portugal – the Jew – was wheeled out by the Portuguese residents of Cabo Verde at the first sign of socioeconomic conflict.

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<sup>260</sup> This view is implied by Barry, who notes that Senegambia had always been dependent, as between the desert and the forest: “Only later, with its opening out onto the Atlantic seaboard, did the region begin to play its pivotal geographical role in full” – Bouabacar Barry (1998: 5).

<sup>261</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 386: “*omēs baços e pretos*”.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Ilidio Cabral Baleno (1991), 167.

<sup>264</sup> IAN/TT, Fragmentos, Maço 9, no. 10.

This is more evidence of just how hard the pre-existing Portuguese mentality found it to adjust to the Atlantic world: the old “enemy” remained stubbornly, enduringly present. Yet at the same time, as we have seen, the “old enemy” was indeed present in Caboverdean space: there were *cristãos novos* here. This does not, however, negate the value of perceiving the structural continuity in the type of scapegoating revealed here. The actual activities of a persecuted Other may be held to have little to do with attacks on them<sup>265</sup>. It is the method and timing of attack which reveals how this other is still perceived within a particular space, and in Cabo Verde the attacks on *corregedores* show that the structure of this otherization remained from Portugal.

Yet while little had been taken away from earlier tropes of otherization in Portugal, something had been added to them. For these accusations of Jewishness fell along caste lines. Where black power was feared, *corregedores* were accused of Jewishness by white Portuguese. This points to the type of unconscious association between Jews and “other Others” that became current across the Atlantic<sup>266</sup>. The unknown Atlantic saw a knee-jerk retreat back into old stereotypes, with one difference: vectors of discrimination were moving from religion in Portugal to an Atlantic world in which racial otherization became the norm.

What this evidence reveals most of all is an embattled otherizing mentality, embattled in part because of the emergent power of the newly fusing Creole world. The power struggle between the white Portuguese and the mixed-race *camara* is testament to the fact that distinctive and competing ideologies were emerging in Cabo Verde. The perceived role of the *crisãos*

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<sup>265</sup> “Let us suppose, for example, that an objective look would confirm – why not? – that Jews really do financially exploit the rest of the population, that they do sometimes seduce our daughters, that some of them do not wash regularly. Is it not clear that this has nothing to do with the real roots of our anti-Semitism?...[this] is a pathological, paranoid construction”: Slavoj Žižek (1989), 48.

<sup>266</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2005), 111.

*novos* in assisting this emergence of a rival Creole ideology is suggested by the accusation of 1546 that those in Guiné partook in both Mosaic and African rites<sup>267</sup>. Participation in this new fusion represented engagement with the anomalies of the Creole world, where ambiguity was always a key component of identity<sup>268</sup>, just as it was for the *cristãos novos* themselves; such *cristão novo* activity therefore signalled a positive approach to creolization rather than the negative response of its rejection (both positions can be glimpsed in the rivalry between the two Caboverdean groups evident in 1546)<sup>269</sup>. The *cristãos novos*, who were already used to such ambiguities, were far better placed to exploit them in a newly ambiguous space than were the *cristãos velhos*, who rejected them; it was this ideological battle which circumscribed the rise of the new poles of antagonism on Cabo Verde.

## 5.2 Cabo Verde and the New Racism

Racism may or may not be a phenomenon that accompanied the rise of modernity, but what is clear is that the earliest accounts of Portuguese slaving expeditions in Africa framed the conflict in terms of Christian and Muslim, not white and black. The Muslim peoples of Africa were designated generically as *mouros*, or Saracens, and early slaving expeditions were seen in the light of the war against the infidel<sup>270</sup>; the people of the “land of the blacks” were by contrast

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<sup>267</sup> See above, page 81.

<sup>268</sup> Wilson Trajano Filho (2003), 22: “*nota-se a vigorosa atuação da ambigüidade como um importante traço constitutivo deste tipo de sociedade*”.

<sup>269</sup> See Mary Douglas (1984), 38 on these possible responses to ambiguity.

<sup>270</sup> Thus Diogo Gomes refers to the injury to Lopo de Almeida on a voyage under Afonso Gonçalez Baldeia thus: “on that day, for the first time, Christian blood was shed in Guinea” – Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (ed.) (1945), Vol. 1, 71.



recognized as heterogenous<sup>271</sup>. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Africa remained seen as “land of the Moors”, and “Moor” was often a synonym of “black”<sup>272</sup>.

That religion remained the major node of discrimination in the Portuguese conceptual lexicon into the 16<sup>th</sup> century is of course supported by the events of 1497. And in 1506, while the *cristãos novos* were attacked, there were no comparable attacks on what was by then a sizeable African population in Lisbon<sup>273</sup>. Religion remained the keystone of discrimination long into the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>274</sup>, with views on race inherited from self-referential prejudices about the binary relationship between Muslims and Christians<sup>275</sup>.

That nodes of discrimination formed around religion should have persisted into the 16<sup>th</sup> century should come as no surprise. As we have seen, pre-existing thought structures showed remarkable tenacity as they entered the early modern era, and the ideological nature of the *reconquista* had enshrined religious oppositions that were very hard to eradicate. However, the circumstances that accompanied the development of these categories were contingent to actual events, and so with new realities subtle alterations developed in these categories. This was the context for ideological shifts towards colour racism in Cabo Verde at this time.

One of the principal foci around which racial discrimination developed in the Atlantic of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had been apparent earlier in the Portuguese context. For although religion had

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<sup>271</sup> Thus Zurara writes that the land is referred to as “Guiné “not because the land is all one, as there are large differences between one part and another” – *ibid.*, Vol. 2, 200: “*não porque a terra seja tôda uma, que grande diferença têm umas das outras*”. Russell points out that Rui de Pina’s account of the Wolof prince Bemoyim’s sojourn in Portugal is also specific and not a generalisation of African politics – see P.E. Russell (1995, 152) and CRP, 951-6.

<sup>272</sup> José da Silva Horta (1991a), 50-1.

<sup>273</sup> A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1995), 157 and Malyn Newitt (2005), 271-2 both make this point. On the sizeable African presence in Portugal by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, see especially James L. Vogt (1973). And in fact, some of the fires for the burning of the *cristãos novos* in Lisbon were themselves stoked by African slaves (Damião de Goes (1949: Vol. 1, 254)).

<sup>274</sup> Russell-Wood sees this as true to 1570 (A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1998c), 251). There is widespread agreement that in the first century or so of contact religion remained of more importance (see e.g. José da Silva Horta (1991a)), 53.

<sup>275</sup> Francisco Bethencourt (1998), 104.

been the main node of prejudice in the 1400s, as the 15<sup>th</sup> century had drawn to a close the Jews who had been its targets were increasingly being seen as a race. These developments were first apparent in Spain – as with anti-Semitism in Iberia in general – and in the controversies over “purity of blood”, or *limpeça de sangue*<sup>276</sup>. The first statute of *limpeça* had been issued in Toledo in 1449, and had barred *conversos* from holding office in the city, even though they were Christians: blood or race, not faith, was what mattered most<sup>277</sup>. These statutes had become increasingly widespread across Castile in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, and although such developments were slower in Portugal, by the 1540s there was an informal code of *limpeça* in Portuguese society, although this was not as yet officially sanctioned<sup>278</sup>.

Many authors have noted that it was with the concept of *limpeça* that modern racism began to assume its defining character<sup>279</sup>. For with the development of this idea came the notion that Judaism was defined more by racial or “blood” characteristics than through religious faith and practice. Returning to the particularities of Caboverdean space, we see that these prejudices played an important role in ideological formulations here through Valentim Fernandes.

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<sup>276</sup> Of course in Spain this was *limpieza de sangre*; as this thesis deals with the Portuguese and Lusophone context, though, I shall refer to the Portuguese nomenclature.

<sup>277</sup> For a more detailed account of this process, see Appendix B, pages 384-389. The classic account of *limpieza de sangre* in Spain is Albert A. Sicoff (1985). For his general discussion of Toledo and its aftermath see 51-85. See also Juan Blázquez Miguel (1989), 137-40 for a good summary.

<sup>278</sup> António José Saraiva (1985), 113: in 1546 some *cristãos novos* petitioned João III not to accept separation of old and new Christians, while noting that they were barred from military regiments of India and posts of honour. Though it is often said that the code of *limpeça* was less severe in Portugal than Spain, by 1600, they were not allowed to be priests or to be involved in the treasury, they could have no administrative post in the Estado da Índia, they could not be pharmacists, doctors or study at University, and they could not belong to military orders. Although in practice such prohibitions could be circumvented, they certainly do not reveal a society in which this code was unimportant (Anita Novinsky 1972: 47).

<sup>279</sup> Anita Novinsky (1972), 44 and George M. Fredrickson (2002), 40, to name but two.

In referring to religious practice in the area Fernandes refers only to Muslims and idolaters<sup>280</sup>. Yet as was seen above, Fernandes said that many Jews also lived in the region, albeit without synagogues<sup>281</sup>. These Jews were not, hence, perceived as Jews in any religious sense, but purely in terms of some caste characteristic. Some sense of racial or caste bond is therefore seen by the informants of Fernandes to characterize Judaism, rather than any religious practice. Thus the racist perception of Judaism formulated in Iberia through the doctrine of *limpeça* had infiltrated Caboverdean space by a very early stage, bringing with it the capacity to alter nodes of prejudice in the region towards colour.

These ideas would fundamentally alter Portuguese ideas towards Africans, meaning that while race had not been a major concern in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese mind<sup>282</sup>, it would become one in the Atlantic. This process was in large part a response to the psychological dynamic whereby hatred and projection fulfilled a vital function in advancing civilization<sup>283</sup>. Society could not advance if its powerful undercurrent of violence – not of course a special feature of Iberia alone! - was directed inwards. Castilla saw this to its cost in the civil wars of the 1460s and 1470s. If society was to be controlled violence had to be projected outwards, and so in the emerging Atlantic of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, masters needed slaves not only in a material sense, but also to satisfy deep-seated and disturbing psychological needs<sup>284</sup>.

In this process, economic factors circumscribed the material conditions in which these psychological needs could be met. In Iberia, the development of racial antagonisms through the

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<sup>280</sup> Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny (eds.) (1951), 44: “*Hay muytos nesta terra q tem a secta de Maffoma...e toda outra gēte som ydolatras do modo e maneyra de Gyloffos*”.

<sup>281</sup> See above, page 61.

<sup>282</sup> A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1995), 153.

<sup>283</sup> C. Fred Alford (1998), 77: “Civilization is a process of shifting powerful and disturbing emotions and experiences, such as sadism and violence, from the centre to the borderlines of society”.

<sup>284</sup> G.W.F. Hegel (1910), 176-86, on the master-slave relationship.

doctrine of *limpeça* was often rooted in economics and the imperatives of competition<sup>285</sup>. Socioeconomic position was also relevant to the level of prejudice aimed at Africans in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Europe, with members of economic elites in Portugal more likely than others to belittle Africans and thereby justify their activities<sup>286</sup>. One may see, in other words, the development of racial discrimination in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a reflection of the growing importance of material concerns that went with urbanization in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>287</sup>. This, as we have also seen, went with the increase in anti-Semitism of the period. Thus both the growth of racial attitudes in general and the particular hybrid of religious and racial discrimination directed at Iberian Jews were the results of the growing importance of material concerns and of the increasing abstraction and alienation which this itself implied; if this abstraction might on the one hand lead to breakthroughs in scientific theories and understanding, it might on the other lead towards a new form of racism.

Concerns with property were alien to Caboverdean space, where, in common with Africa in general, property ownership of this sort did not exist<sup>288</sup>. However, Cabo Verde, as the first region of European settlement in Africa and one of the most prized African economic spaces at

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<sup>285</sup> See Appendix B, pages 386-389 for a further discussion of this point. See also especially B. Netanyahu (1995), 980-6 for a trenchant exposition of the idea that the Toledo statute was caused by economic concern. Netanyahu's view is disputed by Norman Roth (2002), xvii. However there is little doubt that the volume of economic complaints in both Spain as to the activities of the *crisãos novos*, if not a real cause, was at the very least a rationalization of hatred and is therefore worthy of consideration as a motivation.

<sup>286</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 36-41. Such developments should not be surprising when the history of racial polarization shows that the development of racism has been related to the "sanctity" of physical property (Joel Kovel (1988: 17-8)). As Kovel notes, property rights are inalienable in the West. Moral considerations over the way in which acquiring property may depend upon the exploitation of others are not permitted to override the unquestionable good of acquiring property itself, and therefore racial justifications or implicit prejudices may need to be developed in order to maintain the "right" of acquiring more and more property, most of which, eventually, will need to be thrown away so that more property, and deeper prejudices, may be acquired

<sup>287</sup> See above, pages 56-59.

<sup>288</sup> John Thornton (1998), 74-6: unlike in Europe, where land ownership was the primary form of revenue-raising, private or personal ownership of landed property did not exist in Africa, not, as Thornton notes, because African social systems were "backward or egalitarian", but because they were different (*ibidem.*, 76).

this time, was a place in which these factors became particularly acute. Therefore a dichotomy developed between pre-existing value systems within Caboverdean space and those being imposed from without; a close analysis of sources for this period reveals the development of a racial bar here along parallel lines to the notion of *limpeça* in Iberia.

The first stirrings of this can be seen in Fernandes, who wrote that while the Caboverdean islands had been healthy when first “discovered”, they were so sickly [c.1506] that people “only know how to fall ill”; this is thought to be the fault of Africans “corrupting the air as in their own land which is sickly”<sup>289</sup>. Once again, the fact that this reflects not Fernandes’s view but that of his informants confirms that the general perception was that Africans were purveyors of sickness.

Taboos regarding purity and pollution are universal<sup>290</sup>; their invocation regarding others and their breaking of these taboos is usually seen as reflecting deeper anxieties concerning raw human needs of sex and food<sup>291</sup>. The existence of such boundaries at an early stage in Cabo Verde is significant, and implies that processes of incipient discrimination were at work by the early 1500s. Thus it is no surprise to find that by 1513 signs of a colour bar have emerged. In an account of the population of Ribeira Grande of that year, Pero de Guimarães, the *corregedor*, designated the residents according to colour<sup>292</sup>. And by 1517, a bar was instituted on blacks

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<sup>289</sup> Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny (eds.) (1951), 110: “*Estas ylhas erã da primeyro tã sadias q quãtos gaffos alli vinhã saravã. Mas agora sã tã doẽtias q a gẽte saã adoeçe. Creo q depois q os Negros trousserõ a ellas corrõperõ ho aar como ã sua terra q he doẽtia*”.

<sup>290</sup> The classic work on this is of course Mary Douglas (1989).

<sup>291</sup> See e.g. Gustav Jahoda (1999), 247. Joel Kovel (1988: 69-72) shows how the purity and chastity of white women in the American south were connected, thereby connecting taboos of pollution with sexual concern.

<sup>292</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 221: The population account begins thus:

“58 *vyzinhos homens honrados branquos.*

16 *vyzinhos negros...*”

leading expeditions from Cabo Verde to the coast<sup>293</sup>; although black mariners could still work alongside whites, they no longer had positions of authority<sup>294</sup>.

Such attitudes were not then uniform. By the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century African princes were studying in Lisbon<sup>295</sup>, and in 1518 a Congolese-born man was appointed bishop of Útica<sup>296</sup>. This is not to say that there was no discrimination against Africans in Portugal in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>297</sup>, but that, as suggested above, religion rather than colour was the principal form of discrimination at that time<sup>298</sup>.

However, the detail for Cabo Verde from 1513 and 1517 implies that this was not the case here, given the division of the residents according to colour and the developing ideology that blacks should not be permitted authority over whites. Naturally, this was in part due to the simple fact that the opposition between white and black was easily apparent and visible. Yet this in turn reflected the development of the new discourse in which empirical experience, rather than inherited tropes of action from recognized authorities, took precedence.

It needs to be stressed that this was in turn a discourse in which the growth of material considerations was paramount<sup>299</sup>. The abstraction that went with the development of a

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<sup>293</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 141; Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 85.

<sup>294</sup> A.C. de C.M. Saunders (1982), 11.

<sup>295</sup> John K. Thornton (1995), 122-3.

<sup>296</sup> C.R. Boxer (1969), 99. The work of Giulio Landi, an Italian philosopher, is often cited in this context (A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1978: 39); Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981: Vol. 4, 185)): Landi wrote in 1523 that the Portuguese had 3 criteria for assessing the merits of black slaves, religious affiliation, parentage (whether legitimate or not) and colour, with colour being the least significant; however this may rather reflect the importance of these attributes in Landi's own mind rather than in Portugal, since it is well-documented that attitudes towards *limpeça* – and, by extension, incipient attitudes towards race – were much more severe in Iberia than in Italy (Albert A. Sicroff (1985)).

<sup>297</sup> Circa 1530, Pero de Sousa, ambassador of the King of Congo complained of the attitudes of his muleteer in Lisbon, who kept on taking take mules from him and replacing them with wild ones or with ones with backs covered by sores – AG, Vol. 10, 332. Blacks were not allowed to ride caparisoned mules in Lisbon either (AHP: Vol. 1, 303).

<sup>298</sup> See above, pages 87-88.

<sup>299</sup> See above, page 56.

theoretical space constructed on an empirical paradigm was part of the same phenomenon that reified objects of exchange mediated through monetary value; principal to this process was the *objectification* of the goods for exchange<sup>300</sup>, and it was this objectification which betokened the new importance of materiality in the perception of the world.

As we have seen, such developments were of great importance in 15<sup>th</sup> century Iberia; they were also, however, pertinent to Cabo Verde, which, as at the forefront of the development of Atlantic space at this time, was at the forefront of the furthering of these material considerations. Thus what we see through an analysis of the development of nodes of discrimination in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century in Cabo Verde is that there appears to be a continuation here of processes that had previously begun in Iberia with *limpeça*. In both cases, the developing material realities and – perhaps even more important – concerns saw the development of modes of prejudice grounded in perceived racial difference. Cabo Verde, as at the forefront of the emerging Atlantic economy, was also at the forefront of the emergence of the attitudes that came with the early modern Atlantic.

Thus the development of racism in both Portugal and Cabo Verde becomes a valuable paradigm through which we can study the development of racism in the Atlantic more generally<sup>301</sup>. As was noted above, the doctrine of *limpeça* is now widely seen as a precursor of modern racism<sup>302</sup>. If *limpeça* was first developed in Iberia, it was first transferred towards colour in Cabo Verde, when that space led the new Atlantic economy. Indeed, Cabo Verde was the first place where a society developed where slaves were only black, a point of not

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<sup>300</sup> Georg Simmel (1990), 78, 120.

<sup>301</sup> A.C. de C.M. Saunders (1982:xi) notes in the same manner that African slavery in its Atlantic context first became fully organized in Portugal. That the origins of Atlantic racism lie in *limpeça* are suggested by numerous details, such as the fact that the word “negro” was used in the American south for *anyone* with *any* black ancestry (Juan Comas (1951: 21)).

<sup>302</sup> See above, pages 88-89.

inconsiderable theoretical importance in the development of modern racism<sup>303</sup>. Thus it is here that answers surface as to the way in which this process of the modernization of prejudice occurred.

What emerges is that there were conflicting and intersecting attitudes to identity<sup>304</sup>. Attitudes towards identity were constantly being worked through, and depended on conjunctions of contingent circumstances. The evolution of tropes of racism and their position within Caboverdean identity was not linear<sup>305</sup>. In fact to require a linear or scientific concept of identity within these terms is to ignore the very nature of the attitudes being examined. Race as such does not exist, and racism is based on fantasy not fact<sup>306</sup>; such ideas do not develop cogently or universally precisely because they are not cogent or universal ideas.

What one can say is that where the forces that tended to shape prejudice were most acute, so was the prejudice itself. Urbanization, economies and prejudice grew in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and in Ribeira Grande in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: the three phenomena were connected. In Cabo Verde, where the white Portuguese who had brought inherited and nascent forms of racial awareness from Europe were in a minority, this concatenation of factors meant that discrimination shifted increasingly from the requirement of religious *limpeça* in Iberia to the vector of race. As the slave trade accelerated, so did the discrimination. Thus the growth of the Caboverdean economy ineluctably brought with it the displacement of what had begun as a localized and specific form of racism – anti-Semitism in Iberia – to the Atlantic world: the

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<sup>303</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 2, 632; the importance of the purely black constitution of slaves in the New World in the development of racist attitudes is also stressed in David Brion Davis (2006).

<sup>304</sup> Malyn Newitt (2005), 257.

<sup>305</sup> As Jonathan Schorsch (2004: 191) points out, similarly, the development of the Jewish self-identity of whiteness in the Atlantic world cannot be seen in a linear fashion.

<sup>306</sup> Joel Kovel (1988), 46.



structural continuity was of paramount importance in the evolving categories, as would also be found on the other side of the Atlantic, in Hispaniola<sup>307</sup>.

### 5.3 New Identities and the Jewish Presence

The parallel with Hispaniola returns us to the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde in an unlikely fashion, since the key figure in Hispaniola's early history was Columbus, an individual of potentially crypto-Jewish identity who already had knowledge of Cabo Verde<sup>308</sup>. It is noticeable that Columbus was very quick to seize upon perceived racial difference in his accounts of his discoveries, referring to "the most beautiful men and women seen up till then, very white"<sup>309</sup>; given the favouring of this kind of aesthetic, obsession with whiteness soon expanded on Hispaniola among the Amerindians, who used roots to whiten themselves<sup>310</sup>.

For the *cristãos novos*, however, the process of whitening required ideological amnesia, not the appreciation and application of nature's bounty. An Atlantic dynamic in which race, not religion, became the principal vector of difference would be an Atlantic in which their pariah status diminished; while, as we have seen above, the Atlantic world remained one where

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<sup>307</sup> The position of Cabo Verde in 1550 may usefully be compared to the position of Hispaniola in the Caribbean in the early 1500s. Just as Cabo Verde was spearheading an emerging economy, so then had been Hispaniola. And it was in Hispaniola that the racism that emerged in the Caribbean and Spanish America was developed. A racist jurisprudence justified the slavery of the Amerindians through the *encomienda* system; the religious gentility of the Indians was very quickly replaced by perceived natural inferiority, and the necessity of creating the "natural" order of the master-slave dynamic. *Limpeça* then adopted a new ideological form revolving around the *mestizaje* of the Spaniards and the Amerindians. Thus one can say that in both Cabo Verde and Hispaniola, slaveholding became the dominant determinant of social structure; in both, identities and prejudices evolved accordingly. See Hugo Tolentino Dipp (1992: 21-77, 100-101, 130-1).

<sup>308</sup> See above, pages 44-45.

<sup>309</sup> Cit. Hugo Tolentino Dipp (1992), 156: "y son los más hermosos hombres y mugeres que hasta allí hubieron hallados, harto blanco".

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., 130-1.

Judaism was also perceived in a racial sense<sup>311</sup>, the growing Africanization of the slave populations of the Atlantic world would mean that their position of subalternity would, increasingly, be supplanted by others.

Thus the involvement of the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde up to 1550 - as *rendeiros*, and international and regional traders – not only furthered the advance of new economic realities: in advancing those realities, such involvement also furthered racist modes of thought and thereby contributed to the *cristãos novos*' whitening in the Atlantic world. This was the very first instance of what Brodtkin has referred to as the process of “Jews becoming white folks”<sup>312</sup>, or the accepted other. Cabo Verde, as the motor of the slave trade in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, was the motor of this process at its inception, a process that ultimately contributed enormously to the emancipation of Jewry in Western Europe<sup>313</sup>.

It should be made clear at once that in Cabo Verde this process of whitening only pertained to this early period of settlement when there was a significant European population. Moreover, this was not a conscious process, and there was no sense in which the process of Jewish “whitening” was a linear development or even a conscious ideation developed among Jews themselves<sup>314</sup>. It was not until the 17<sup>th</sup> century that any sense of self-identity among Jews as “whites” developed, and as late as 1753 some polemicists in England were comparing the

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<sup>311</sup> See above, page 90, and the discussion of Valentim Fernandes's informants views on the “racial” Judaism of the griots of Senegambia.

<sup>312</sup> Karen Brodtkin (1998); Brodtkin refers here to the perception of Jewish communities in the United States after 1945.

<sup>313</sup> Cf. David Brion Davis (1994: 16): “The significant point is not that a few Jewish slave dealers changed the course of history, which would have been the same without Jewish slave traders and planters. The significant point is that Jews found the threshold of liberation from second-class status or worse, in a region dependent on black slavery”.

<sup>314</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 191.

Jewish “colour” to that of Africans from Guinea<sup>315</sup>. Moreover, many will challenge the view that these *cristãos novos* were “Jewish” in any meaningful sense.

Yet rather than become embroiled in polemics about intention, motivation, and transference, it is more instructive to remind ourselves of what the evidence for Cabo Verde shows for this period. Cabo Verde *was* the motor of the slave trade: there *were* many *cristãos novos* here: colour racism *was* growing more rapidly here than in other parts of the Lusophone world; these are not interpretations, but facts. One may conclude not that the *cristãos novos* themselves promoted transference of prejudice to Africans, but that the expansionist and persecuting ideology’s requirement of an otherized group found its best referent in the Africans of the Atlantic; that some *cristãos novos* felt more at ease here than in the atmosphere of a Portugal where the struggle to form the Inquisition was ongoing throughout this era says as much about human nature, and its perpetual flight from fear, as it does about the *cristãos novos*<sup>316</sup>: it certainly does not suggest that these fugitives were themselves responsible for this process of transference and racialization.

In fact, as the denunciation to the Inquisition in Évora in 1546 suggests, far from refusing to engage with the African cultures they encountered, the *cristãos novos* were in many cases more prepared to interact and to fuse cultural practice, living on the coast and marrying local women<sup>317</sup>. Recently, some authors have stressed how these early *lançados* deliberately borrowed from African cultures on arrival in Guiné, and were attracted to the ritual practices they found there<sup>318</sup>. Such a willingness to interact positively – rather than to reject the foreign

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 180-1.

<sup>316</sup> The classic account of the formation of the Portuguese Inquisition is A. Herculano (1854).

<sup>317</sup> See above, page 81.

<sup>318</sup> José Lingna Nafafê (2001), 17-8.

group and see them as a carrier of pollution<sup>319</sup> - was significant in the first reaching towards a Creole identity in the region.

Of course, in this reaching towards Creole cultures one must not overstress the importance of this adaptive *cristão novo* element. One must give equal weight to the importance of the perception of outsiders in Guiné itself, where, south of the Gambia, the matrilineal cultures and the willingness to absorb mixed-race children permitted the development of fused cultures in a manner which did not pertain in Senegambia<sup>320</sup>. Yet nevertheless this adaptive *cristão novo* element, living in Guiné since at least 1520, and the fact that these cultural brokers were already used to finding an accommodation from their position as outsiders, was not an insignificant factor.

### **Recapitulation: Old Spaces in A New World**

In this first part of the thesis we have seen how the development of material and psychological conditions in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century paved the way both for the exploitation of the Atlantic and for the transference there of an important *cristão novo* community early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Yet at the same time, emphasis has been placed on how the opening up of this new world saw a tension between the expansion of pre-existing ideas and structures and the reality of the new worlds being opened up.

A concluding illustration of the importance of this tension comes through a discussion of the spaces beyond the hegemony of Portugal in Caboverdean space. Such spaces existed mostly

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<sup>319</sup> See above, page 92.

<sup>320</sup> Philip J. Havik (2004b), 26-7; George E. Brooks (2003), 51-2.

in Guiné, where the replication of pre-existing categories found its focus most particularly with the *lançados*. As was noted above, these individuals very rapidly became a target for opprobrium, and being a *lançado* was soon a capital offence<sup>321</sup>. The *lançados* had grown very rapidly along the coast from 1500 onwards, with most of their numbers coming from Cabo Verde<sup>322</sup>. Fernandes referred to numerous Portuguese resident in the Casamance at the Mandinga court c.1506<sup>323</sup>, and though the legislation was severe for the *lançados* in the 1510s, by the 1530s there was some official recognition that their presence facilitated exchange<sup>324</sup>.

Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century the number and importance of the *lançados* grew<sup>325</sup>. There was a notable difference between the communities north and south of the Gambia, with the Wolof and Serer along the *petite côte* according them an outcast status and denying free marriage partners<sup>326</sup>, while the peoples of Guiné permitted intermarriage and a less outcast status for their guests<sup>327</sup>, thus enshrining a system where the relationship was that of African landlords and European strangers<sup>328</sup>. Yet as the importance of these brokers grew, so did the volume of denunciations concerning them.

It is useful here to compare the denunciations of *lançados* with those of the *cristãos novos*. It has been suggested that denunciations of Judaizing at this time in fact merely reflected the *lançados* observing African religious rites<sup>329</sup>. Yet the step has not been taken of seeing how

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<sup>321</sup> See above, page 63.

<sup>322</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 76: the ferocity of the legislation barring trade between Santiago and Serra Leôa, enforced in 1517, is only explained by the problem of *lançados*. See also Trevor P. Hall (1992).

<sup>323</sup> Th. Monod, A. Teixeira da Mota and R. Mauny (eds.) (1951), 58; cit. also Peter Mark (1985), 17.

<sup>324</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 76: in 1535 there was mention of a *feitoria* on the River São Domingos, which implies according to Rodney a semi-official status for such trade.

<sup>325</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 95.

<sup>326</sup> George E. Brooks (2003), 51-2.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>328</sup> George E. Brooks (1993), 137.

<sup>329</sup> Malyn Newitt (1992), 42.

this unconscious association reveals much about how both Africans and Jews were perceived. It is, I would argue, no coincidence that those Europeans adopting African customs seemed “Jewish” because Judaism remained the paradigm of otherness. The crucial point was that both *cristãos novos* and *lançados* filled ambiguous cultural categories for the Portuguese, being both of them inside and outside Portuguese culture: thus, giving the pre-existing association of ambiguity solely with *cristãos novos*, it was perceived that the *lançados* must also be “Jewish”.

Thus, I would argue, the otherness of the Atlantic world was viewed through the prism of pre-existing Iberian categories. The resentment of *lançados* reflects a growing unease at how simple it was to reject the dominant Portuguese *cristão velho* identity, and at the development of the ambiguities of category which increasingly defined modernity. *Lançados*, as men who willingly stepped outside the persecuting ideology of the expansionist European economy, were not just a commercial threat: they were a deep-seated ideological threat too.

A complex dance between perception and reality soon occurred. *Lançados*, like Jews lived in matrilineal societies<sup>330</sup>. Like crypto-Jews, they were able to operate in two worlds, Africa and Europe in one case, Judaism and Christianity in the other. Structurally, *lançado* society came to be viewed as the epitome of the maligned otherness of the *judiarias* among whom the Portuguese had previously sought to execute otherization. Yet this creation of perception had a flip-side: just as the *lançados* were perceived as quintessentially other and ambiguous, so the quintessentially ambiguous “others” felt more at home in the creolizing world of the *lançados* than did other Portuguese<sup>331</sup>. The evidence that shall be considered in the

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<sup>330</sup> Ibid., 38, 49.

<sup>331</sup> This idea is explored more fully below in II:1.2.

remainder of this thesis shows that indeed a disproportionately large number of *lançados* were *cristãos novos*.

It turns out, then, that Jews played a double role in this first century of Caboverdean space. On an active level, as we have seen, the presence of people of Jewish descent helped to shape the Caboverdean economy and modes of exchange; yet the *idea* of the Jew was equally, if not more, important, as helping to shape the perception and thereby the reality of the creolizing societies that evolved. This perception, as grounded in a conditioning from Iberia that was both anachronistic and alien to Cabo Verde, would only gradually yield to a more autonomous Caboverdean identity, one which, when fully developed, would owe not a little to the perennial doubleness of the *cristãos novos*.

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## **PART TWO**

### **CABO VERDE IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD**

**1550-1600**



## INTRODUCTION

This part of the thesis moves us more solidly into concrete evidence which underscores the role of the *cristãos novos* in the emergence of Caboverdean society.

Chapter 1 looks at the trading dynamic of Cabo Verde in this period, and points to the connexion between the expansion of trade and the inability of the Portuguese crown to control that trade in the Atlantic. It is argued that Portugal's version of "state capitalism" created economic rigidity where successful traders required flexibility and the ability to assimilate and fuse with different worldviews. This was something that the *cristão novo* population possessed, and its engagement in contraband was a form of ideological as well as commercial subversion. At the same time the facility for flexibility was something that the pre-existing Jewish condition as an "other" facilitated.

Chapter 2 examines a detailed case study, the Carvajal/Leão nexus, which allows us to look at some of the activities of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde in detail. This leads me to suggest that the Caboverdean region was seen as a place of escape from the Inquisition, and that personal experience was crucial in developing the emerging sense of doubleness and differentiated modernity then current in the Caboverdean region. Moreover, we see how the realities of a new space forced the reorientation of many pre-existing conceptual categories, and how this fed the growing importance of adaptation to the new space.

Chapter 3 examines the ecological and political crises which overtook Cabo Verde in the last years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and led towards a marginalization of this space in the Atlantic. The existence of numerous *cristão novo* circles is documented, and it is argued that their presence contributed both towards a growing creolization and to the mutation of categories of prejudice from a religious to a racial orientation.

**TABLE 2: KNOWN *CRISTÃOS NOVOS* IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE, 1550-1600**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATES ACTIVE</b>	<b>BIRTHPLACE</b>	<b>OTHER LOCALES OF ACTIVITY</b>	<b>RESIDENCE IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE</b>
Diogo Barassa	c. 1540-60	Fronteira	?	Fogo, Santiago
João Ferreira (Ganagoga)	1560-80?	Crato	?	Futa Toro
Luis de Carvajal	1548-63	Mogadouro	Seville, Mexico Santo Domingo	Ribeira Grande
Francisco Jorge	1548-63	Mogadouro	Salamanca, Mexico	Buguendo
Mestre Dioguo	c. 1550-62	?	?	Fogo, Buguendo
Antonio Henriques	c. 1550- 65 ?	?	?	Fogo, Buguendo
Fernão Sanches	1580s/90s	?	?	Maio
Francisco Lopes	1580s/90s	?	?	Boa Vista
Manuel Nunes	1597	?	?	Ribeira Grande
Jorge Fernandes Gramaxo	1595-1600	Algarve	Amsterdam, Cartagena, Lisbon, Seville	Ribeira Grande

## CHAPTER 1: CONTROL AND RESISTANCE IN CABO VERDE, 1550-1580

### 1.1 Lack of Control in the Heyday of Cabo Verde

In 1550, Cabo Verde was perhaps the wealthiest part of the Portuguese Atlantic, “richer in money than in virtue”, as the Bishop of Bahía put it in a letter to João III of 1552<sup>1</sup>. In 1549, a royal accountant had stated that “excepting Lisbon, there are not two cities in the kingdom which produce as many profits as [Ribeira Grande]”<sup>2</sup>. What was more, these profits were on the rise<sup>3</sup>. That this economic boom depended squarely upon the trade in slaves was implied by the anonymous pilot, who described how “ships are continually arriving [in Santiago] with goods from different countries” to exchange for the slaves brought to the island<sup>4</sup>.

Throughout the middle third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Cabo Verde had virtually a complete monopoly on the transatlantic slave trade. The settlement at Luanda would not be founded until 1575; moreover slave supply from both Benin and Kongo was uncertain in this period, and therefore the trade of the Bight of Benin remained centred around maintaining the workforce for the sugar plantations of São Tomé<sup>5</sup>. By 1556 the slaves from Cabo Verde were in such high demand in the Indies that a premium of 20 *ducados* was paid for each one in comparison to any brought from São Tomé<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> MMA, Vol. 2, 441: “*mais riquo de dinheiro que de vertudes*”.

<sup>2</sup> Cit. Iva Cabral (1995), 225: “*tirando a cidade de Lisboa nem duas cidades do Reino rendem tanto quanto ela [Ribeira Grande]*”.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.: “*que vai em crescimento*”.

<sup>4</sup> Anonymous (1551/2), 89: “*aonde de continuo chegão navios com mercaorias de diversos paizes e provincias*”.

<sup>5</sup> By 1530, Benin was refusing to trade in anything except female slaves for São Tomé (A.F.C. Ryder (1969: 68)); meanwhile, from 1526 onwards the Kongolese trade slaves was under stricter royal control than before (J.D. Fage (2002: 238)).

<sup>6</sup> AGI, Indiferente 425, Libro 23, 231r: A document setting out the prices at which slaves were to be sold in various parts of the Spanish dominions, which states “*y los negros q fueren de Cavo Verde se poderem vender...veinte ducados mas cada pieça*”.

Moreover, the internationalization of the Atlantic was expanding rapidly. It was in this period that the French and British decisively entered Caboverdean waters. By 1557, the London merchant William Towrson was impressed by the great trade of the French in the Cabo Verde area<sup>7</sup>. And the 1550s and 1560s saw numerous English voyages to the area under captains such as Towrson, Walter Wren, and John Hawkins<sup>8</sup>.

The interest of Europeans in Caboverdean space in this period is confirmed by the growing presence of settlers from the Canaries, who by 1559 were accused of routinely going to trade in Guiné<sup>9</sup>. Internationalization spanned all the continents, as the *carreira* cloth trade from Goa often supplied the materials with which slaves were purchased in Cabo Verde<sup>10</sup>. The decade 1560-70 is seen by some as the period in which the great *carrera de Índias* took shape<sup>11</sup>, and Cabo Verde certainly played its part: by 1574, there were established routes linking Cabo Verde with Cartagena in the Nuevo Reino de Granada<sup>12</sup>.

Yet while the rapid expansion in trade was of benefit to the extractive economic cycle focused around Cabo Verde, the development of trade brought with it its own problems of control. As trade expanded, so did the opportunities for fraud. The 1550s and 1560s also saw the organization of the Atlantic contraband market, based especially around the Azores<sup>13</sup>. While contraband was a problem throughout Atlantic space, where the slave trade was concerned it was concentrated particularly in Caboverdean space. By 1572, there were allegations of mass

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<sup>7</sup> NGC, Vol. 1, Book 2, 171.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, Book 2, 171-245.

<sup>9</sup> AG, Vol. 5, 192: refers to “*estormentos que se tirarão nas Canarias per que constava[m] muito claras as culpas destes todos que vão a Guine e tratão ordinariamente la*”.

<sup>10</sup> James C. Boyajian (1993), 141.

<sup>11</sup> Huguette and Pierre Chaunu (1955), Vol. 3, 144.

<sup>12</sup> AGI, Patronato 259, R. 52: refers to the ship *San Sebastián*, going from Cabo Verde to Cartagena with slaves.

<sup>13</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1969), 476-7.

fraud in the trade out of Santiago<sup>14</sup>. The sheer ordinariness of fraud against the Portuguese crown was confirmed by Thomas Mercado in 1587 referring to the links between Cartagena and Cabo Verde<sup>15</sup>. In other words, the rational economic demands of empire required expansion; but the expansion could not be controlled rationally.

These developments reveal a tension between the requirements of expansion and the capacity of the crown to control and organize. The Portuguese crown was used to a finite geographical space which could effectively be controlled, not a vast Atlantic space where there were only a few points of control; the problems of administration that developed now were therefore, at least in part, problems which developed from the overly rigid application of pre-existing peninsula categories, and a reluctance to adapt and fuse with the new realities of the spaces being explored.

In Cabo Verde, the problems which arose from these struggles were varied. The slave trade was organized largely on the hoof. The case of Francisco Nuñez de Padillo, who came from the Canaries to load slaves in May 1574, may be taken as typical: Padillo obtained 66 slaves that had just arrived from the Rio São Domingos on the ship Santa Cruz, 122 from the *feitoria* in Ribeira Grande and 119 from elsewhere on the island<sup>16</sup>. There was no method to this supply, which depended on contingent local conditions; this meant that supplies of slaves occasionally ran out, and organizational skills were overstretched<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Huguette and Pierre Chaunu (1955), Vol. 3, 172.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Mercado (1587), 105: “*conozco hombre que los dias passados navegó a una de aquellas islas [de Cabo Verde], y con menos de quatro mil ducados de rescate, sacó quatrocientos negros sin licencia ninguna*” : tr. “I know a man who recently sailed to [Cabo Verde] and with less than 4000 *ducados* bought 400 slaves without any licence to trade”.

<sup>16</sup> AGI, Escribanía 119A, 15r-17v.

<sup>17</sup> AGI, Justicia 864, No. 7, July 10<sup>th</sup> 1563 – April 11<sup>th</sup> 1564 – Luis de Mercado from Seville claims he was unable to take 30 slaves to the Indies as they weren’t to be had in Cabo Verde.

This evidence shows that the capacity of the system of “state capitalism”<sup>18</sup> to organize the slaving *asiento*<sup>19</sup> efficiently was weak. Portugal’s experiment in state capitalism created economic rigidity where what was needed was flexibility to deal with the new opportunities opened up by the discoveries<sup>20</sup>. Nonetheless, rigid control of activity was the prevailing state ethos, as exemplified by the formation of the Inquisition.

Though Cabo Verde was a region of only sporadic interest to the Inquisition<sup>21</sup>, one of the greatest periods of activity was in the generation or so after the definitive establishment of the Portuguese tribunal in 1547. A provision of August 4<sup>th</sup> 1551 placed Cabo Verde within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Lisbon<sup>22</sup>, and straightaway the inquisitorial authorities sent a visitor to the islands for information “concerning the Holy Office”<sup>23</sup>. In 1558, Antonio Varela was appointed prosecutor (*procurador*) of the *cristãos novos* living illegally in the islands<sup>24</sup>, and further inquiries were sent concerning the *cristãos novos* in 1563<sup>25</sup> and 1567<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, in the 1580s, the Inquisition twice proposed making official visits to the islands<sup>27</sup>.

These moves are revealing both in terms of control and attempts at imposing control. The presence of *cristãos novos* on the islands was still nominally illegal following the Manuelline legislation of 1515, and yet an attorney dealing specifically with this group had had

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<sup>18</sup> Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius (1977), 312.

<sup>19</sup> I use the Spanish term since this is the most common way of referring to this contract in the general historiography.

<sup>20</sup> Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1981), Vol. 4, 223.

<sup>21</sup> Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (2004), 173.

<sup>22</sup> Published in Antonio Baião (ed.) (1921), Appendix of documents, 70.

<sup>23</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 840, 8a: “*tocando ao sancto officio*”.

<sup>24</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 139.

<sup>25</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 840, 41r – the pilot of the ship *Esperança* sent with letters for the Bishop of Cabo Verde with information on some *cristãos novos*, January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1563.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 53r – the Bishop of Cabo Verde was asked by the inquisitors to make further inquiries, September 5<sup>th</sup> 1567.

<sup>27</sup> Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (2004), 159: these were in 1581 and 1586, with only the first possibly undertaken.

to be established<sup>28</sup>; moreover, although the *cristãos novos* were repeatedly barred from leaving Portugal without royal permission<sup>29</sup>, these decrees, likewise, appeared to have little effect. Thus this fleeting inquisitorial interest in the islands in fact expresses the failure of two important pieces of legislation – banning *cristãos novos* from emigrating, and from settling in Cabo Verde – emphasizing the inability of the Portuguese crown to control Caboverdean space.

The failure of the royal decrees concerning the *cristãos novos*, and the failure to control the growing trade, showed the limits which Portuguese military control and cultural hegemony could have in such a different space as Cabo Verde. Thus a significant dichotomy developed, between a dogmatic ideology seeking control on the one hand, and a vast space which was, in practice, impossible to control on the other.

This dichotomy exposed the weakness of the prevailing Portuguese ideology for those who were present in a space such as Cabo Verde. As the 16<sup>th</sup> century unwound, the incapacity of the crown to achieve the control it claimed became more and more apparent, and Cabo Verde's potential as a place of escape from the dominant European discourse suddenly became clear.

## **1.2 The *Cristãos Novos* and Resistance in the Heyday of Cabo Verde**

This early inquisitorial interest in Cabo Verde confirms the idea of a strong *cristão novo* presence on the islands. Moreover, as with the denunciations of 1546 to Évora<sup>30</sup>, the presence of *cristãos novos* was often revealed at moments of economic tension, thereby revealing a

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<sup>28</sup> See above, page 62.

<sup>29</sup> Such decrees were passed in 1499, 1521 1532, 1547, 1567 and 1580 – see I.S. Révah (1971) and Cecil Roth (1959).

<sup>30</sup> See above, page 81.

fundamental structural continuity in the fact that the triggers of prejudice remained constant from Portugal.

An example is the attack by Francisco Pereira on Diogo Barassa, the *escrivão dos órfãos e dos defuntos* [notary of orphans and the deceased] in Santiago in 1559, where Pereira claimed that Barassa was a “*cristão novo* from Fronteira [in the Alentejo]”<sup>31</sup>. Barassa was accused of selling the goods of orphans for less than their true worth and of stealing large sums by making false inventories of the goods of the deceased<sup>32</sup>. Barassa had previously lived on Fogo before settling in Praia on Santiago<sup>33</sup>. Whatever the truth of the accusations levelled against him by Pereira, the relevance of his Jewish origins was revealed in the context of an attempt to obtain his position and thereby to secure an economic advantage.

The persistence of the old flashpoints is apparent, then, during this period of international expansion in which Cabo Verde held a pivotal position. Yet subtle re-orientations of identity also began to be apparent, as the psychological effect of the limits of Portuguese power began to emerge: nowhere is this process more apparent than on the African coast, in the relationship between *lançados* and African peoples.

Perhaps the best known of these “cast-outs” was the man known as Ganagoga, whose activities were described in detail by Almada. Ganagoga’s Portuguese name was João Ferreira, and Almada describes how he developed a relationship with the Fulani king of Futa Toro, marrying his daughter and having a child with her. Ferreira was said by Almada to be “of the nation”, that is a *cristão novo*<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> IAN/TT, Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique, Livro 1, 278v; cit. Zelinda Cohen (2002), 88.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 278v-279r.

<sup>33</sup> IAN/TT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Livro 68, 201v-202r.

<sup>34</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 36. See also Antonio Carreira (1972), 67-8.



The few sources that remain show that Ganagoga was an influential figure among the Fulani aristocracy. The English sailor Reynolds stated of the area of the River Senegal that there “no *Spaniard* or *Portugueze* use to trade; and only one *Portugueze*, called *Ganigoga*, dwelleth far within the River, who was married to a king’s daughter”<sup>35</sup>. Some historians have even seen an attempt to seize the Bambuk goldfields and the expansion of the Fulani south from Futa Toro into the Futa Jallon as linked to the presence of Ganagoga and other *lançados*<sup>36</sup>.

Such views of the genesis of an important movement of expansion by an African people are probably related to prevailing views in the colonial era as to the capacities of Africans. What is more significant is the alliance revealed here between *cristãos novos* and an African group itself perceived as other in a local context. For although Fulani did mix with some of the inhabitants of Futa Toro and Futa Jalon, they were characterized by their distinctiveness, being pastoralists often seen as guests by a host agricultural community. Fulani settlements were distinct, segregated communities, moving with their herds through the bush pastures of the settled villages<sup>37</sup>.

What we see through the alliance of Ganagoga and the Fulani is therefore an alliance of two groups perceived as “other” by their own dominant surrounding culture. This favours a novel interpretation both of the *cristão novo* presence in the region and of the Fulani expansion as – in part – a combined imposition upon previously dominant groups. In short, to find common ground between these two “others”, there is no need to resort to far-fetched theories on

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<sup>35</sup> NGC, Vol. 1, Book 2, 245.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. A. Teixeira da Mota (1969), though Jean Boulégue (1972: 75-6) criticizes this, noting that the presence of a few *lançados* alone is unlikely to have led to this development.

<sup>37</sup> J.D. Fage (2002), 85-6.

the “Judaean-Syrian” origins of the Fulani<sup>38</sup>, or to claim that they originated from ancient Egypt<sup>39</sup>. Much more convincing is the idea that a shared perception and self-identification of otherness can be seen as a source for the alliance of Ganagoga and the Fulani; the fact that African peoples in Guiné themselves perceived the Jews as outcasts – using the same term for Jews and griots<sup>40</sup> - strengthens the idea that the Fulani might themselves have seen the grounds for such an alliance and have welcomed the presence of an individual such as Ganagoga/Ferreira.

It should be recognized that this is merely an interpretation of events. Yet at the same time, this interpretation can help us to feel our way towards an understanding of the way in which identities may have been shifting in Caboverdean space in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. We see, firstly, that the self-identification of Jews as “whites” in the early modern Atlantic was a complex process. Though by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century this was the broad direction of Atlantic Jewry<sup>41</sup>, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century matters were not as clear-cut and some, such as Ganagoga/Ferreira, identified themselves with “other Others” rather than with the dominant European culture; thus the attempt to distance Jews from Blacks which characterized some early modern Sephardic literature should be seen as contingent, rather than the necessary outcome of events in the Atlantic<sup>42</sup>.

Furthermore, in the second place, this self-identification with “other Others” mirrors the process that was identified in I:5, whereby *cristãos novos* were seen unconsciously as analogous to the peoples of the African coast<sup>43</sup>. For *cristãos velhos*, adapting to the cultures of the coast

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<sup>38</sup> Maurice Delafosse (1972), 211-35.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph J. Williams (1930), 246-54. A more persuasive account of Fulani origins in ancient Egypt comes from Cheikh Anta Diop (1987: 220).

<sup>40</sup> See above, page 62 n.151.

<sup>41</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), esp. 179-216.

<sup>42</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2005), 124.

<sup>43</sup> See above, pages 100-101.

required casting off an identity then becoming more rigid and entrenched through the ideology of the Inquisition. For the *cristãos novos*, however, their ability to adapt to their host communities – a capacity that has been a cultural trait of Jews throughout their diasporic history<sup>44</sup>, originating in part from their perennial status as both insiders and outsiders in their host cultures<sup>45</sup> - meant that they could best develop the adaptation that would be necessary for *lançado* communities to thrive: although in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the racialist rigidity of the *cristão velho* ideology would infiltrate institutions such as the synagogues of Amsterdam and Recife, this had yet to be a manifest part of *cristão novo* identity in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>46</sup>.

If one takes a step back from these complex recombinations of identity, one catches a glimpse of the process whereby perception shaped reality and was shaped by it. The *cristão novo* heritage as a Portuguese “other” was perceived as enabling and structuring their relationship with the new other, the Africans. It is within this framework of a reality shaped fundamentally by pre-existing cultural categories and identifications that the Caboverdean dynamic emerged. Yet one sees here not only the role of perception in shaping reality, but how that reality itself then recombined with perception. For though the Portuguese mindset may

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<sup>44</sup> See e.g. Raphael and Jennifer Patai (1989: 171-2), on inherited character traits and their national origins for modern Israel’s Jews.

<sup>45</sup> Léon Poliakov (2003a), ix-x.

<sup>46</sup> The acceleration of the exclusion of Amsterdam’s African Jews from the mainstream of the synagogue is apparent from the records of Amsterdam’s Talmud Torah in the 1640s. In Amsterdam, the rulings for 1644 state that “circumcised black Jews shall not be called to read the Torah” (GAA, Portuguese Jewish Archives, Book 19, folio 173 – “*Os Señores do Mahamad, Por Justas Consideraçois Hordenam que Avendo Algun Judeo Negro çircucidado não seja chamada asefer torah...*”); in 1647, it was ruled that a separate space must be found in the cemetery of Beth Haim to bury blacks and mulattos (ibid., folio 224. “*Temo sobre que aya lugar separado en Bet Aghaim para enterarem os negros e mulattos judeos*”); and in 1650, the authorities ruled that the same punishment should be applied to those who circumcised blacks and mulattos as to those who circumcised Christians (ibid., folio 281: “*Reformaçao da escama de 39 que trata de circuncidar goim declararão os senhores do mahamad que as mesmas penas de hirem em quem circuncida negros*”). The relevant records for Recife are published in Arnold Wiznitzer (1955). Yet that there had previously been African members of the synagogue is confirmed both by these statutes and others: for a more detailed discussion see Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 169-78, and Tobias Green (2005), 179.

unconsciously have associated Jews and Africans as “others”, there *were*, also, more cultural similarities for *cristãos novos* in Africa than was the case for *cristãos velhos*. Circumcision was common on the African coast, for instance<sup>47</sup>, and this would become a “religio-ethnic defining power” among Sephardim in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>48</sup>; some, indeed, have seen the rite of circumcision in Judaism as inherited from Africa<sup>49</sup>: certainly, given the persuasive evidence mounted by Freud for the Egyptian origin of circumcision and the possibilities of a sub-Saharan African provenance for the Egyptian culture, such an idea is not to be discounted out of hand.

Thus a complexity of cultural practice and the perception of others meant that it was the *cristão novo* group who could best assimilate into Africa and become a substantial part of the *lançado* class that became so fundamental in eroding Portuguese power in the region. The marginalization of others required by the expansionist ideology created dynamics whereby those others would undermine the very same rigid concepts through which they had been marginalized in the first place.

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<sup>47</sup> See L. Wolf (ed.) (1926: 113) for the importance of circumcision to a Wolof slave in the Canaries in 1589.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 178-9.

<sup>49</sup> Thus Cheikh Anta Diop (1987: 6-11, 24, 61) sees the similarities between many of the customs of ancient Egypt and Africa as being owed to a sub-Saharan African origin, while Sigmund Freud (1939: 44) sees circumcision as definitively an Egyptian rite.

**CHAPTER 2:**  
**THE CARVAJAL/LEÃO NEXUS:**  
**A CASE STUDY FOR 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY *CRISTÃOS NOVOS***

**2.1 Evidence for the Carvajal/Leão Nexus**

Evidence of how *cristão novo* families interacted with these emerging dynamics is best detailed through case studies, and fortunately for this period we have one such, that of the Carvajal/Leão nexus. Here evidence is combined from a variety of different archival sources, some of it already well-known to historians but other elements of it new: the combination of disparate sources allows us to build an important picture, illustrating several aspects of *cristão novo* activity in Cabo Verde in this period.

Five main conclusions emerge. Firstly, we shall see how the international connections of the *cristãos novos* were a means of exporting wealth otherwise embargoed in Portugal; secondly, we shall see how personal experience and connections were crucial in the development of the Atlantic networks, and that this included interactions on the African coast; thirdly, we shall see how, in the age of the Inquisition, Cabo Verde had become for the *cristão novo* element a place of escape, that is, a place where Portuguese power and ideology had a tenuous reach; fourthly, we shall see how the development of the contraband trade went with an ideological doubleness which prefigured the growth of crypto-Judaism in the Atlantic; and fifthly, we shall see how the *cristãos novos* themselves became prototypes for the development of modernity then beginning

to affect spaces such as Cabo Verde. These conclusions will show how Africa decisively helped to shape the dynamic of exchange in this period<sup>50</sup>.

The evidence begins in the Americas – already a point of note – with one of the best-known cases of crypto-Jews in the New World, the Carvajal family of New Spain (Mexico). Publication regarding the case of the messianic Luis de Carvajal *el mozo* (hereafter Carvajal *mozo*) has been widespread<sup>51</sup>. In such work, the case of his uncle, Luis de Carvajal *el viejo* (hereafter Carvajal *viejo*), has been bypassed, largely because the inquisitorial evidence appears to make it plain that Carvajal loathed crypto-Judaism. When his niece Isabel attempted to bring him to the Mosaic faith, he slapped her across the mouth<sup>52</sup>, and in a discussion with Carvajal *mozo* he criticized the latter's father for attempting to convert him to crypto-Judaism<sup>53</sup>

Carvajal *viejo*'s relevance to Cabo Verde is revealed by life story he gave to the inquisitors during his trial in 1589. When his father died at the age of eight, his uncle, Duarte de Leão<sup>54</sup>, came to collect him from Benavente and took him to Lisbon, where he spent three years before being sent to “Cabo Verde, in which island he spent thirteen years, and there he was Treasurer and Comptroller of the King of Portugal...”<sup>55</sup>. Leão's Caboverdean connection came

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<sup>50</sup> This is especially the thesis of John Thornton (1998), esp. 44-5; see also Isabel Castro Henriques (2000: 13): “*se as relações euro-africanas constituem o motor da transformação dessas ilhas desabitadas em espaços socialmente organizados, são contudo os homens e os valores africanos que impõem o ritmo e consagram a africanização de São Tomé e Príncipe*” – that is, that African peoples and values were pivotal in the development of the space of São Tomé e Príncipe.

<sup>51</sup> The earliest detailed work on Carvajal *mozo* was Alfonso Toro (1944), well supplemented by Martin A. Cohen (2001). The will of Carvajal *mozo* is published by Martin A. Cohen (1971b).

<sup>52</sup> The trial of Carvajal *viejo* is published in Alfonso Toro (ed.) (1932), 207-372; this detail is described 217-8. See also Martin A. Cohen (2001), 82-3.

<sup>53</sup> Alfonso Toro (ed.) (1932), 242.

<sup>54</sup> Spanish documents refer to Leão as León, but as he was Portuguese, I shall use the Portuguese orthography.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 280-1: “*y luego murió su padre en Benavente y el dicho Duarte de León, que vino allí, lo llevó a Lisboa de donde lo envié luego de allí a trece meses a Cabo Verde, en cuya isla estuvo trece años, y allí fue tesorero y contador del rey de Portugal...*”.

because he was holder of the contract for Guiné<sup>56</sup>, and some have therefore seen this trajectory as part of “Don Duarte”’s plan to promote Carvajal *viejo* through the Portuguese service<sup>57</sup>; from this perspective, Carvajal *viejo* is seen as ignorant of his *cristão novo* ancestry during this young phase in his life<sup>58</sup>.

Such an account is flawed. Duarte de Leão was widely suspected as being of *cristão novo* stock, as historians of Cabo Verde have previously pointed out<sup>59</sup>, and his connections in the region themselves became the subjects of inquisitorial investigation. The case centred around his brother, Francisco Jorge, and accusations of mockery of the virgin birth on Christmas Eve in 1562<sup>60</sup>. A group of *cristãos novos* had gathered in the town of Buguendo, on the Ríó São Domingos, with “masks of paper and dressed in disguise”<sup>61</sup>. Then one of them, Mestre Dioguo had appeared “dressed in women’s clothes and with towels on his head...calling himself Maria and saying that he was giving birth”<sup>62</sup>, and a send-up of the birth of Christ began<sup>63</sup>.

These events have been referred to by various historians<sup>64</sup>. The reliability of the testimonies has been questioned, as the numbers of *cristãos novos* present ranged in depositions

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 279 – “*Contratador de los pueblos de Guinea, Por el rey de Portugal...*”

<sup>57</sup> Martin A. Cohen (2001), 38; on this account, the Cabo Verde islands are a “natural stepping-stone to positions of increasing responsibility”.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 29: “it would have been difficult to believe that anyone other than Old Christians could now rise so high in society”.

<sup>59</sup> John W. Blake (1977), 218; see also George E. Brooks (1993), 261.

<sup>60</sup> Jorge’s relationship to Leão is stated in the inquisitorial case to be analyzed, IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Maço 25, no. 233, folio 42v: “*Francisco Jorge Feitor xpão Novo irmão de Duarte de Lião contratador de guiné...*” and confirmed in Carvajal *viejo*’s genealogy, where Jorge is like Leão given as a maternal uncle: “*Francisco Jorge de Andrade, que fué en Guinea fator y capitan general por el rey de Portugal...*” (Alfonso Toro (1932) (ed.): 279).

<sup>61</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Maço 25, no. 233, 4r: “*mascaras de papel e cõ vestidos cõtrafeitos*”.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.: “*en trajos de molher cõ toalhas postas na cabeça...chamando maria q estava parida...*”.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 4v: “*tanto dizendo hūs jaa pario maria maria jaa pario maria, e perguntarão outros si pario, e outros dizião pario ho Salvador q nos haa de salvar e outros dizião era macho ou femea ao q se respondia macho macho, outros dizião honed pario ao q respõdião em belen e outros respõdião em dis q em buguendo terras de guine*”: tr. “some saying, Maria’s given birth and others asking if she had given birth yet, and others saying that the Saviour had been born and others asking if he was male or female and people shouting “male male”, and others asking where was he born and some answering Bethlehem whereupon others said in Buguendo, Guiné”.

<sup>64</sup> Maria Manuel Ferraz Torráo (1995), 64; Philip J. Havik (2004), 104.

between one and four dozen<sup>65</sup>; moreover, the account of transvestism, which was itself frowned upon by the Inquisition<sup>66</sup>, is held to follow a pattern of demonization of the other which places the testimony in doubt<sup>67</sup>. Yet notwithstanding these important caveats, when Mestre Dioguo was brought from Guiné to the jail on Cabo Verde, he did not deny that the “farce” had taken place and in fact described it in great detail, claiming that he had merely danced at the house of Jorge in honour of it being Christmas Eve<sup>68</sup>. Thus the substance of the account of what took place must be taken as being broadly accurate, even if some elements, such as the cross-dressing, may have been overstated.

This is important, since the trial tells us much about how Carvajal *viejo*’s uncle, Francisco Jorge, was perceived in Guiné. The bishop of Cabo Verde declared that Jorge was “just as much of a Jew” as were the participants in the scandalous performance<sup>69</sup>, while in his own evidence to the inquisitors back in Lisbon Dioguo described Jorge as the “*cristão novo* factor”<sup>70</sup>. Moreover, in this piece of testimony, Dioguo said that the performance of the farce had come at Jorge’s instigation<sup>71</sup>.

If one refers back to the testimony of Carvajal *viejo*, the chronology of this case can be put in some sort of context. Carvajal *viejo* declared that he was approximately 50 years old in

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<sup>65</sup> Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1995), 64, n.3.

<sup>66</sup> Such doubts were related to the fact that transvestites were engaged in homosexual acts: see e.g. IAN/TT IAN/TT, Inquisição de Évora. Livro 91, folio 41r, the case of Manoel Pires confessing to engaging in sodomy with a transvestite he had taken to be a woman, and also James H. Sweet (2003), 53-4 for the case of a slave from Benin condemned to be a galley slave after dressing as a woman and acting as a prostitute known as “Vitória” in the Azores.

<sup>67</sup> Philip J. Havik (2004), 104.

<sup>68</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Maço 25, no. 233, folios 24r-v: unfortunately the folios in this trial are confused, and so although these folios represent those marked on the trial documents they are not always consequential.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 2r: “*ao feitor q he tam Judeo como elles...*”

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 42v: “*Francisco Jorge feitor xpão Novo...*”

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.: “*diss o ditto Francisco Jorge a hum Antonio Henriques xpão Novo morador no Cabo Verde q os tinha feito algũa obra pa aquela noyte...*”



1589, which would put his birth date at *circa* 1539<sup>72</sup>, and that his father had died after eight years<sup>73</sup>. A time-lag followed of 3 months as he was collected from Benavente and waited in Lisbon, meaning that, by this chronology, he would probably have sailed for Cabo Verde in the spring of 1548. Though he claimed to have spent 13 years in the islands, which would have seen him returning shortly before this Buguendo case developed, *circa* 1561, documents from the Portuguese *Chancelaria* in fact show that he returned in 1563, *after* the farce was performed<sup>74</sup>. He cannot, therefore, have been ignorant of it, and furthermore, given the weight of evidence of the religious background of his uncle in these depositions, Carvajal *viejo* cannot, as previously thought by others, have been ignorant of his *cristão novo* origins.

This reading is supported by a close examination of Carvajal *viejo*'s testimony in Mexico. During the conversation between Carvajal *viejo* and Carvajal *mozo* regarding the latter's father, Carvajal *viejo* declares that his ire was because of the attempt to "persuade me to *return* to keeping the law of Moses [my emphasis]"<sup>75</sup>. Moreover, the fury directed by Carvajal *viejo* at his niece Isabel when she attempted to convert him merits close attention: he struck her and threw her to the floor, "covered his ears", and swore that if Isabel did not return "to God and Our lady without further sin, he would kill her himself"<sup>76</sup>. Such fury could, of course, be explained by his attachment to Christ, but it also betrays an irrationality which could reveal more primal fears – something often to be found in victims of the Inquisition<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup> Alfonso Toro (1944), Vol. 1, 36, n.1.

<sup>73</sup> Alfonso Toro (1932) (ed.), 280.

<sup>74</sup> HGCV (1995), Vol. 2, 522.

<sup>75</sup> Alfonso Toro (ed.) (1932), 242: "*persuadiéndome que me volviese a la guarda de la Ley de Moisés*".

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 217-8: "*tapándose los oídos*"; "*Dios y a Nuestra Señora, con juramento de no pecar mas, que el propio la había de matar*".

<sup>77</sup> For instance, Pero Vaz, a *crisção novo* reconciled by the Inquisition, launched into a fury when considering his house, which had been confiscated, and his aunt, who had moved in to live there, shouting "Jew! Jew! Jew! They're all Jews! No one can be found who isn't a Jew!" ("*Judeu! Judeu! Judeu! Todos sam Judeus! Nam avera algum que*

The archives of the Inquisition of Évora reveals a potential source of these fears. Carvajal *viejo* had three further maternal uncles in addition to Francisco Jorge and Duarte de Leão: Jorge, Antonio and Alvaro<sup>78</sup>. Antonio appears to have died young<sup>79</sup>, while in his account of his genealogy in Mexico, Carvajal *viejo* declared that Jorge had lived in the settlement of Cortiços between Mirandelo and Mogodouro, in the Bragança region, and that Alvaro had been a resident of Medina del Campo, where he had died<sup>80</sup>.

Yet in fact Alvaro and Jorge had murkier pasts: both had been interrogated by the Inquisition of Évora in the 1540s. Alvaro had been arrested in 1544 and interrogated<sup>81</sup>. On January 10<sup>th</sup> the prosecutor declared that he had kept the Law of Moses, the Jewish fasts, had given tzedakah (charity) to *crístãos novos* and urged them to keep the Jewish faith and fasts in return, and had attended synagogues with other *crístãos novos*<sup>82</sup>. These crimes were said to have been committed in Mogadouro and in Cortiços<sup>83</sup>, and Alvaro's wife Lianor de Carvajal was also imprisoned in the jail of the Inquisition for committing the same offences<sup>84</sup>.

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*não seja Judeu!*”). Vaz's fury appears to be directed not only at his misfortune, but also at the fate of being incapable of escaping his *crístão novo* heritage, something which perhaps can be glimpsed in Carvajal *viejo*'s ire: see IAN/TT, Inquisição de Évora, Livro 91, folios 197r-199r.

<sup>78</sup> Alfonso Toro (ed.) (1932), 279: Carvajal *viejo*'s genealogy.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.: he is described as a “*mozo soltero que murió en manos de franceses yendo de Indias a España*”; tr. “a single young man who died at the hands of the French going from the Indies to Spain”

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.: “*Jorge de León de Andrada, que vivo en los cortijos entre Mirnadena y Mogodorio... Alvaro T. de Leon, vecino de Medina del Campo donde murió*”.

<sup>81</sup> His trial is recorded at IAN/TT, Inquisição de Évora, Processo 8779.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., folios 2r-v: “*guardou e foi visto guardar a lei de Moses e as cerimonias della; guardãdo os Jeiūs iudiacos, e Jeiūtadoos nō comêdo senão anoute quãdo sahia a estrella; como fazê os Judeus (onde os haa); e qãdo algũas vezes dava esmolla a alguix xpãos novos q lhe pediã (ao açedaca) a guisa iudaica; elle R. lhes ecomêdava e Rogava muito q Jējuãsse por elle os Jeiūs dos Judeus... e faz ajütamêtos cõ outros xpãos novos apostates e heresies e reza e foi visto e ouvido rezar orações Judaicas ao modo e maneira Judaica ajütãdose cõ os dittos heresies e apostates e hũu cërto lugar a modo de Sinoga...*”

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 3r.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 66r; Alvaro's genealogy confirms him as Carvajal *viejo*'s uncle, citing the same brothers, Duarte, Jorge and Francisco as appear in Carvajal *viejo*'s genealogy for his maternal uncles (ibid., 66v).

Alvaro at first denied the charges and stated that Lianor had been the main guilty party<sup>85</sup>, but he eventually confessed to having been to synagogue in Mogadouro and keeping the sabbath<sup>86</sup>. Several of his fellow prisoners came forward to give evidence against him that he had observed Jewish festivals in the jail and had stated that the Messiah would come soon and stop the persecutions of the *cristãos novos*<sup>87</sup>. Alvaro's incarceration dragged on for four years until his reconciliation in 1548 – probably as part of the general pardon given to *cristãos novos* in that year<sup>88</sup> - and his mental state reached such lows that he attempted to kill himself in January 1546<sup>89</sup>. His brother Jorge was also imprisoned for four years before his release in 1548, although access is not possible to the trial record owing to the bad condition of the documentation<sup>90</sup>.

Given the involvement of his other two living maternal uncles in his childhood years, it is simply not credible that Carvajal *viejo* would have been ignorant of this history. Therefore although there may have been forged certificates of *limpeça* for the family, Carvajal *viejo*, like his nephew the friar Gaspar de Carvajal, would have been aware of his origins, and, moreover, would have learnt at a young age how his uncles had been ruined by them<sup>91</sup>.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 134v-135r.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 137r-v.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 59v, 27v.

<sup>88</sup> J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895-1928), Vol. 2, 50.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 17r-v.

<sup>90</sup> The skeleton details of Jorge de Leão's trial are maintained in the alphabetical index in IAN/TT for the Inquisition of Évora: the details of the index confirm him as Alvaro's brother, as they have the same parents and are both from Mogadouro, yet access was denied to the document. Moreover Alvaro declares that his brother Jorge and Jorge's wife Branca de Lião are both imprisoned in the inquisitorial jail of Évora at the same time as him (ibid., 66v).

<sup>91</sup> Thus in Fray Gaspar de Carvajal's evidence in the trial of Carvajal *viejo* he declares that "*ha visto informaciones que la dicha su madre es hija dalgo, también la tiene por de la misma casta de cristianos nuevos, de judíos, por haberlo entendido y oído así en España*" (tr: "he has seen information to suggest that his mother is from the nobility, but nevertheless he believes her to be a New Christian of Jewish blood, as this is what he has seen and heard in Spain"): Alfonso Toro (ed.) (1932), 224: it would appear from this that a forged certificate of purity had indeed been secured, which explains Duarte de Leão's lofty administrative position.

It is worthy of note that the trials of Alvaro and Jorge de Leão came to a head in 1548, the exact same year in which, according to Carvajal *viejo*'s testimony, he would have arrived in Cabo Verde. This therefore allows a completely new interpretation of both his presence in Cabo Verde and his fury at his niece Isabel's attempt to convert him in Mexico: the years spent in Cabo Verde were not part of some plan of career advance, but a means of Carvajal *viejo*'s family ensuring that this young child escaped the persecution then being unleashed on Portuguese *cristãos novos* – including members of the family - with the definitive establishment of the Inquisition in 1547; Carvajal *viejo*'s fury at Isabel was a result of his fear of suffering from the same experiences as his uncles.

This evidence shifts the balance of the interpretation which historians have hitherto given to the trial of Mestre Dioguo for the farce of Buguendo in 1562. A close analysis of the document reveals that Luis de Carvajal was not the only relative of Francisco Jorge's to be found in the Cabo Verde region. Also implicated in Mestre Dioguo's testimony as taking part in the performance was "Antonio Duarte, a relative of the factor [Jorge]"<sup>92</sup>; another of those said by Dioguo to be involved, Antonio Fernandes, was "nephew of the said factor [Jorge]"<sup>93</sup>, and Fernandes was implicated by other witnesses too<sup>94</sup>.

Although this is not evidence that all these relatives of Jorge's were blood relations of Carvajal *viejo*, the inquisitorial investigation of this family touched all branches, since Alvaro de Leão admitted that his maternal uncle (and therefore that of Jorge) was also imprisoned by the Inquisition<sup>95</sup>. The weight of evidence suggests that it is highly likely that this network of

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<sup>92</sup> IAN/TT Inquisição de Lisboa, Maço 25, no. 233, folio 38v: "*Antonio Duarte, parente do feitor*".

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 43r: "*sobrinho do dito feitor*".

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 5r.

<sup>95</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Évora, Proceso 8779, folio 66v-67r.

*cristãos novos* sent with Francisco Jorge under the auspices of Duarte de Leão was there, in large part, for fear of inquisitorial persecution: Cabo Verde, it was thought, was a place of escape, and therefore also outside the vectors of Portuguese military and cultural domination.

This places both the case of Carvajal *viejo* in Mexico and the Buguendo denunciation in a new context. The fact that many of those present in Buguendo were there because of a need to escape the Inquisition lends greater credence to the idea that some of them, at least, may have wished to mock Christmas Eve, and therefore strengthens the plausibility of the evidence of this inquisitorial case. For Carvajal *viejo*, one wonders whether it was not the realization of the extent of the Inquisition's reach, brought home by these events in Cabo Verde, which determined him definitively to turn his back on crypto-Judaism, thus precipitating the anger he felt when his niece Isabel tried one last time to convert him. Yet such manoeuvring failed, and his incarceration in Mexico ruined him; he died the following year, in 1590, a broken man.

## **2.2 Interpreting the Carvajal/Leão Nexus: Experience, Contraband and Identity**

Much fruitful thought can emerge from a study of the Carvajal/Leão nexus, which has wide-ranging implications not only for the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde but also for the nature of the evolving modern consciousness catalyzed by the experience of the Atlantic. In particular, we can learn much about how empirical experience was becoming paramount in the construction of the new Atlantic, and about how pre-existing worldviews and hegemonies were subverted by cultural others along the lines suggested in II:1.

The place of experience in the Atlantic emerges from the evidence on the Leão network. In his evidence to the inquisitors of Évora, Alvaro Leão refers to his brother Duarte as a “single

man and that he has gone travelling with goods, although [Alvaro Leão] does not know if to Guiné or elsewhere”<sup>96</sup>. Given the material outlined above, this journey of Duarte de Leão was extremely likely to have been in the Caboverdean region to which he subsequently dispatched his brother Francisco and nephew Luis. Two conclusions follow from this: first, that the presence of Francisco Jorge and his network in Cabo Verde depended on Duarte’s prior experience there<sup>97</sup>; and second, that the Portuguese crown often received bids for contracts in the *ultramar* from people with personal experience of a relevant region.

This second conclusion tallies with the evidence for Duarte de Leão’s predecessors. The holder of the first (1469) contract for Guiné, Fernão Gomes, had previously, in 1456, been made receiver of all slaves and other goods to come from the Guiné trade<sup>98</sup>. Subsequently, Fernam de Loronha had taken part in the first expedition to Brazil after his consortium was awarded the Brazilian contract<sup>99</sup>, in 1503, one year before Loronha bid for the contract for Cabo Verde<sup>100</sup>; moreover, this expedition would almost certainly have stopped in Cabo Verde, given the administrative and commercial ties between the two regions in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century which were described in I:3 and I:4. The evidence from his brother’s inquisitorial trial is that Duarte de Leão followed this pattern, and that his commercial dealings in Cabo Verde followed practical experience and knowledge of the emergent Caboverdean space.

Such a conclusion has important theoretical applications for the development of modern tropes of thought. I would argue that the importance of first-hand experience in establishing

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<sup>96</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Évora, proceso 8779, folio 66v: “*e ome solteiro e que ha ido com mercaderia não sabe se pa guine ou as partes dalem*”.

<sup>97</sup> Francisco himself had merely studied in Salamanca: *ibid.*: “*e que a outro irmão q se chamã Francisco e estuda e Salamanca*”.

<sup>98</sup> James L. Vogt (1973), 2.

<sup>99</sup> Arnold Wiznitzer (1960), 6-7.

<sup>100</sup> See above, page 65.

commercial networks in the Atlantic should be viewed through the prism of changing consciousness which was mapped out in Part 1. The process of mental abstraction required to view reality in terms of space and number was ongoing<sup>101</sup>, and this evidence implies that it had yet to be completed by the 1550s<sup>102</sup>. The development of the abstract scientific mentality which led to new technological innovations<sup>103</sup> had yet to bring with it, perhaps, complete trust in abstract concepts such as “Caboverdean” or “Atlantic” space: that space still had to be made real, and in this process of “making real” personal, empirical experience was fundamental.

The evidence for Duarte de Leão’s first-hand knowledge of Cabo Verde and Guiné, then, can be taken as a touchstone for examining how far the modernization of consciousness had progressed by the 1550s. This process, as we have argued, had in Cabo Verde witnessed the development of forms of racism and economic organization which would characterize the modern. Yet through Duarte de Leão we can see that this modernization had yet to be fully realized, since blind trust in abstract concepts, of the sort which allows shareholders today to buy and sell stocks in companies acting in countries which they cannot find on the map, had yet to develop. Fundamentally, however, the importance of experience for early Atlantic traders does not reveal a stagnant worldview; for though the trust in abstraction is not yet fully developed, the trust in experience reveals, as was argued above<sup>104</sup>, that classical authorities have been superseded by the empirical.

Thus Caboverdean space was occupied by a conceptual system in a state of flux, with some aspects being discarded as they came up against Atlantic realities, and others mutating and

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<sup>101</sup> See e.g. Pierre Jeannin (1972: 108-12) on how this process had already drawn some dividends by 1506.

<sup>102</sup> Indeed, even such basic symbols of mathematical quantification, such as the + and – signs, the × sign and the signs for multiplication (x) and division (÷) only became commonplace in the 17<sup>th</sup> century: Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (1981: 51).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Luís de Albuquerque (1983).

<sup>104</sup> See above, pages 57-58.

being reapplied. *Cristão novo* groups such as the Carvajal/Leão nexus were best equipped to make the adaptation necessary, and hence it was these groups which thrived; in this second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was this factor which saw the emergence of these groups as of fundamental importance in emergent identity in Caboverdean space.

The way in which this space itself was coming to be circumscribed by these external realities is further revealed through the flux which existed also between the islands and the coast. For though exchanges prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, if they existed at all, had almost certainly been negligible, the trial of Mestre Dioguo reveals a constant process of exchange between the islands and the coast.

This appears first through Dioguo himself, who, though a *lançado*<sup>105</sup>, had lived on the island of Fogo<sup>106</sup>. According to Dioguo's evidence, one of the leaders in putting on the farce in Buguendo, Antonio Henriques, was a *cristão novo* from the islands<sup>107</sup>. One witness declared that also present during the events in Buguendo was the son of Bras Fernandes of Fogo<sup>108</sup>. Moreover, numerous witnesses of the farce were residents of Ribeira Grande, such as Gaspar Rodrigues<sup>109</sup> and Tristam de Mascarenhas, the *juiz dos orfãos*<sup>110</sup>. Such evidence demonstrates just how much flux was a defining feature of Caboverdean space, as ideas flitted from one part of the African Atlantic to another, and were moulded in their turn by wider developments in the Atlantic.

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<sup>105</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Maço 25, no. 233, folio 4r.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 46r.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 42v: "*Antonio Henriques xpão novo morador no Cabo Verde*".

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 9r.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 5r.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 10r, 43r-v: in his own testimony Mascarenhas merely said that he had heard of the events, but Mestre Dioguo claimed that he had been there himself.



This process can be seen in detail by analyzing the Carvajal/Leão nexus more fully. The Caboverdean network instituted by Duarte de Leão in the 1550s was part of his pan-Atlantic interests. Shortly after his contract for the trade of Cabo Verde ended in 1570, the Portuguese crown began to investigate the holdings of Leão and of his fellow contractor Antonio Gonçalvez de Gusmão in Cartagena<sup>111</sup>, Hispaniola and Flanders<sup>112</sup>. Leão's factor in Guiné Bras Ferreyra was later prosecuted by the bailiff of Cartagena for illegal trading there<sup>113</sup>, following the recommendation of the Portuguese crown<sup>114</sup>; and the beneficiaries of Leão's will later sued for the value of slaves sold in Puerto Rico, contracted by a ship captain from the Canaries<sup>115</sup>.

These legal disputes between Leão and the crown developed as a result of accusations of contraband. As was seen above<sup>116</sup>, this was the period in which the parameters of Atlantic contraband were established, and Leão was heavily involved in this process. In fact, the Portuguese crown only began to investigate Leão's overseas holdings as the money was needed "for payment of what [Leão and Gusmão] owe for the said trade [in Cabo Verde]...for which up till now they have not given any account nor paid that which they were obliged to"<sup>117</sup>. Moreover, this money proceeded from "slaves which were taken without registers or licences"<sup>118</sup>. Numerous cases were taken out against Leão and Gusmão in the years that followed for taking

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<sup>111</sup> Hereafter Cartagena.

<sup>112</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-2, folios 243r-245r.

<sup>113</sup> AGI, Justicia 518, no.1, Autos Fiscales, "El Fiscal con Blas Ferreyra, Duarte de León y consortes portugueses, comerciantes en el Rio de Guinea, sobre el cumplimiento de una Real provision".

<sup>114</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-2, folio 244r – "*Bras Ferreira feitor dos dittos Contratadores...*".

<sup>115</sup> AGI, Escribanía 119A, "Los herederos de Duarte de León y Antonio Gonzalez de Guzman con el fiscal de su Magd sobre pieças de esclavos": Puerto Rico, 1588.

<sup>116</sup> See above, pages 106-107

<sup>117</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-2, folio 243r: "*he pa pagamento do que eles devem do ditto trato...de que ate guora não tem dado conta nem paguo tudo o que vão obrigados*".

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.: "*escravos q se levarão sem registros, nem licenças*".

slaves without registers<sup>119</sup>, and a letter circa 1580 emphasized the large debts which Leão still owed to the crown from the Caboverdean contract<sup>120</sup>.

Thus the network of *cristãos novos* installed by Duarte de Leão in Cabo Verde circa 1550 and active there for the next two decades were keystones in the contraband trade which so sorely taxed Spanish officials in their American dominions. Cabo Verde was not only a place in which the persecutions of the peninsula could be escaped; it became a place from which to resist the political administration that was associated with those persecutions.

It makes sense to see this development of contraband by Duarte de Leão's network of *cristãos novos* as both a cultural and a practical form of rebellion. In cultural terms, it is persuasive to see this development of contraband as a form of rebellion to the ideology of a monolithic system. The rigid system of state capitalism adopted by Portugal was an economic counterpart to the rigid boundaries of the *cristão velho* identity; thus to rebel against the monolithic economic system, through contraband, was to rebel against the categories of the system under which *cristãos novos* suffered, and to reject the monolithic identity which excluded *cristãos novos*. In this sense, contraband and the problems it caused the Iberian crown were an outgrowth of the ideology of the crown in the first place<sup>121</sup>.

Allied to this ideological struggle, this contraband had more concrete aims. The extremely repressive legislation directed at the *cristãos novos* in Portugal in the 16<sup>th</sup> century often made it difficult for them to leave<sup>122</sup>, and therefore for them to export their wealth from a country in which the Inquisition threatened them. The evidence on Duarte de Leão allows us to

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<sup>119</sup> In addition to the aforementioned case from Cartagena (see above, note 122), see also AGI, Patronato 291, 145r: a case about slaves taken to Cartagena without being registered

<sup>120</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-4, folio 223r.

<sup>121</sup> This comes close to Wolf's view of Marranism that it "afforded a refuge for the modern spirit in which to develop itself against the oppressive obscurantism of the Inquisition" (Lucien Wolf (1926: xxviii)).

<sup>122</sup> See above, page 110 n.29.

infer that one of the aims of this contraband was to export this wealth, since the Portuguese Crown complained that not only did Leão and Gusmão owe the Crown large sums after the end of their contract in 1570, but that “they were not left with enough property in this Kingdom to pay what was owing”<sup>123</sup>; it was this which prompted the investigations of their holdings in the Caribbean.

Thus contraband enabled *cristãos novos* to export their holdings from Portugal. This was an entirely practical and material form of undermining the dominant power and its hegemony, yet it also had cultural consequences. It entailed the rejection of the monolithic identity that went with that power, and meant that, just as the Jews fleeing Spain in 1492 were forced to become smugglers in order to take some of their possessions with them<sup>124</sup>, so the *cristãos novos* of the Atlantic were led into a life of doubleness to undermine the system, a doubleness encompassing financial and ideological motives as well as the secrecy of contraband. Thus such doubleness became of necessity a constituent of the identity of the *cristãos novos* working in Cabo Verde.

The pivotal role of Cabo Verde in these developments shows that it was a space in which rebellion could blossom. For it was not Portugal who prevailed here, but the ways and cultures of the African coast, with whom *lançados* such as Mestre Diogo and Ganagoga assimilated. Although the Portuguese presence had fragmented entities such as the Jolof empire, the smaller polities on the coast retained their power. Thus it was African control of Guiné which allowed for the forms of rebellion to develop which undermined the Portuguese crown.

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<sup>123</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-4, 223r: “*lhes não ficou fazenda neste Reyno q baste para pagamento do q devem...*”

<sup>124</sup> For examples of Jews smuggling goods out of Spain in 1492, see Haim Beinart (1980), 66-7 and his work on Trujillo.

### 2.3 The Role of Judaism in the Carvajal/Leão Nexus

Where the active “Judaism” of the Carvajal/Leão network is concerned, matters are less clear. The accusations against Mestre Dioguo and his cohorts are not, after all, accusations of Jewish practice, but of the mockery of Christian belief. And though Alvaro and Jorge de Leão were both reconciled as crypto-Jews, the evidence for the crypto-Jewish beliefs of Duarte or Francisco is sketchy. Their great-nephew Carvajal *mozo* declared in the torture chamber in 1596 that they had been Jewish, according to his father (Carvajal *viejo*’s brother-in-law)<sup>125</sup>. But he also told a story of *circa* 1584 in which Duarte de León had been angry at the loss of a leg of bacon<sup>126</sup> – hardly a Jewish sentiment! - and admitted that he had never met them; indeed, Francisco later went to Mexico where he became an Augustinian friar<sup>127</sup>.

Such considerations make it difficult to make confident assertions as to the role of Judaism in the activities and identity of this network. On the other hand, these considerations

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<sup>125</sup> Luis González Obregón (ed.) (1935), 364 : “*Supé del dicho mi padre cómo tres hermanos de mi aguela, que el uno se llama Duarte de León y está en Lisboa, muy rico, cuyo yerno es don Rodrigo de Castro, es judío, y otro que se llama Jorge de León, que tuvo las carnicerías de Valladolid, y otro que se dice Francisco Jorge, que está en Guinea. Yo no los conocí ni vi en mi vida*”: tr.: “My father told me how three brothers of my grandmother, one called Duarte de León, who was very rich and lived in Lisbon, and whose son-in-law was don Rodrigo de Castro, was a Jew, and also another called Jorge de León who owned the abattoirs in Valladolid, and another called Francisco Jorge, who is in Guinea. But I have never seen or known them.”

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.: “*Me dijo mi padre que cuando se fue el dicho Lic. Morales [a big Judaizer] de esta tierra [de México] y él le salió acompañando, iba en compañía del dicho Lic. Duarte de León, hermano de la dicha doña Catalina de León, mujer del dicho Ferro y primo hermano de mi madre, habra cerca de doce años, y llevaba sobre su almofrez colgado un pernil de tocino, el cual le cortó de industria un hermano del dicho Morales para que se le cayese, como se cayó, y queriéndolo el dicho Duarte de León volver a buscar allí, entre todos lo alumbraron*” : tr. “My father told me that when Licenciado Morales [a big Judaizer] left [Mexico] he went with him in the company of Duarte de León, the brother of the said Catalina de León [Carvajal *mozo*’s grandmother]...about 12 years ago, and that he travelled with a leg of bacon hanging from his bedroll, which the brother of the said Licenciado Morales cut off so that it would fall, and when Duarte de León wanted to go back to get it they all enlightened him...”.

<sup>127</sup> Alfonso Toro (ed.) (1932), 279.

should not lead us to conclude that there were *not* crypto-Jews among the network, since evidently a current of crypto-Judaism did run through the Carvajal/Leão family in Carvajal *viejo*'s generation. Carvajal *mozo* declared in Mexico that his father had told him that "his wife Francisca Nuñez de Carvajal [Carvajal *viejo*'s sister and niece of Francisco Jorge and Duarte de Leão], the mother of [Carvajal *mozo*], was a daughter and descendant of Jews of the people of Israel"<sup>128</sup>. That Francisca was herself a fervent crypto-Jew emerges from the evidence in Mexico<sup>129</sup>, and moreover such feelings were clearly rife in the ambience in which Carvajal *viejo* was raised: Francisca's husband, Francisco Rodríguez de Matos (the father of Carvajal *mozo*), who was clearly a devout crypto-Jew, was also from the Mogadouro region in which Carvajal *viejo* had been raised<sup>130</sup>.

Moreover, there were strong crypto-Jewish forces in some of the areas in which the Leão network had connections, especially Cartagena. Many documents for 16<sup>th</sup>-century Cartagena imply some crypto-Jewish practices: in 1555, a decree was passed that no candles should be lit unless placed in a hole dug to knee-height, which might imply conflict caused by candles lit in the community, a ritual feature of the Jewish sabbath<sup>131</sup>; in 1583, people were prohibited from killing cattle outside the slaughterhouse, which could imply butchering according to kashrut laws<sup>132</sup>; and five years later there was mention of the "lack of pork in this city"<sup>133</sup>, perhaps the

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 250: "*la dicha Francisca Nuñez de Carvajal su mujer, madre de éste, era hija y descendiente de los mismos judíos del pueblo de Israel*".

<sup>129</sup> Alfonso Toro (1944), Vol. 1, 111-2.

<sup>130</sup> Luis González Obregón (ed.) (1935), 56. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this area of northern Portugal is adjacent to areas of Spain where families with crypto-Jewish traits have recently begun to emerge: see Gloria Mound (2005: 3) for an account of this in the village of Fermoselle, 6 kilometres from the Portuguese border.

<sup>131</sup> José P. Urueta (ed.) (1887), 187: "*que no se haga lumbre, ni candela para guizar de comer, ni para otra cosa alguna, sino fuere en hoyo, que este en medio de la cosina, ó casa, que el hoyo sea hasta la rodilla de un hombre*".

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 204: "*Que ninguna persona mate Ganado, sino fuere en el matadero*".

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 207: "*Vista la falta de carne de puerco en esta ciudad...*"; although there could be climatic reasons for this lack – which are not alluded to in the document itself – this factor is intriguing.

most suggestive piece of evidence of all, since by this late period in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the failure to eat pork was deemed highly suspicious in inquisitorial testimony<sup>134</sup>.

Just as, in I:4, the presence of active crypto-Jews in Brazil was deemed significant for Cabo Verde because of the strong connections between the two regions, so the development of strong ties between Cabo Verde and Cartagena under the Leão nexus is also important. Given the strong evidence of early crypto-Judaism in Cartagena, there is certainly a strong possibility that similar traits were to be found in the African Atlantic, and that, given what had happened to their brothers Alvaro and Jorge, Francisco Jorge and Duarte de Leão would have been confirmed, if not in active crypto-Judaism, then certainly in covert ideological rebellion against what to their family had proved an oppressive system. Perhaps also the utility of crypto-Judaism as a form of shared cultural identity may already have been being grasped in the development of these trading networks, since the use of religion to create a shared identity has long been a feature of trading diasporas, and would come to define the crypto-Jewish Atlantic trading diaspora of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>135</sup>.

However, rather than see the religious responses of this network in Cabo Verde as generic, a more nuanced position is needed. An important view is that which sees *cristãos novos* as prototypes for modern individuals, being people all of whom had different responses to their peculiar situations<sup>136</sup>: thus we may be able to say of the network that there was most probably a whole range of ideological opinion, ranging from the active crypto-Jew through the sceptic to

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<sup>134</sup> Moreover, in the hinterland of the Nuevo Reino de Granada, much work has been done to suggest that there was a very early Jewish community in Antioquia: the region had a population of 2000 Europeans by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and various linguistic and cultural pieces of evidence imply a strong crypto-Jewish presence. See Daniel Mesa Bernal (1996), 104-225.

<sup>135</sup> Abner Cohen (1971); see also below, pages 200-201 for a discussion of this in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>136</sup> One of the most recent statements of this view is from Nathan Wachtel (2001), 13.

the unwilling Christian exile from Portugal, a diversity resulting from individuality of response to an unprecedented situation.

*Cristãos novos* can be seen as prototypes for the modern because of their peculiar condition. They were essentially characterized by behavioural contradictions and paradox<sup>137</sup>, one of which was to eschew the demands of religious dogma to follow their own, private consciences<sup>138</sup>; such proto-modern individualism was married to an increasing rootlessness which followed the expulsion of 1492 and the subsequent dispersal from Portugal<sup>139</sup>. Moreover, to add to their individuality and rootlessness, for many *crístãos novos*, the experience of expulsion and Inquisition rid them of the faith in any form of salvation, leading them towards a sort of scepticism which can be seen as a precursor to modern secular atheism, as evinced by the *crístão novo* antecedents of such early sceptics as Montaigne and Sánchez<sup>140</sup>. They were, in fact, perhaps the very first alienated individuals, excluded both from the society of which they were part and from that to which they had once belonged<sup>141</sup>: thus it is that some have seen the quintessentially modern century, the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the “Jewish century”<sup>142</sup>.

Such imposed alienation was, it can be seen, attuned to the processes analyzed in I:2 of the social and psychological changes which accompanied the anti-Semitic violence of the 15<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Anita Novinsky (1971), 439.

<sup>138</sup> Elias Rivkin (1995), 415.

<sup>139</sup> See, e.g., Nicolás López Martínez (1954: 145), whose otherwise execrable work here details an interesting case of the peripatetic life of *marranos*.

<sup>140</sup> This is the view of Novinsky on the *crístão novo* population of Bahía (Anita Novinsky (1972): 120-1). See also H. Graetz (1904), Vol. 4, 193-4 for a convincing view of how events in Spain robbed many converts of all religious faith. The most important book arguing for the role of *conversos* in the rise of secularism and modernity is José Faur (1992), while Yirmiyahu Yovel (1989) is also very important on the role of Spinoza’s *marrano* roots in the evolution of his philosophy; as Yovel shows, “metaphysical skepticism” was a defining quality of *marranos*, and thus essential to the emergence of the proto-modern worldview being suggested here (ibid., x).

<sup>141</sup> Stephen Gilman (1972), 20. Norman Roth (2002: 158) disputes what many have seen as a *converso* influence in many Spanish authors of the Golden Age, yet without adducing any argument except his own incredulity.

<sup>142</sup> Yuri Slezkine (2004); Slezkine’s argument builds mainly on Russian Jewry, yet many of the general characteristics on which he bases this argument apply also to Sephardic communities.

century in Iberia. I would like to suggest that some of Iberia's Jewish population, at first the targets of such alienation, integrated this feeling into their own identities and then projected it outwards again in their own engagements with the world. While many *cristãos novos* evidently yearned to recover their Jewish identity and did so in the Ottoman empire or North Africa, for others the matter was not so clear cut. This alienation, precisely because it was imposed, did not bring with it any guilt in abandoning the straitjacket of their previous religious identity; alienation, and the differentiation that went with modernity, was for some an opportunity which allowed emancipation from a rigid worldview: the Atlantic, as a place of evolving and fusing categories, was a place in which the new hybrid religious forms of identity could be explored, and those who chose this sphere in which to act rather than a space such as Ottoman or North African territories in which they could be distinctively Jewish, did so because they were making a choice to be hybrid rather than to re-embrace the old Jewish identity.

This choice would be crucial in the emergence of fused Creole identities in Cabo Verde, and thus proto-modern considerations seem certainly to apply to Caboverdean space in this period. The forces which had driven the *cristãos novos* to Cabo Verde would not have resulted in some generic credo developing among them, but individual responses; yet this in itself was a form of rebellion, since the very concept of individuality was alien to medieval Christian dogma<sup>143</sup>. Thus the stirrings of the identity as revealed by the Carvajal/Leão nexus contained elements of a subversive ideology, which constituted a severe threat to the practical and cultural influence of Portugal and of Christendom in Caboverdean space.

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<sup>143</sup> The classic work on this is Walter Ullman (1967), who showed how individuals were supposed to divest themselves of their individuality by following the rule of the corpus in medieval Christian society (15), an ideology which led to a lack of individual rights (19), anonymity in the publication of pamphlets and scholarly works and the existence of collective punishments (32-4), the stereotypical portraits of people in religious iconography (44) and the lack of individual biographical data for the period (42-3) See also José Faur (1992), 32. .



Within this complex picture, it is the case of Carvajal *viejo* which emerges with the greatest clarity, thanks to the documents from Mexico. Given the presence of active rebels against the *cristão velho* identity in his Caboverdean contacts, he may have toyed with such thoughts in Cabo Verde. Yet at this point he had no great investment in the politics of Iberian domination of the Atlantic. It was only once he married Guiomar de Ribera, daughter of Miguel Núñez, factor of slaves in Hispaniola, that his position in the imperial superstructure was confirmed, being made an admiral in the fleet carrying Viceroy Martín Enríquez to New Spain in July 1568<sup>144</sup>, and later the first governor of the kingdom of Nuevo León.

The active hostility of Carvajal *viejo* to crypto-Judaism in Mexico can be considered through the prism of this administrative position. For the theological justification which Catholicism provided for the colonization of America was an essential ideological prop of its protagonists<sup>145</sup>, and thus an important part of the armoury of Carvajal *viejo*, who was active in “pacification” programmes of the Amerindians throughout New Spain<sup>146</sup>. An administrator and organ of state had to subscribe to these doctrines to be truly effective<sup>147</sup>: thus Carvajal *viejo* had to reject crypto-Judaism.

Yet away from the administration of imperialism, more nuanced ideological positions could be struck, and an excellent illustration is the contrast between Carvajal *viejo*’s hatred of crypto-Judaism and Carvajal *mozo*’s embracing of it<sup>148</sup>. The navigators and merchants who, as individuals such as Carvajal *mozo*, engaged in the Atlantic in this period, were part of a different

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<sup>144</sup> Alfonso Toro (1944), Vol. 1, 26-33.

<sup>145</sup> Hugo Tolentino Dipp (1992), 25-30.

<sup>146</sup> Alfonso Toro (1944), Vol. 1, 35-6; see also Martin A. Cohen (2001), 47-53.

<sup>147</sup> A formula which once again brings to mind Althusser’s dictum that the most effective ideologue is the one who does not see themselves as ideological (Louis Althusser (1971: 175)).

<sup>148</sup> Alfonso Toro (1944), 173ff provides an account of the itinerant life of Carvajal *mozo* as a trader in the Oaxaca region of New Spain, a severe contrast to the administrative requirements imposed on his uncle Carvajal *viejo*.

dynamic to that of the administrators such as Carvajal *viejo*. These individuals were more concerned with personal profit - the conditions for which required Iberian hegemony - than with Iberian domination; free trade, it transpires, has always formed a crucial part of the imposition of European hegemony, being the dovish flipside to the prerequisites of force, and unthinkable without conquest. Thus though private *contrabandistas* subverted the domination of the Iberian empires, they were only able to be successful *because* of that domination; the rebellion against the prevailing ideology depended upon the success of that ideology<sup>149</sup>.

The evidence for Duarte de Leão's contract would suggest that among these private traders contraband and its concomitants, hiddenness and secrecy, were becoming a growing part of Atlantic identity. Yet hiddenness was a quality of Judaism at this time as well as contraband, raising the potentiality of ideological slippage between the two religions, faith and commerce; alienation, which was a requisite for both the new commercial activities and crypto-Judaism, was what made this ideological slippage a possibility<sup>150</sup>. Thus, with the establishment of contraband by groups such as the Leão network in Cabo Verde, a tension was set in place between the dominant *cristão velho* culture's imperial attempt to impose itself in the Atlantic and the doubleness of crypto-Judaism and the growing *modern* identity, which required

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<sup>149</sup> For a fuller analysis of how this process of hegemony and rebellion against hegemony unfolded in the Atlantic in this time, see below, pages 228-235.

<sup>150</sup> Such hiddenness was not, of course, an exclusively Caboverdean phenomenon where Jewry was concerned. Just as individuality was a quality of the marrano diaspora in general, so too were hiddenness and secrecy (see e.g. David M. Gitlitz (1996)). The extent to which hiddenness was a part of this identity in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century is revealed by a letter from the gullible Mestre Simão to João III of July 10<sup>th</sup> 1554. Simão, on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, laments the Jews of Ancona, who he told the king had sworn that they were "Christians in their soul and Jews in public", forced to be so by the peculiarities of life in Ancona at the time (AG, Vol. 1, 655-6: "*são cristãos em ho animo e judeus no pubrico*"); having been crypto-Jews in Portugal, the Jews of Ancona retained an idea of what it might be to have hidden faith, creating the wholly imaginary category of the "crypto-Christian"!

hiddenness and secrecy<sup>151</sup>, and which would open out in the 17<sup>th</sup> century into its full flowering along with crypto-Jewish identity in the Cabo Verde and the wider Atlantic.

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<sup>151</sup> The classic analysis of the doubleness of modernity is Paul Gilroy (1993).

## CHAPTER 3: CRISIS AND MARGINALITY:

### Discourses and Exclusion in Cabo Verde, 1580-1600

#### 3.1 The Nature of the Caboverdean Crisis

The year 1580 saw the simultaneous onset of political and ecological crises in Cabo Verde which would have profound effects. While the political crisis depended on events in the far distant peninsula, the ecological crisis was an entirely local affair; however far Cabo Verde was integrated into international networks, it could not transcend the physical limits of its environment.

The events in Iberia followed the union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain in 1580<sup>152</sup>. The result was the accession of Filipe I (Felipe II of Spain) in 1580, and the onset of a 60-year dual monarchy. Some have seen the onset of the Caboverdean archipelago's decline in the period 1580-1640 as stemming, at least in part, from this union<sup>153</sup>. The dominance of the Spanish crown in the Portuguese *ultramar* – even though the colonies of the two nations were administered separately – meant that Santiago was usually bypassed by ships from Seville on slaving runs<sup>154</sup>. Moreover the accession of Filipe was widely unpopular in Cabo Verde, especially on Fogo, where the islanders were only finally pacified in 1582<sup>155</sup>.

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<sup>152</sup> This occurred after the death of the Portuguese king Dom Sebastião at Alcacer-Quibir in 1578, which was followed by that of his aged uncle the Inquisitor-General of Portugal Cardinal Henrique in 1580. For a good account of these events, see Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius (1977), 423-30.

<sup>153</sup> See e.g. Virginia Clarisse Cardona Ferreira (1964: 74): “*queremos acentuar mais uma vez, que os sesenta anos do período Filipino foram para este arquipélago tempo de guerra, de fome, de sofrimento, motivado, em parte, pelo quase abandono do governo central*”: tr. “we wish to emphasise again that the 60 years of Filippine rule was for [Cabo Verde] a period of war, famine, and suffering caused, in part, by the almost complete abandonment of central government”.

<sup>154</sup> Georges Scelle (1906), Vol. 1, 463; Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 98, 218.

<sup>155</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 155-7.

Fogo's rebellion was particularly significant given that its population was much more European than that of neighbouring Santiago<sup>156</sup>. Significant elements of the Portuguese classes in the islands, then, were resistant to the accession of Filipe, and as political unrest is rarely the companion of commercial growth, these events contributed to the economic stagnation of Cabo Verde in the 1580s. However, the view that this decline stemmed from the Filippine period of Portuguese government takes an overly metropolitan view of history. Power and wealth are significant players in the historical process, but they cannot override environmental forces.

In Cabo Verde, 1580 also saw the onset of a series of famines that caused widespread devastation. The three major episodes were 1580-3, 1590-4, and 1609-11<sup>157</sup>: the first was so bad that the news reached Europe and alms were sent in the form of flour and grain<sup>158</sup>; during the last the island's troubles were partially relieved through the transport of some supplies from the Mandingas of the Gambia<sup>159</sup>, but nonetheless the population of Santiago became so devastated that the vicars no longer had parishioners to whom to preach in the rural hinterland<sup>160</sup>: desperate men roamed the hills slaughtering cattle wherever they found them, while women prostituted themselves for scraps of food in Ribeira Grande<sup>161</sup>.

The principal cause of the environmental collapse of the islands was agricultural improvidence<sup>162</sup>. Widespread overgrazing is implied by the documentary evidence of feral cattle

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<sup>156</sup> Elisa Silva Andrade (1996), 52.

<sup>157</sup> António Carreira (1972), 191.

<sup>158</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 1, folio 408v: "*duzento mogi di grano et farina pere limosina à que poveri di Capo Verde, che stanno morrendo di fame per essere circa tre anni...*". See also AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, Doc. 23, where the governor of Cabo Verde, Francisco Ruiz de Sequeira, mentions that millet was sent to the islands during the 1583 famine.

<sup>159</sup> The account of Manuel Alvarez, SG, *Etiópia Menor...*, folio 8v.

<sup>160</sup> MMA, Vol. 4, 464-6.

<sup>161</sup> During the civil war in Guiné-Bissau in 1998, the same desperate forms of survival re-emerged (see Toby Green (2001: 163)).

<sup>162</sup> This view is shared by Trevor P. Hall (1992: Vol. 1, 5).

on Santiago as early as the 1480s<sup>163</sup>, and the fact that goats were wild on all the islands by the time of Fernandes's account<sup>164</sup>. The effects of overgrazing were compounded by tree-felling, leading to soil erosion and the reduced reliability of springs<sup>165</sup>. In this process of failed environmental brinkmanship Cabo Verde was hardly alone, of course, but merely one in a long line of societies such as the Maya and the Easter Islanders, which have over-reached themselves without heeding signs of their own imminent collapse<sup>166</sup>.

These environmental problems were accentuated by increased attacks from foreign interlopers who still saw Ribeira Grande as an important prize. The English hero/pirate Francis Drake sacked Ribeira Grande on November 27<sup>th</sup> 1585, robbing and burning in the best/worst tradition of his age<sup>167</sup>, while there was also a serious attack on the city in 1583 which had resulted in the capture of a ship from Mina<sup>168</sup>.

The combined effect of these three prongs of Iberian political confusion, piracy and environmental collapse created a crisis from which Cabo Verde's metropolitan and trans-Atlantic orientated economy never entirely recovered. It is worth pausing to reflect that each of these aspects was related to Cabo Verde's externally-oriented economy: the goats were used mainly to produce hides rather than meat, for instance, while the interest of pirates in the region came because of the wealth brought to the archipelago through international trade; the extractive cycle had, apparently reached its limits, and was followed by the collapse of this externally-

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<sup>163</sup> HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 53.

<sup>164</sup> A. Fontoura da Costa (ed.) (1939), 48-51.

<sup>165</sup> This point is made tellingly by George E. Brooks (1993: 148).

<sup>166</sup> A new study on this question is Jared Diamond (2005).

<sup>167</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 1A, folio 77r – provides a good account of the sacking of Ribeira Grande. See also J.D. Upcott (ed.) (1936), 270.

<sup>168</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 1, folio 388v.

oriented economy; yet, as we shall see, this alone did not mean that Cabo Verde itself would collapse.

Nonetheless, the effects of the crisis were widespread and precipitated a shift in the balance of power in Caboverdean space from the islands to the coast. Absence from Cabo Verde became increasingly endemic from the 1580s onwards, with people both settling in Guiné and refusing to go to the region at all. The bishop of Cabo Verde between 1585 and 1607, Frei Pedro Brandão, did not visit the island for over ten years in the latter part of his episcopate<sup>169</sup>.

Meanwhile, ecological problems meant that there was an increasing movement to Guiné. This grew throughout the 1580s, and culminated in the building of the fort of Cacheu in 1589, which was instigated by Manuel Lopes Cardoso, a resident of Santiago<sup>170</sup>. The Pepels around Cacheu tried to rebel in 1590, but they were unsuccessful at destroying the new fortified Portuguese settlement<sup>171</sup>. By 1591, Cacheu was a focal point for the exchange of slaves for iron brought from the Gambia and the Petite Côte<sup>172</sup>; within a few years the fort at Cacheu was increasingly accepted by the Pepels, and relations became more amicable<sup>173</sup>.

The construction of Cacheu symbolizes the growing shift in the vectors of influence in Caboverdean space at this time. Though as we have seen there had been a strong *lançado* influence on the coast throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the fort symbolized, as Rodney saw, a new era in the relationship between hosts and guests<sup>174</sup>; while this relationship may, as Brooks

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<sup>169</sup> Frederico Cerrone (1983), 25: in 1604, Filipe II wrote to Brandão, urging him to go to the see since “*já há dez anos em orfandade*”: tr. “it has now been 10 years without a guide”.

<sup>170</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 74.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> The account of Richard Rainolds, published in NGC, Vol. 1, Book 2, 245.

<sup>173</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 74.

<sup>174</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 90.

suggests, have been characterized by a dynamic of landlords and strangers<sup>175</sup>, the strangers were becoming increasingly vociferous, and wanted to create a sense of their own belonging, on their own terms.

Although Santiago for the moment retained a powerful position in the Atlantic networks, these events were harbingers of change<sup>176</sup>. The construction of the fort at Cacheu is revelatory of the islanders' greater interest in residing on the coast. The wealth of the archipelago had of course always been fundamentally extractive and dependent on Guiné, but with the droughts and the shift in political emphasis in the peninsula, this dependency now became starker. More and more people now moved to the coast, so that the crown and the local administrative authorities renewed their concern in dealing with the increased volume of *lançados*<sup>177</sup>.

This was, then, the beginning of a process in which the *lançados* began to adopt a different role. The union of the Iberian crowns gave these intermediaries more influence than had been the case previously in Caboverdean space, since trading ships came direct to the coast to fetch their goods. Yet if the fort at Cacheu operated in part as an attempt to control this traffic, it failed, merely displacing the subversive contraband activities to elsewhere in Cabo Verde, so that according to Almada by 1594 relationships with passing English and French ships were centred in Senegambia, north of Cacheu's sphere of influence<sup>178</sup>. In practice, however,

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<sup>175</sup> George E. Brooks (1993), 135-7.

<sup>176</sup> Torrão, for instance, holds that Santiago did not lose its function as an important slaving post until circa 1610: Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1995), 35, citing the role of traders from Santiago such as Diogo Ximenes Vargas in acting as go-betweens for the governors of Cabo Verde in the coastal trade.

<sup>177</sup> Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 98, 218: in 1591 the governor Brás Soares wrote to Filipe II on the urgency of dealing with the *lançados*, and in 1595 Filipe confirmed the legislation relating to them.

<sup>178</sup> André Alvares d'Almada (1994), 36 (however, throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century such nefarious activities were also commonplace in Cacheu); Trevor P. Hall (1992: Vol. 2, 612-3) suggests that the French in particular were making serious inroads on Portuguese and Caboverdean influence in Senegambia from the 1560s onwards.



contraband would be rife throughout Guiné in the years to come, and thus having a foot in two cultures would be an essential part of *lançado* identity.

### 3.2 Poles of Identity: The Jewish Presence in the Caboverdean Crisis

The presence of *cristãos novos* is evidently not a condition for the sort of economic and geographical crisis outlined above. Yet the accentuation of the *lançados*' role and concomitantly of attitudes of doubleness points towards a cultural consolidation of certain traits of inherent ambiguity associated in peninsula culture with the *cristãos novos*<sup>179</sup>. In fact the evidence points to a consolidation of the Jewish presence at this time to go together with the consolidation of the role of the *lançados*.

One of the better known examples of this is a letter from the absentee bishop Brandão. The letter dates from July 13<sup>th</sup> 1592<sup>180</sup>, and is therefore from the period when Brandão resided in the islands. The bishop refers to many abuses, such as eating meat during Lent, and one of the richest men of the islands throwing a banquet with lots of meat on the feast day of St. John the Baptist<sup>181</sup>. He then states that the archipelago is home to “many *cristãos novos*, one of them called Fernão Sanchez, the tax collector for the Island of Maio and another called Francisco Lopez, factor of the property of the Island of Boa Vista”<sup>182</sup>. Although Sanchez and Lopez had been ordered to provide food to their slaves and servants so that they did not have to eat meat

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<sup>179</sup> It should now be apparent that I draw substantially on the work of Mary Douglas (1984) in my conceptualization of the structural links between the roles of *lançados* and that of *cristãos novos*.

<sup>180</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 91, folio 77r. The letter is also printed in MMA, Vol. 3, 205-6 and in Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 173.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 76r: “*chegou hū homē dos principais a dar bāquete publico*”.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid, 76v: “*homēs de nação, hū delles per nome Fernão Sanchez rendeiro ou procurador das rendas da Ilha de Maio e outro hū Francisco Lopez...feitor da Fazenda da Ilha de Boa Vista*”. It will be noted that the phrase used is *homens de nação* – this phrase was increasingly common from this time onward, but in order to maintain consistency throughout the thesis I retain the term “*cristão novo*”.

during Lent, they had refused to, so that they and their servants ate meat every day of the year<sup>183</sup>. Brandão claimed that this eating of meat all through the year was “the cause of illness”<sup>184</sup>; but in fact “this abuse [of eating meat] was introduced in a great famine which lasted three years about a decade ago [i.e. the famine of 1580-83]”<sup>185</sup>.

The climatic exigencies were therefore having a direct effect on behaviour on the islands, in a manner which was perceived by Brandão as a cultural affront to Christendom. The reality was probably more prosaic; it is possible that these two *cristãos novos* were loathe to see those under their aegis die for the sake of a religion in which they had little faith themselves, but this is rather evidence for scepticism and the will for survival than for crypto-Judaism.

Although the food shortages and climatic conditions of the islands were well-known, there appears to have been a widespread to-ing and fro-ing of *cristãos novos* to Cabo Verde in this period. On May 21<sup>st</sup> 1592 the ship captain Luis Preto was imprisoned and his ship seized for having prepared to set sail for Guiné with two *cristãos novos*, Enrique de Solis and Francisco Fernandes, as passengers; the two *cristãos novos* did not have the king’s permission to make the voyage<sup>186</sup>. A year earlier, on April 1<sup>st</sup> 1591, the *cristão novo* Francisco Alvares had denounced a fellow *cristão novo* for swearing at the Pope; Alvares lived with his sister Caterina, the wife of a trader in Cabo Verde<sup>187</sup>.

As with the Carvajal/Leão nexus, the religious attitudes of these *cristãos novos* would have been very varied. But that some of them would have been crypto-Jews is confirmed by the account of Garci Mendez de Dueñas, who killed himself in the inquisitorial jail of Lima in

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 76r: “*é causa de infirmitade*”.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 77r: “*O qual abuso se introduzio e hū grāde fome que durou tres annos ha dez ou doze annos*”.

<sup>186</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 12a, Folio 373r.

<sup>187</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 57, folios 72r-v.

January 1624 after being imprisoned for Judaizing<sup>188</sup>. Dueñas stated that at the age of 15, approximately 43 years before [i.e. circa 1580 – his hearings began in 1623] he had gone to the Rio São Domingos in Guiné with his brother-in-law Rui Mendez, and that there he had been converted by Mendez to being a Jew<sup>189</sup>; Dueñas had been a Jew ever since, and moreover had made subsequent visits to the region<sup>190</sup>.

That crypto-Jews were active in Cabo Verde at this time is also suggested by the interest of the Vatican in an “apostate” in 1594<sup>191</sup>. The Portuguese Inquisition retained a disproportionate interest in the *cristãos novos*, by comparison to the Spanish Inquisition, and so this reference to an apostate implies a *cristão novo*<sup>192</sup>; moreover, this Caboverdean apostate appears to have been comparatively wealthy, as correspondence developed regarding his estate, which suggests, given the social condition of *cristãos novos* and the prejudices surrounding them, that he was probably a *cristão novo*<sup>193</sup>.

The constant passage of *cristãos novos* through the Caboverdean region made local *cristãos velhos* sensitive to potential heresy. When the surgeon Manuel Nunes declared in June 1597 that the victims of the Holy Office died as martyrs, he was denounced by “8 or 10” witnesses, found guilty in a local court and sentenced to walk barefoot with a candle in his hand

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<sup>188</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1648, Expediente 16, 84v: this document is digitalized and can only be read on the screen, so folio numbers refer to those on the screen.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 72v: “*dijo que un cuñado suyo Rui Mendez fue captivo en berberia adonde aprendio algunas cosas de los Judios y que saliendo para guinea en su compañia le persuadio que no havia mas que un solo Dios verdadero...que no havia mas ley que la que Dios havia dado a moyssen*”.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 70r.

<sup>191</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 9, folio 204r, a letter of January 17<sup>th</sup> 1594 to the Pope: “*he holgado mucho averse acabado tan a contentamiento de V.S. como lo escribe en su carta de ocho deste, aquel negocio del apostata de cabo verde...*”.

<sup>192</sup> For instance, the auto da fé of February 13<sup>th</sup> 1594 in Lisbon had 104 penitents, of whom 97 were punished for Judaizing – Ibid., folios 222r-223r.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., folio 206r: mentions the “*spoglio d’un Apostata del Capo Verde*”.

and present himself to the Inquisition in Lisbon<sup>194</sup>. The outrage came because the notion that those burnt at the stake were martyrs was commonplace among crypto-Jews<sup>195</sup>.

Taken all together, these various cases are strong evidence for a constant *cristão novo* presence in the islands which was, if not Judaizing, often sceptical of Christian ideology. Moreover, by now this trend had become a widespread current not just in Cabo Verde, but in the African Atlantic as a whole. The *cristão novo* from Oporto, Filipe de Nis, had lived in São Tomé until the 1570s, before moving on to Antwerp and then Venice where he was circumcised and returned to normative Judaism<sup>196</sup>; and by 1593, the Jesuit visitor to Angola, Pero Rodrigues, was reporting that there was a Torah in Loanda, that Passover had been celebrated there, and that Congo, São Tomé and Príncipe were “full of *cristãos novos*”<sup>197</sup>.

In Cabo Verde, there were substantial *cristão novo* populations in both the major inhabited islands, Fogo and Santiago. It will be recalled that many of the *cristão novo* witnesses of the events at Buguendo on Christmas Eve 1562 came from Fogo<sup>198</sup>. Then, during Fogo’s rebellion against the coronation of Filipe I in 1582, one of the ringleaders was Garcia Alvares

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<sup>194</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 58, 27r; cit. also Clarisse Virginia Cardona Ferreira (1964), 99: in fact Nunes had more sense than to do this, and was thus denounced again to the Inquisition by Fernão Novais de Quiroga.

<sup>195</sup> Cecil Roth (1959), 170. Numerous examples could be cited, such as that from 1620 in Lima, when Antonio Leal was tried for saying that a young man who had been burnt in Lisbon had died “a fine death [*mui bien*], confessing himself to the end to the God of Israel” (José Toribio Medina (1887: Vol. 2., 10-11)).

<sup>196</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1992), 372. Another denunciation relative to São Tomé emerged in Pernambuco in 1591, when Julio Pereira denounced the Jewish activities there of Aleixos Pereira in the 1580s (José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (ed.) (1970: 291).

<sup>197</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 12a, folio 202r – “*chea de xpãos novos*”; Rodrigues’s visit is mentioned in João Lucio d’Azevedo (1922), 232. Rodrigues’s claim for the Congo is supported by the evidence of a *cristão novo* ambassador in the Kongo circa 1600 (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 60, folio 23v: a reference to Jaime Raposo in 1617, son of Pero Gomes Raposo, “*e ainda que de nação servio a sua Magestade de embaixador no Reyno do Congo...*”). In Bahía in 1591, meanwhile, Luis Alvares was denounced for having fled to Angola from the Inquisition in Portugal(PV, 430).

<sup>198</sup> See above, page 118.

Baraça<sup>199</sup>, who, given the unusual surname, was probably a relative of the Diogo Barassa denounced as a *cristão novo* from Fronteira in 1559, who had previously lived on Fogo<sup>200</sup>. Another leading rebel in 1582 was Baraça's brother, Alvaro Gonçalves<sup>201</sup>, and since two of the five ringleaders may positively be identified as *cristãos novos*, it can be suggested at least that the rebellion to Filipe I may have been led by *cristãos novos*, and may have been related to that king's known patronage of the Inquisition.

The idea that Fogo was an early focal point for crypto-Jewish communities was first formulated by Barcellos, on the basis of the support offered by Fogo to the *corregedor* Pero Moniz in 1544 in the face of fierce censure from Ribeira Grande<sup>202</sup>. Sadly, very little documentation survives from this island from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and so some of this must remain speculative, but it is known that one of the earlier inquisitorial denunciations related to *cristão novo* practices, of the Dias family, related to both Fogo and Santiago<sup>203</sup>. Moreover, some of the Caboverdean families who have in the past decade or so announced themselves as “lost” marrano families maintaining crypto-Jewish customs have come from the island of Brava<sup>204</sup> - perhaps the most remote island in the entire archipelago, and therefore a good place of escape - which was populated exclusively from Fogo following a serious volcanic eruption in 1680<sup>205</sup>.

This is strong circumstantial evidence for the strength of crypto-Jewry on Fogo in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The fact that Fogo had a significant European population for much longer than

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<sup>199</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 157.

<sup>200</sup> See above, page 111.

<sup>201</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 157.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 120; it was also picked up later by Orlando Ribeiro (1954: 98).

<sup>203</sup> Filipa Ribeira da Silva (2004), 165.

<sup>204</sup> Personal communication from Gloria Mound, Director, Centre for Marrano-Anusim Studies, Gad Yavneh, Israel. While these sporadic cases of crypto-Judaism may have other explanations than those given by the informants, their evidence cannot be dismissed out of hand.

<sup>205</sup> Orlando Ribeiro (1954), 98.

Santiago may also be significant<sup>206</sup> – the *cristão novo* element being by definition European – and even today there are vestiges of this past in the form of the so called “white” cemetery of São Filipe, the main settlement of Fogo<sup>207</sup>.

On Santiago, there is also strong evidence for a distinctively *cristão novo* population in this latter period of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1581 Pope Gregory VIII wrote to the Archbishop of Lisbon complaining of the behaviour of Bishop Bartholomeu Leitão of Cabo Verde, who “lives in sin and worldly prostitution not only with women of ill repute and those who are married, but even with Jewesses”<sup>208</sup>.

When one considers the evidence for the lack of European women in Cabo Verde, which is incontrovertible, these “Jewesses” must have been women with Jewish fathers, which shows not only that anyone with Jewish blood was perceived as a Jew, but also that those with Jewish blood were known and identified as such in the community of Ribeira Grande. This is confirmed by the deposition of Francisco de Sequeira, the Governor of Cabo Verde, to the Inquisition in 1614: Sequeira related the story of a young woman, Joana Coelha, whose great-grandmother had told her grand-daughter not to marry Joana’s father – a *cristão velho* – because he was not a *cristão novo*, and who had told Joana to marry “her own kind”<sup>209</sup>; as Joana Coelha was old

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<sup>206</sup> Elisa Silva Andrade (1996), 52.

<sup>207</sup> In a visit of November 2003, I found that opinion on the island is divided as to the source of this nomenclature. Some see it as owing to the white marble used there, and point out that many blacks were buried there; others see it as a legacy of the racism developed by the large white population on the island.

<sup>208</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 154: “*vive deshonestamente na immundiciada prostituição não só com mulheres de perdida reputação e casadas mas até com judias*”.

<sup>209</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, 229v.: “*María Roíz Cristã Nova bisava da moça não queria q casase com cristão velho e que ja quando Maria Cardosa mai de Joana Coelha e neta da velha casara cō Guillermo Coelha tevera muito desgosto por elle ser Cristão Velho, e que não avia duvida nisto porq a moça Joana Coelha lhe contava que sua bisava lhe chamava inimiga e lhe dizia q se desenganasse q não avia de casar cō Cristão Velho senão cō os seus dando a eteder q lhe avia de dar marido Cristão Novo.*”

enough in 1614 to marry<sup>210</sup>, this story regarding her mother can be dated to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Moreover, the consciousness of who was or was not a *cristão novo*, so firmly embedded in the mind of Joana Coelha's great-grandmother, can be seen to have been a feature of Ribeira Grande's society throughout the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This would confirm the reality of a Jewish ghetto in Ribeira Grande at this time, which is suggested by some sources. In the 1780s, an account of the former glories of Ribeira Grande noted that the "first whites were so proud of their honour that they only allowed new arrivals from Portugal to live in one street – still [in 1784] called the Calhau – unless they were able to prove the *limpeça* of their lineage"<sup>211</sup>.

This account is very general and post-dates the events in question by two centuries. However, evidence that such a street did indeed exist in Ribeira Grande comes from the *residencia* taken of Governor Francisco Martins de Siqueira in 1614, where two witnesses were recorded as living in the "Rua do Calhau"<sup>212</sup>. Such evidence, when combined with the strong *cristão novo/cristão velho* identity opposition made clear from the case of the great-grandmother of Joana Coelha contributes towards suggesting that at the very least a ghetto mentality existed on Santiago in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid.: Sequeira was attempting to find a husband for Coelha, and had settled on Fabião de Andrade, a *cristão velho*.

<sup>211</sup> Anonymous (1985), 27: "*Estes primeiros brancos eram tão zelosos da honra que, aos que de novo vinham do Reino, não deixavam habitar senão em uma rua a que ainda hoje chamam Calhaũ, enquanto não mostrassem a limpeza do seu sangue*".

<sup>212</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 77: "*Manoel Ribeiro botticairo morador nesta cidade na Rua do Calhao...*" (folio 7v); "*Simão Roiz Correa mercador e morador nesta dita cidade na Rua do Calhau...*" (folio 8r).

### 3.3 The Gramaxos: A Case Study

The *cristãos novos* of Fogo and Santiago must have been affected by the crisis at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Yet at the same time, the clear *cristão novo* identity in places like Ribeira Grande meant that new blood continued to arrive from Portugal. Among the most important *cristão novo* families to arrive in the archipelago at this time were the Gramaxos. This is a well-known family to historians of the Atlantic, identified as *cristão novo* in its Cartagena incarnation<sup>213</sup>, and recognized as significant in Caboverdean society at this time<sup>214</sup>; yet little actual evidence has been supplied as to its religious background and orientation.

The earliest evidence we have for the Gramaxos' involvement in Cabo Verde is from 1595, as in that year Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo shipped there for slaves from Lisbon, before taking them to Cartagena<sup>215</sup>. Their presence can therefore be dated to the end of the period under study in this Part, showing that the Caboverdean crisis did not discourage enterprising and powerful *cristãos novos* from visiting.

The Gramaxo involvement in Cabo Verde was centred around slaves, and, significantly, they were based in Ribeira Grande and not on the coast. Throughout the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Jorge's brother, Luis Fernandez Gramaxo<sup>216</sup>, a Lisbon-based trader originating from the Algarve<sup>217</sup>, contracted to send slaves to Cartagena via Cabo Verde<sup>218</sup>. Luis was the

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<sup>213</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1977), 120: the reference is to Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo, although Vilar supplies no proof of Gramaxo's Jewish origins, and indeed her book as a whole is marred by generalizations as to who was or was not a Judaizer, especially 107-23.

<sup>214</sup> Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1995), 83, 91; see also the references of José Gonçalves Salvador (1981), 73, although again Salvador supplies no evidence of what he claims to be the Gramaxos' Jewish origins.

<sup>215</sup> AGI, Contratación 145, no. 18.

<sup>216</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório Notarial 2, Caixa 14, Livro 68, folio 15r: "*Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo irmão delle Luis Fernandez...*": tr. "Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo brother of Luis Fernandez...".

<sup>217</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 11, folio 31r: this detail from the genealogy of Luis Fernandez Suárez, Luis Fernandez Gramaxo's grandson, from his trial in the Inquisition of Cartagena de las Indias.

<sup>218</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório Notarial 2, Caixa 12, Livro 57, folios 63r, 89r, 99v – for 1604; IAN/TT, Cartório Notarial 2, Caixa 13, Livro 63, folios 134r-136r, for 1605; IAN/TT, Cartório Notarial 2, Caixa 14, Livro 66, 94r-95v for 1608.



guarantor of the holder of the contract, Jacome Fixer<sup>219</sup>, and his Seville-based son, Antonio Nunes Gramaxo<sup>220</sup>, ran ships to collect slaves in the region of the Bijagos islands off the coast of Guiné<sup>221</sup>.

By 1604, another Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo – almost certainly Luis’s nephew, son of his brother Jorge – lived in Ribeira Grande and acted as the family’s agent there<sup>222</sup>. The older Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo now lived in Cartagena<sup>223</sup>, where he was exceptionally rich and maintained his links with Cabo Verde<sup>224</sup>. The younger stayed in Cabo Verde until circa 1614<sup>225</sup>, living in Ribeira Grande as a trader<sup>226</sup> and occupying important posts in the lay brotherhoods<sup>227</sup>.

The beginning of this complex Gramaxo network spanning Europe, Africa and America in 1595 shows that the crisis affecting the Caboverdean region had yet to destabilize the faith of

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<sup>219</sup> BA, Códice 51-VIII-7, folio 122r.

<sup>220</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 11, folios 31r-v: reveals that Antonio Nunes Gramaxo is the brother of Luis Fernandez Gramaxo’s daughter in the genealogy of Luis Fernandez Suárez, and that he lives in Seville.

<sup>221</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folio 603r: the evidence of one João Fernandes, from 1609, that “*estando nos bixagos em hũ navio de antonio nunes gramaxo difuncto...*”: tr. “being in the Bijagos on a ship belonging to the late Anotnio Nunes Gramaxo...”.

<sup>222</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório Notarial 2, Caixa 12, Livro 57, folio 99v: “*Jorge gramaxo vizinho...na cidade da Ilha de Santiago do Cabo Verde...*”: tr. “Jorge Gramaxo resident...of the city of Santiago of Cabo Verde”.

<sup>223</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório Notarial 2, Caixa 13, Livro 63, folios 134r-135r: goods are to be sent by Luis Fernandez Gramaxo to “*Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo morador na cidade de Cartagena de Indias de Castella...*” (tr. “Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo resident of the city of Cartagena de Indias”) on November 15<sup>th</sup> 1605.

<sup>224</sup> AGI, Contratación 5171, folio 182v: a *parecer* of 1610 refers to Gramaxo and his contacts in Cabo Verde; a ship leaving Lisbon purporting to make the Lisbon-Cabo Verde-Cartagena run had gone straight to Cartagena to advise Gramaxo of a planned investigation into his accounts.

<sup>225</sup> AGI, Escribanía 589B, Pieza 32: a document of February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1620 refers to Jorge Fernandez Gramajo (sic) having arrived in Cartagena five years ago from Cabo Verde (folio 17r: “*vino aesta ciudad por bia de Cabo Berde cinco años y medio en un navio de rexistro...*” (sic)). That this is the younger Jorge Fernandez Gramajo is confirmed by his given age of 32 (folio 7r), which would have made him only 7 years old in 1595, the first year for the older Jorge Fernandez Gramajo’s known contacts in Cabo Verde. This confirms the view that these are two separate individuals, suggested by Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1995: 83, n.1).

<sup>226</sup> In a *residencia* taken in 1614 in Cabo Verde in which one of the witnesses is Jorge Gramaxo, aged 27: AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 77. Here, Gramaxo’s trade is given as *merquante*, and a document of June 8<sup>th</sup> 1613 refers to disputes on goods brought to the islands from Guiné between 1610 and 1613, including 20 *alqueres* [measures of grain equivalent to circa 13 litres] belonging to Jorge Gramaxo (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 22).

<sup>227</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 59, no. 8: “*Eu jorge gramaxo mordomo da Confraria do benaventurado São Jacinto...*” – June 8<sup>th</sup> 1612: “I Jorge Gramaxo, majordomo of the Lay Brotherhood of St. Jacinto”.

merchant families in their ability to draw a profit from the archipelago. Moreover, the Gramaxo family was comprehensively drawn into wider currents of the Atlantic *cristão novo* community.

When he moved to Cartagena in 1614, Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo the younger acted as an agent for the exceptionally influential *cristão novo* trading house of the Ximenes d' Aragão<sup>228</sup>. Meanwhile, in the emergent Jewish community of Amsterdam, Jorge Fernandez Gramaxo the elder was made executor of the will of Leonor Gutierrez in 1612<sup>229</sup>. Such an assignation implies Gramaxo's presence in Amsterdam, and moreover in 1614 one of the members of the Bet Yahacob congregation in Amsterdam was an Ishak Gramaxo<sup>230</sup>. As *cristãos novos* often changed their first names when returning to normative Judaism in Amsterdam, there must be at least a possibility that Jorge and Ishak are one and the same; certainly, Jorge's nephew Antonio, from Seville, was closely involved in the business transactions of Jews from Amsterdam from this period onwards<sup>231</sup>, and the family as a whole were well aware of their Jewish origins even if some of them tried to conceal them<sup>232</sup>.

It is apparent, then, that the arrival of the Gramaxos in the Cabo Verde region from 1595 onwards was part of the spread of *cristãos novos* into Atlantic space. Ribeira Grande, was a base in which they felt at home, and from which their complex network could develop, sending

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<sup>228</sup> Jean Denucé (1937), 53.

<sup>229</sup> GAA, Notarial Archive 62, folio 237r: that this is the elder Jorge is implied by the designation "*capitão*".

<sup>230</sup> GAA, Portuguese Jewish Archives, Book 1, folio 238: Ishak Gramaxo is noted as owing money on his subscription to the congregation.

<sup>231</sup> GAA, Notarial Archive 381, folio 253, dating from 1613; Notarial Archive 625, folio 504: dating from April 1620.

<sup>232</sup> Thus Luis Fernandez Suarez admitted in his trial in Cartagena that all his ancestors were *cristãos novos* (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 11, folio 32r), even though he had previously "proven" his *limpeça* at the Casa de la Contratación in Seville to ship to the Indies in 1634 (AGI, Contratación 5539, Libro 5, folio 218v). Fraudulent affidavits of *limpeça* for those travelling to the Indies were a constant bugbear of the authorities, as is attested by the letter of Melchor Cano (not the famous theologian who led the investigation into Archbishop Carranza of Toledo in 1559) to the inquisitors of Toledo from 1593 (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 265, Expediente 2: "*y para yr a indias an hecho aqui muchas informaciones en q pruevan ser limpios xpanos los q no lo son...*": tr. "many genealogical requests have been made here in which people are proved to have clean blood when they do not have it").

slaves across the Atlantic and valuable commodities back from the Americas to markets in Seville and elsewhere in Europe. The evidence of Joana Coelha suggests a strong *cristão novo* identity in which they could feel brotherhood, as does Jorge Gramaxo's position in the Lay Brotherhood, since members of the boards of these brotherhoods were chosen by election by the total brotherhood<sup>233</sup>.

In fact, though the *cristãos novos* of Fogo may have feared that the accession of Filipe I would lead to the expansion of inquisitorial activity in Cabo Verde, they were mistaken. On the contrary, the environmental crisis of the islands and the consequent beginnings of an economic decline were actually in their favour, for the finances of the Inquisition of Lisbon were in an increasingly desperate state.

This meant that when Heitor Furtado de Mendonça was appointed visitor of Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde and São Tomé, he was explicitly told not to go to Cabo Verde, or to make his stay there as brief as possible if he did go<sup>234</sup>. This was not unrelated to the fact that the visits of Mendonça and his colleague Jerónimo Teixeira Cabral (who went to the Azores and Madeira at this time) was largely responsible for the debts of the Portuguese Holy Office<sup>235</sup>, and made it impossible to find the money to feed the poor prisoners in the jails of the tribunal<sup>236</sup>. Thus in spite of the fact that it was precisely at this time, in 1593, that the *conselho geral* of the

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<sup>233</sup> George B. Souza (1986), 27-8.

<sup>234</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 92, folio 53r: “*que acabar de visitor a capitania de pernambuco q não va as Ilhas de Cabo Verde o que fara cōa brevidade e que fosse possível*”: tr. “that once having finished visiting the captaincy of Pernambuco [he should] not go to the Cabo Verde islands or that [he should] only go briefly and if it is possible”.

<sup>235</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 12a, folio 54r: “*em 14 de Maio deste ano presente [de 1594] demos conta a V.A. das necessidades q avia nesta Inquiçãam; como se devia tres contos seiscentos trinta e quarto mil rs. (3.634.000 Rs.): das letras q passará os Visitadores das Ilhas e Brazil dous contos trezentos sesenta mil rs. (2.360.000 Rs.)...e aos oficiais de seus quartéis hũ conto duzentos setenta e quarto mil rs. (1.274.000 Rs.)*”: tr. “on May 14<sup>th</sup> of this year [1594] we advised your excellency of the financial straits of this Inquisition; how it owed 3,634,000 Rs: 2,360,000 of them from the letters of credit charged by the visitors of the islands and Brazil and 1, 274,000 Rs from their officers”; the same figures were repeated in a letter of July 15<sup>th</sup> 1595, IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 99, folios 32v-33r.

<sup>236</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 99, folio 11r: December 17<sup>th</sup> 1593.

Inquisition in Portugal received the letter from the Jesuit visitor Rodrigues on the parlous state of affairs in West Africa with regard to the *cristãos novos*<sup>237</sup>, nothing was done.

This inactivity should be placed within the political context of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The disaster at Alcacer-Quibir had bankrupted the Portuguese crown and forced it to look desperately for anyone prepared to pay for the contracts of the *ultramar*, a position from which merchant families derived enormous commercial advantages<sup>238</sup>. The desperation for bidders for the contract was equally as acute in Cabo Verde as elsewhere<sup>239</sup>, and the crown required as much money in advance as possible to stave off its debts<sup>240</sup>. In this situation, and given that it was aristocratic families who had suffered most at Alcacer-Quibir and who were attempting to buy back the captives, *cristão novo* families were in an unusually strong position to take advantage. Thus the presence of new families such as the Gramaxos in Caboverdean space at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a response to the crisis of the Portuguese monarchy and the accession of Filipe I; the Inquisition's lack of interest in the African Atlantic reflected perhaps not only its own precarious financial situation, but the fact that the Portuguese state was in need of the activities of the *cristãos novos* to put itself back on its feet.

Thus the *cristão novo* presence in Cabo Verde at the end of this period, as evidenced by the Gramaxo network, was a response to new political realities, and marks a break between the first generations of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde and those which would follow in the 17<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 12a, folio 202r; see above, page 146.

<sup>238</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-4, folios 213r-214v: on the demands of the holder of the pepper contract for the Indies, Antonio Fernandes d'Elvas.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., folio 214v: "*q se não arrendou caboverde ategora polla grande quebra...*": tr. "that the Caboverdean contract has not been leased up until now because of the bankruptcy".

<sup>240</sup> BA, Códice 49-X-1, folio 404v: Dom Duarte de Castelbranco, *meirinho mor* of Portugal, is ordered to rent out the contract as best he can and "*cobrareis delle todo o dinheiro anticipado que pode ser posto que seja cō as quebras que nyso ha*": "you will get as much of the money for the contract upfront as possible given the bad dents which are involved".

century<sup>241</sup>. The Caboverdean environmental crisis took its place within a wider Atlantic picture which helped to cement the *cristão novo* presence and contributed towards the emergence of crypto-Judaism in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Recapitulation: Prejudice and Marginality in the Caboverdean Region**

A century after the forced conversion of the Jews of Portugal, the presence of their descendants in Cabo Verde, and their consequent effect on social dynamics, was unquestionable. As we have seen, some of these *cristãos novos* were Judaizers, with connections to the emerging Jewish community of Amsterdam, or to other Judaizers in Brazil, Cartagena or the Canaries; others were, apparently, devout Catholics, such as Carvajal *Viejo* in Mexico; others limited their rebellion to the mockery of Catholicism in Buguendo.

The causes of the presence of these people in Cabo Verde were as manifold as their religious attitudes; their legacy in Cabo Verde was equally mixed. In particular, just as the presence of *cristãos novos* had been so pivotal in the evolution of tropes of modernity and in the development of social conflict in 15<sup>th</sup> century Iberia, so their presence in this corner of West Africa affected the development of attitudes towards identity and race in Cabo Verde, which were, as was remarked earlier, particularly open to being influenced in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>242</sup>.

Thus the persistence of the *cristão novo/cristão velho* opposition revealed by the case of Joana Coelha was accompanied by a process of psychological repositioning that was traced in Part 1, namely the transference of the nodes of opposition from religion to colour. One example comes from the account of the Italian traveller, Francesco Carletti, visiting in 1594, who noted

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<sup>241</sup> See António de Almeida Mendes (2004: 139, 145), who argues for two very different waves of Jewish exile to the coast of Senegambia and Guiné.

<sup>242</sup> See above, pages 87-96.

that apes were taught to hold candles to illuminate people when eating, before remarking “they do the same with their slaves, who, entirely naked, stand at the head and foot of their tables with candles in hand while their masters eat”<sup>243</sup>; the association of “others” with animals, especially apes, has been an essential trait of dehumanization throughout that process’s history<sup>244</sup>.

One should note of course that, just as the development of the Jewish self-identity of whiteness was by no means linear in the early modern era<sup>245</sup>, so this process of transference of the nodes of prejudice from religion to colour was not uniform. During this period members of the Sape nobility [from Sierra Leone] lived freely in Ribeira Grande<sup>246</sup> – just as members of the Kongolese nobility lived in Lisbon in this period – and so one cannot say that there were not exceptions to this process of transference; nevertheless, the overall tenor of preconception and stereotype regarding racial attributes in Cabo Verde is revealed by Almada’s attribution of “long noses” to the “Jewish” griots of Guiné<sup>247</sup> – although Almada did visit Portugal, this attribution clearly draws on prevailing attitudes in Ribeira Grande, and is thus revelatory of the power of racial stereotypes there at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In other words, while the beginnings of transference traced in I:5 were observable largely through developing economic conditions, in the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century they became discernible through attitudes. That complex psychological repositioning with regard to questions of race and identity was occurring at this time emerges from a closer consideration of the construction of the fort at Cacheu. As Rodney noted, this was the centrepiece of the attempt by the Portuguese on the African coast to change the nature of their presence in Guiné, and to

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<sup>243</sup> Francesco Carletti (1965), 8.

<sup>244</sup> Gustav Jahoda (1999), 75-96.

<sup>245</sup> See above, page 113.

<sup>246</sup> Trevor P. Hall (1992), Vol. 1, 107 n.104.

<sup>247</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 46; see above, page 62.

escape African control and the landlord/guest relationship<sup>248</sup>. Of course, the desire to trade without being at the whim of African rulers cannot be underestimated as a motivating factor, but it is revealing that a by-product of this desire was, in effect, to create a white Portuguese ghetto in Africa - that is, to isolate the pure from the impure just as had occurred in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the *judiarias*, and appears to have occurred with the “calhau” in Ribeira Grande<sup>249</sup>.

It will be recalled that the instigator of Cacheu, Manuel Lopes Cardoso, came from Santiago<sup>250</sup>. Yet this transfer of the ghetto mentality from the islands to the coast came with a twist, for, unlike the situation in Portugal and on Santiago in the *Rua do Calhau*, in Cacheu it was the nominally “pure”, and not the nominally “impure”, who were isolated. Very quickly it became apparent that such an isolation was in fact untenable, and by the 1610s many of the so-called “white” residents of Cacheu were Luso-Africans of mixed ancestry<sup>251</sup>; nevertheless, the underlying import of the foundation of Cacheu was the transfer of the ghetto mentality inherited from Europe and Ribeira Grande, and the attempt to realize it in Africa.

What is perhaps most revealing about this interpretation of the construction of Cacheu is the inversion of values represented, such that it is “pure” and not “impure” groups who were isolated. This suggests that the scale of European values had, by these latter years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, implicitly been recognized as in need of repositioning for the realities of the African Atlantic - yet at the same time this repositioning was, for some, a matter of extreme reluctance.

In the construction of Cacheu, we can see the desire to segregate and isolate others who constitute a minority is linked to a fear of “contamination”, and all the taboos associated

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<sup>248</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 88, 90; see also George E. Brooks (2003), 71-2.

<sup>249</sup> See above, page 149.

<sup>250</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 74; see above, page 141.

<sup>251</sup> George E. Brooks (2003), 77.

with this<sup>252</sup>; this current of fear must have been enormously significant in the exchanges of the Caboverdean region, when one considers that this fear of “contamination” had to extend to a group – Africans – who were in the overwhelming majority<sup>253</sup>. The “permanent dialogue [of civilizations] with fear”<sup>254</sup>, a crucial and often unmentioned part of the historical process, is therefore central in understanding the development of the African Atlantic, and most particularly the attempt of European incomers to translate pre-existing concepts to the African world.

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At this point in the analysis, many of the considerations pertinent to the first half of this thesis coalesce. The socioeconomic pressures which led to the marginalization of Jews in Portugal in the 15<sup>th</sup> century were transferred to Cabo Verde in the course of that region’s spearheading of the transatlantic trade; the presence of *cristsãos novos* in the region was pivotal in this process, and led to the persistence of pre-existing tropes of otherization which began to be directed at the most apparent “other” in this corner of the emergent Atlantic world; new forms of prejudice and richer identities accompanied the painful birth of Atlantic modernity.

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<sup>252</sup> Mary Douglas (1989); see above, page 92.

<sup>253</sup> On the role of fear in the history of the Caboverdean region see Tobias Green (2006a).

<sup>254</sup> Jean Delumeau (1978), 2: “*Non seulement les individus pris isolément mais aussi les collectivités et les civilisations elles-mêmes sont engagés dans un dialogue permanent avec la peur*” : “It is not just isolated individuals but also collectivities and civilizations themselves who are engaged in a permanent dialogue with fear”.



Yet in contraposition to this, it is vital to stress that this was in no way a uniform process. As has been remarked elsewhere in this thesis<sup>255</sup>, racism is of its nature irrational, and the general idea that the development of slavery led to the development of modern racism<sup>256</sup>, while perhaps conveying a type of truth, cannot be taken as accompanying a systematic process in all individuals. Attitudes towards Africans had already been deeply contradictory in the medieval period, well before the Portuguese voyages of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>257</sup>, and this contradictoriness was something that continued, as the cases of the Sape nobility living in Ribeira Grande at this time attest.

Moreover, contradictory views of others were not merely restricted to the competing views of different individuals: they frequently occupied the minds of even the most intelligent and articulate of residents in Cabo Verde. Thus Almada recognized the existence of numerous different African “nations” on the coast of Cabo Verde, thereby recognizing cultural differentiation<sup>258</sup>; yet at the same time, he possessed the frame of mind of someone in whom dehumanization is incipient, as is revealed by his assertion that one of these nations was assisted in battle by a battalion of monkeys<sup>259</sup>.

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<sup>255</sup> See above, page 95.

<sup>256</sup> See e.g. Eric Williams (1961), 7; Alphonse Quenum (1993), 131; Robin Blackburn (1997), 4, 15.

<sup>257</sup> Thus Robin Blackburn (1997: 69) cites various biblical instances where blacks are praised to the detriment of whites, and the Christian belief that one of the Magi was a black African; he notes that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the study of the sacred texts of the Ethiopian church was encouraged in Magdeburg, and that St. Maurice – a Theban soldier of recognized stoicism and fidelity – had been held to be a black African and that his cult had enjoyed widespread support in the Holy Roman Empire at this time (ibid.). Gustav Jahoda (1999: 27) also notes various positive images of Africans in the medieval world, but notes that there were also numerous negative stereotypes in authors such as John Mandeville, Mathieu Paris and Brunetto Latini. Moreover the devil was frequently represented as black, and black was the colour representing the punishment of sins in many 13<sup>th</sup> century works (José da Silva Horta (1991a: 45)). The conflict was, in reality, one that pitted people’s own experience of Africans against poisonous stereotypes influenced by “the survival of stories about the ‘monstrous races’” (Gustav Jahoda (1999: 27)).

<sup>258</sup> André Alvares d’Almada (1994), 21: “*em cada espaço em menos de vinte légoas há duas e três nações*”: tr. “every 20 leagues [c. 100 kilometres] there are two or three nations [peoples]”.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 58-9: “*outra coisa vi neste Reino nestas viagens....vinham dar connosco esquadraes de monos...e em cada esquadrao destes vinha um mono a cavalo, em cima de outro...e falavam-lhe os negros pela lingua da terra, e*

Inconsistency in a worldview often points the way to underlying passions that actually direct the holder of a worldview's activity<sup>260</sup>. In spite of the exceptions to the prevailing prejudices cited above, a consideration of Almada's position, and of the evidence previously considered of Carletti<sup>261</sup>, require a reconsideration of the idea that has been mooted that Cabo Verde in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was comparatively free of racism<sup>262</sup>. A close reading of the evidence adduced here suggests that, on the contrary, whilst not uniform, racial tension was particularly strong in Cabo Verde during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the region was at the forefront of slaving and the internationalization of the Atlantic; it suggests, in fact, that all these processes are to some degree connected, and that one cannot entirely separate the rise of slavery, racism, modernity and internationalization<sup>263</sup>. Perhaps it is as Thomas Bernhard's Wittgensteinian character Roithamer believed, that "unless one is thinking of *everything at each moment* one is not thinking at all".

To conclude, this process in Cabo Verde should be considered at both a theoretical and a practical level. At the theoretical level, I have argued that it represented the extension of tropes of thought developed in Iberia against the Jews in the 15<sup>th</sup> century into Atlantic space, and that this is to concur with those who have seen the role of Iberia in the development of modern

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*respondiam uma voz grossa mal formada*": tr. "another thing I saw here in my travels... a squadron of monkeys came over to meet us... and in each squadron of these monkeys one came riding a horse... the blacks spoke to them in their own language, and the monkeys responded in a deep and ugly voice". Since this cannot possibly be true, one is inclined to convict Almada of mendacity; yet the nature of the mendacity is revealing, as it shows both that he sensed how best to frame his account so as to make it appeal to his audience in Portugal, and that he was well attuned to the currents of dehumanization that increasingly prevailed among the "reinois" of the region.

<sup>260</sup> Erich Fromm (1951: 69): "In the process of scrutinizing a system as a whole it is particularly important to watch any inconsistencies or contradictions within the system; these usually will point to discrepancies between consciously held opinion and underlying feeling".

<sup>261</sup> See above, pages 155-156.

<sup>262</sup> George E. Brooks (1993), 159, 186.

<sup>263</sup> See David Brion Davis (1984), 24; Robin Blackburn (1997), 4.

racism as pivotal<sup>264</sup>. If discovering the world of external otherness required the purging of the internal other<sup>265</sup>, it also required the transference of the categories hitherto directed at the internal other at the world beyond the confines of Iberia; for such discriminatory categories were a defence mechanism which could be directed at all potential scapegoats, and not just those to be found in the Old Continent<sup>266</sup>.

At the practical level, however, the interface of perception and preconception with reality meant that there *was* a strong presence of *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a presence which arose partly from a structural continuity of activity from Portugal and partly from the effects of the attempts to purge the internal other and the consequent desire for escape. This structural continuity facilitated the emergence of a parallel class that was both inside and outside Portuguese society, the *lançados*, and thus facilitated brokerage and exchange between African and European peoples – a relationship which, as we shall see in the second half of this thesis, assisted developing creolization.

There is no doubt that this *cristão novo* presence must also have contributed to the maintenance of the binary oppositions brought from Portugal; this continuity, in a setting where economic wealth stemmed from the exploitation of Africa and Africans, facilitated the transference of pre-existing prejudice in that direction, with this transference being therefore the consequence of both the economic realities of slavery and the Jewish presence. While it is

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<sup>264</sup> George M. Fredrickson (2002), 40; Jorge Cañizares Esguerra (1999), 35-7, 66-8.

<sup>265</sup> See above page 49; cf. also Tzvetan Todorov (1982: 54), that in 1492 Spain “*répudie son Autre intérieur en remportant la victorie sur les Maures dans l’ultime bataille de Grenade et en forçant les juifs à quitter son territoire; et il découvre l’autre extérieur*” : “repudiates its internal other in bringing off victory against the Moors in the last battle of Granada and forcing the Jews to leave their territory ; and it discovers its external other”.

<sup>266</sup> Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda (1950: 93-4): “the fight against anti-Semitism is, therefore, more than a fight for the right of Jews, or of Negroes (sic), Catholics, Mexicans, Japanese-Americans and others who with benefits to none often replace the Jewish victim...”.

mistaken to see this solely as the reification of the Jew in the Other<sup>267</sup>, there is no doubt that an element of this played an important part in the development of the concept of African peoples in Cabo Verde<sup>268</sup>.

The consequences of these manifold forces were stark. Though some historians have underplayed the significance of the slave trade before 1640<sup>269</sup>, the evidence adduced earlier and to be shown later in Parts 3 and 4 makes it unquestionable that there was a large-scale trade in slaves throughout this period. The population density of the region – already low – was made even lower by the trade, locking it into an economy geared towards subsistence<sup>270</sup>. The gender balance was severely affected, with vital cultural consequences affecting norms of marriage and the family unit<sup>271</sup>. The fragmentation of larger political units into the smaller Jolof states that accompanied the European presence on the coast led to greater instability and the rise in importance of those believed to have spiritual powers to protect against the vicissitudes of the new realities<sup>272</sup>.

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<sup>267</sup> See above, page 60 n.144 for examples of this in the Atlantic.

<sup>268</sup> And indeed in Iberia in general. As Prudencio de Sandoval remarked in his life of Charles V: “Who can deny that among the descendants of the Jews the evil inclination of their old ingratitude and faulty knowledge persists and lasts, as does the inseparable accident of their blackness in the blacks...” – cit. Diego Gracia Guillén (1987), 382.

<sup>269</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975: 177), holds that in the period 1526-1550 the number exported was just 250-1000 slaves per year; this is roundly condemned by Bouabacar Barry (1998: 39), a condemnation supported by the evidence adduced in this thesis.

<sup>270</sup> Bouabacar Barry (1998), 31.

<sup>271</sup> See e.g. Philip D. Curtin (1975), 176, on the ration of male to female slaves exported from The Gambia.

<sup>272</sup> Thus, in 1606, the Jesuit missionary Baltasar Barreira referred to the success of Islamic marabouts from among the Mandingas in proselytizing south of the Gambia through the provision of gris-gris to protect against the personal dangers arising from wars: “*levão esta peste [da ceita de Mafoma] a outros Reinos da Banda do Sul enganando a gente com nominas q fazem de Metal e do coiro muito bem lavradas em q metē escritos cheos de mentiras afirmando que tendo consigo estas Nominas nē na Guerra nē na pas avera cousa que lhes faça mal...são muy acatados de todos e consultados nas cousas de Guerra e da pas...*”: tr. “[the marabouts] take this pest [of the Mahometan sect] to other kingdoms of the south bank [of the Gambia] cheating the people with charms made of metal and leather that are very well made, and in which they put writings filled with lies affirming that whoever has the charm with them will not come to harm in war or peace...[the marabouts] are very popular with everyone and consulted in matters of war and peace” - Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (eds.) (1972), 28-9.

In short, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century process of otherizing and objectification traced in the first two parts of this thesis weakened African peoples as political powers and increased the points of tension within African societies. This was as a consequence of the extension of a pre-existing Iberian worldview into an alien space, and the expansion of the concepts associated with this view – which was itself, meanwhile, changing in Iberia - into this space<sup>273</sup>. African peoples remained in control of their kingdoms and hence of their space, and the Europeans who resided there did so very much as guests, but this was in a context in which African polities and economies were entering a long-lasting cycle of external dependence.

As we have seen, the process of otherization that underpinned this process had required the existence of Jews in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Iberia. And the presence of the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde during the 16<sup>th</sup> century played a part in the extension of these categories, both in feeding the idea of the Other, and in furthering the economic structures that required otherization. Yet for people of Jewish origin themselves, the cultural space of Cabo Verde contained more that was familiar to them than was the case for *cristãos velhos*, allowing them to make alliances with groups such as the Fulani, and enabling them to mediate with the other peoples of Guiné and become crucial players in the exchanges which gave rise to Creole societies in the region and to the modern African Atlantic.

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<sup>273</sup> A similar retrograde process would occur during the colonial era of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when foundationist, universal epistemologies were imported and embedded in African consciousness through formal education, just as the unanswerable critiques which postmodernity has levelled at such epistemologies were about to be unleashed: see T.C.McCaskie (1995), 21-2.

## **PART THREE**

### **ATLANTIC BROKERS**

**Culture and Diaspora Among the *Cristãos Novos*, 1600-1640**

## INTRODUCTION

This part of the thesis integrates the picture of Cabo Verde more fully into the Atlantic world, showing how many of the *cristão novo* families of Cabo Verde and Latin America were connected, and revealing how crypto-Judaism had become an important religion of trade for the Atlantic world by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. We also see how economic and ecological considerations encouraged the emerging Atlantic trade to bypass Cabo Verde, establishing conditions in which the *cristão novo* presence could help establish a different type of cultural context in Caboverdean space.

In Chapter 1, large amounts of new documentary evidence are adduced to elucidate the activities of the Jewish community on the *petite côte* in Senegambia and the crypto-Jewish community of Cacheu. It is argued that a correlation began to emerge between the trade of crypto-Jews in slaves and of Jews in other goods, attitudes which came to represent something of the emerging character of Atlantic trade.

In Chapter 2, I consider how the widespread *cristão novo* presence in the Caboverdean region contributed towards a situation where some *cristãos velhos* adopted certain elements of Judaic practice as a form of countert-cultural practice. It is argued that in this sense crypto-Judaism became a form of diasporic trading religion, and that this itself was a concomitant of the Caboverdean region's perceived otherness and lack of subordination to Portuguese control.

In Chapter 3, I consider extensive new evidence on an African-centred network of crypto-Jews based in Guiné centred on Alvaro Gonçalves Frances, and an American-centred network centred on Manuel Bautista Pérez and Sebastián Duarte. It is shown that the crypto-Jews of the Atlantic evolved a pan-Atlantic ideology, and that crypto-Judaism emerged as a

diasporic trading religion in the wider Atlantic as well as in Cabo Verde. This finding is then used to explicate nascent forms of identity, related to “nation”, and to argue for the crucial theoretical finding that counter-cultural rebellions such as the adoption of crypto-Judaism depend on their strength on the power of the supervenient ideology against which they rebel; in the Atlantic, the alienation which accompanied the materialism of the slave trade required a shared ideology and for a time this was found in crypto-Judaism, which, though subversive, was in fact representative of Iberian hegemony in the Atlantic.

In Chapter 4, we see how the Caboverdean region became one of increasing marginality to the Atlantic world in this period, and how this marginality facilitated the rise of Creole power on the islands. It is argued that the presence of *cristãos novos* on the islands and the coast, with their attributes of doubleness and adaptability, facilitated the rise of this culture, and contributed to the subversion of the dominant ideologies of the Atlantic in the Caboverdean region.



**TABLE 3: KNOWN *CRISTÃOS NOVOS* IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE, 1600-1640**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATES ACTIVE</b>	<b>PLACE OF BIRTH</b>	<b>OTHER LOCALES OF ACTIVITY</b>	<b>RESIDENCE IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE</b>
Jeronimo Rodrigues Freire/ Jacob Peregrino	1610-c.25	Tancos	Amsterdam, Venice	Portudal
Manoel Peregrino	1612-35	?	Amsterdam	Portudal
Pero Rodrigues Veiga	1610-20 ?	Antwerp	Bahía, Rotterdam	Portudal
Simão Rodrigues d'Évora	1607-15 ?	Antwerp	Amsterdam, Lisbon	Portudal
Baltasar Lopes de Setuval	1610-15 ?	?	?	Cacheu
Jeronimo Rodrigues Solis	1617	?	Angola	Ribeira Grande
Francisco da Cunha Sequeira	1617-20	?	?	Ribeira Grande
Antonio Rodrigues Lamego	1623	?	Cartagena, Rouen	Cacheu

Simão Lopes	1610-20 ?	?	?	Ribeira Grande
Diogo Lopes Ferreira	1617 ?	?	?	Ribeira Grande
João Rodrigues da Costa	1615-60	?	Cartagena	Ribeira Grande, Cacheu
Ambrosio Dias Rabelo	1635	?	?	Petite Côte
Alvaro Gonçalves Frances	1615-36	Cabeça de Vide	Cartagena	Cacheu
Manuel Alvarez Prieto	1625-35	Cabeça de Vide	Cartagena	Cacheu
Diogo Barassa	1623-35 ?	Fronteira	Cartagena, Seville	Cacheu
Manuel Bautista Pérez	1608-19		Angola, Cartagena, Lima, Panamá	Cacheu
Sebastián Duarte	1616-18	Montemor-o- Novo	Cartagena, Lima, Panamá	Cacheu
Felipe Tavares Metello	1620-30 ?	?	São Tomé	Fogo

## CHAPTER ONE:

### A NEW BEGINNING: AMSTERDAM AND THE *ASENTISTAS*

#### 1.1 The Amsterdam Connection

The first *cristãos novos* arrived in Amsterdam in the 1590s<sup>1</sup>. Hitherto, the Portuguese crypto-Jewish community in the Low Countries had been concentrated in Antwerp. As late as 1591 there were 57 such families there<sup>2</sup>. Political and economic difficulties encouraged migration<sup>3</sup>. Many of these families went first to Hamburg, as Filipe I had placed an embargo on Dutch ships; however, with the lifting of this embargo in 1595, the first Portuguese merchants appeared in Amsterdam<sup>4</sup>.

Amsterdam was booming. Between 1585 and 1622, its population rose from circa 30,000 to 105,000<sup>5</sup>. Part of this prosperity derived from the 12-year truce signed with Spain in 1609<sup>6</sup>, as the Dutch merchant fleet developed into the largest in European waters, dominating trade between northern Europe and the Iberian peninsula. One of the corollaries of this trade was a growing Sephardic community, with the number of Jewish accounts in Amsterdam's exchange bank rising from 24 in 1609 to 106 in 1620<sup>7</sup>. In this period, the Sephardic community was involved mainly in trade with Portugal and Portuguese colonies, in particular the salt trade with

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<sup>1</sup> Wilhelmina Chr. Pieterse (1971: 75) identifies the first to arrive as Rafael Cardoso in 1592. However, most of the literature holds this to have been Manoel Rodrigues Veiga, previously based in Antwerp, who received funds from crypto-Jews based in London for Amsterdam's secret synagogue in 1594 (Miriam Bodian (1997: 28)). See also Yosef Kaplan (1992: 248).

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Israel (1992), 192.

<sup>3</sup> In particular the fall of Antwerp to the Duke of Parma in 1585 and the consequent closure of the city's port – see Violet Barbour (1950: 15).

<sup>4</sup> Miriam Bodian (1997), 28-9.

<sup>5</sup> Violet Barbour (1950), 17.

<sup>6</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1982), 47.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*. Similarly, the size of the Jewish community rose from 500 in 1612 to 1000 in 1620 (Yosef Kaplan (1996: 15)).

Setúbal and the sugar trade with Brazil<sup>8</sup>. They in no sense “caused” Amsterdam’s boom of these years, but rather benefited from it<sup>9</sup>: the 24 Sephardi participants in the founding of the Exchange Bank in 1609 constituted a small percentage of the total<sup>10</sup>, they had negligible involvement in the most important source of the United Provinces’ growth, the United East India Company, and they provided only 0.5% of the capital for the Dutch West India Company<sup>11</sup>.

However, while the importance of the Sephardim in the rise of Amsterdam can be overstated, this community was pivotal in the trade between Iberia and northern Europe. The Spanish crown certainly thought so, citing the Dutch Sephardim’s influence in shipping as having highly adverse economic consequences for Spain<sup>12</sup>. The import of Brazilian produce via Portugal became a major trade in Amsterdam, with 20 sugar refineries developing in a decade<sup>13</sup>; again, the Sephardim were pivotal. The import of Amsterdam’s Sephardim for Iberian trade is revealed by their comparative decline following the embargoes imposed on such trade by Spain in 1621<sup>14</sup>, and Jewish communities in Brazil and Hamburg began to grow, peopled by former residents of Amsterdam seeking new opportunities<sup>15</sup>.

It should be stressed that this Sephardic community was in no sense a seamless continuation of the Jewish communities of Iberia prior to 1492 and 1497. Many of its members were “far removed from Judaism”<sup>16</sup>, and had formerly been crypto-Jews and even Catholics

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<sup>8</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1990), 419.

<sup>9</sup> However, Israel (*ibid.*, 418) argues convincingly that in the period from 1648 onwards, after the conclusion of the war with Spain, the Dutch Sephardim were vital in imposing the edifice of Holland’s global commerce.

<sup>10</sup> Violet Barbour (1950), 25.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1982), 127; C.R. Boxer (1952: 42) claims this to have been 1%.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1990), 355-6.

<sup>13</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1982), 47.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 127; Jonathan I. Israel (1990: 376-7): this was a result of the end of the truce between Spain and the United Provinces.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 386.

<sup>16</sup> Wilhelmina Chr. Pieterse (1971), 77.

living in Antwerp, Portugal and Brazil. Their continued business connections with Portugal and Spain ensured a double identity for these returnees to the Jewish religion; many Jews signed official documents with their Christian names while using their Hebrew names within the community<sup>17</sup>.

Nevertheless, whilst not a seamless continuity with the Iberian heyday, the arrival of the Sephardim in Amsterdam marked a turning point in the status of Jewry in western and central Europe. Between 1470 and 1570, this community had been almost destroyed<sup>18</sup>. However, the rebellion of the United Provinces and the gradual development of new communities in Amsterdam, and then London, presaged modern diasporic Jewish history within the European mainstream, and the development of the social type identified as the “port Jew”<sup>19</sup>.

As we have seen, crypto-Jews were involved in the formation of early Atlantic trading networks. Indeed, it is instructive to note just how many of the founders of the Amsterdam Sephardic community had an Atlantic past. The second largest exporter of sugar from Pernambuco, Manoel Nunes de Matos, settled in Amsterdam in 1608<sup>20</sup>; the master of the Capibaribe sugar refinery in Pernambuco, James Lopes da Costa, renamed himself Jacob Tirado and settled in Amsterdam as early as 1598<sup>21</sup>; one of the earliest founders of the Amsterdam community, Manoel Lopes Homem, had been in Brazil just two years previously<sup>22</sup>; while Diogo

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<sup>17</sup> Yosef Kaplan (1996), 25-8.

<sup>18</sup> To add to the persecutions of Spain and Portugal, there had been attacks on Jews in parts of Italy and elsewhere in central Europe - Jonathan I. Israel (1998), 6-19.

<sup>19</sup> On “port Jews” see: David Cesarani (2002b) and David Sorkin (1999) and *idem.* (2002). See also below, pages 229-230.

<sup>20</sup> José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (1996), 11.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Dias Querido had worked in Bahía at a sugar refinery<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, Dias Querido may originally have been from Madeira; another of the early founders of the Amsterdam community, Diogo Nunes Belmonte<sup>24</sup>, certainly was from here, as was the famous rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel, who persuaded Cromwell to accept the Jews into England in 1656<sup>25</sup>.

While this Atlantic connection for the early Sephardim of Amsterdam was probably not majoritarian, it was significant. Having been pushed to a cultural marginality in western Europe, it would appear that this marginality was also to some extent geographical<sup>26</sup>; an important and hitherto unacknowledged aspect of the foundation of Amsterdam, then, lies, in the re-entry from a point of both cultural and geographical marginality of Atlantic Jews to one of the centrepieces of the continent's economic and cultural expansion.

Moreover, as most of those who arrived in Amsterdam came from areas where they had not been able openly to practice Judaism, they brought with them the novel cultural baggage of crypto-Jewish doubleness. The extent to which this doubleness remained an integral part of crypto-Jewish – or incipient Jewish – identity in the first years of the Amsterdam community is

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<sup>23</sup> Querido may have been censured by the *visitador* of the Lisbon Inquisition, Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, in 1591 (Arnold Wiznitzer (1960: 47)); a subsequent deposition to the inquisitors of Lisbon after Querido's death noted that, when in Bahía, he had been an intimate of *cristãos novos* suspected of Judaizing: "*hu homē secular me disse se ajuntavaõ em certos dias as tardes tres christãos novos fora da cidade em casa de huã Christã Nova molher que aqui foy muy familiar de hũ Diogo Dias Querido, q daqui se for para frandes, aonde morreo Judeu*" (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 209, folio 679r) – tr. "a secular man has told me that on certain evenings three *cristãos novos* used to meet outside the city in the house of a *cristão novo* woman who was here a great friend of Diogo Dias Querido, who went from here to Flanders, where he died a Jew".

<sup>24</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 130v: a denunciation of May 26<sup>th</sup> 1611 refers to the Madeiran origins of both men. For more on Belmonte's Madeiran connections, see Miriam Bodian (1997), 31. It should nevertheless be acknowledged that traditional scholarship cites Dias Querido as hailing originally from Oporto (see below, page 181 n.72). The matter is therefore open to question, although one may say at the least that it is likely that Dias Querido had experience of Madeira, given this piece of evidence and his involvement in the sugar industry in Brazil, which had originally been transplanted from Madeira.

<sup>25</sup> Lionel D. Barnett (1940), 4.

<sup>26</sup> David Brion Davis (1994), 14.

revealed by the fact that the first settlers could not have been attracted primarily as Jews; only in 1603 did an open Jewish community become a possibility there<sup>27</sup>.

This was a continuity from crypto-Jewish experience in the Americas, where, as Cohen remarked, few Judaizers came in order to practice their faith, as if faith had been the main concern they would have sought sanctuary under the Ottomans where Judaism was tolerated<sup>28</sup>. In fact, one effect of the travails of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries may have been that the categories of “Jew” and “crypto-Jew” had fused in the mindset of the western European - as opposed to Ottoman or North African – Sephardim, and that an inherent doubleness and ambiguity had become a keystone of that identity. The long-standing connections which American crypto-Jewry maintained with European Jews and crypto-Jews through the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century reveals the extent to which these two groups were related<sup>29</sup>.

Amsterdam, then, was in the first place a continuation of this tradition. Yet, during the course of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this unity of Jew and crypto-Jew would be prised apart by the further opening up of western Europe to Judaism, leaving to one side the crypto-Jewish communities of America, Africa and Portugal, and on the other the Jewish communities in northern Europe and Italy. Amsterdam proved pivotal in this process, as the bridge between both northern Europe and the Atlantic and northern Europe and Iberia, and consequently, as the bridge between doubleness and openness.

These developments would have important correlates in Cabo Verde. In the first place, the economic advances of Amsterdam triggered the well-known global trade and military

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<sup>27</sup> Miriam Bodian (1997), 28-9.

<sup>28</sup> Martin A. Cohen (1971a), xxiii.

<sup>29</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (2002), 109-22, 145-6; Israel adduces unanswerable evidence as to the connections of American crypto-Jews with communities in places such as South-West France, Ferrara and Pisa. See also Arnold Wiznitzer (1960: 40) on the deep-rooted connections between the Jews of Amsterdam and the crypto-Jews of Brazil throughout the first 20 years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

conflicts between the United Provinces and Spain that spilled over into places such as Brazil, the Caribbean and the East<sup>30</sup>. In West Africa, this saw the Dutch capture of the forts on the Gold Coast, and, in Senegambia, Gorée. This led to widespread Portuguese resentment at the impact of Spanish wars and the Dual Monarchy on their interests in the region<sup>31</sup>.

The arrival of the Sephardim in Amsterdam was also to have important religious consequences for Caboverdean space. For it was at this time that the first openly Sephardic community in sub-Saharan Africa was founded, in Senegambia. The impetus for this came directly from Amsterdam, as we shall see in this chapter, and thus briefly brought the fringes of Caboverdean space into the aegis of the Jewish, as opposed to the crypto-Jewish, sense of identity. However, this community would not last, and the growing divide between the Jewish and crypto-Jewish communities of the Atlantic, for which Amsterdam was the spearhead, would lead ultimately to the isolation of the Sephardic elements in Cabo Verde and to their ultimate fusion into society in Cabo Verde and Guiné.

In fact, during the first 20 years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, what emerged in the Caboverdean region was a growing division between crypto-Jewish activity in the region under the aegis of Portugal and openly Jewish activity under the influence of Amsterdam. The Dutch Jews could of course have no part in the slaving *asientos* of Portugal, and thus directed their commercial energies elsewhere. While the origins of this shift in trading orientation may have been in

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<sup>30</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1982), 197-204, 274ff.

<sup>31</sup> As the weaker partner in the monarchy, Portugal often found itself attacked in lieu of Spain by the Dutch. Between 1603 and 1641 there were attacks on Goa (1603 and 1610), the Spice Islands (1605), Gorée (1619 and 1627), Mozambique (1607 and 1608), Malacca (1616, 1629 and 1641), Macao (1622 and 1626) and Mina (1637) – see A.J.R. Russell-Wood (1998e), 24-5. The central problem for Portugal was not only her comparative weakness, but also the fact that her main overseas possessions were coastal, in contrast to Spain's landlocked centres in Mexico and Perú (C.R. Boxer (1969: 109).



geopolitics, the effect was that a difference opened up between the Jews, who traded in hides, wax and ivory, and the crypto-Jews who, by and large, traded in slaves.

## 1.2 The Jews of the Coast

The openly Jewish community in Senegambia flourished most vigorously under João Soeiro, who held the contract for Cabo Verde in the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Soeiro was given the contract in spite of his known *cristão novo* provenance<sup>32</sup>. Soeiro had a champion in the *Conselho da Fazenda*<sup>33</sup>; this meant that the repeated complaints against him went unresolved during his contract.

There were continual petitions to the *Conselho Ultramarino* regarding Soeiro. He was accused by the Governor and the Church of refusing to pay the clergy their salaries, as was his responsibility<sup>34</sup>; he was said to prevent letters from reaching the Crown that were critical of him<sup>35</sup>, to be involved in widespread smuggling<sup>36</sup>, and to be responsible for the collapse of the Caboverdean economy<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> BA, Códice 51-VIII-6, folio 145v: a letter from the King in which Filipe II accepts that the conditions of Soeiro's contract must be kept, but that the *feitor* must be a *cristão velho* and approved by him, and that the conditions under which Soeiro was granted the contract must not be accepted in the future: "*a pessoa q por sua ordem se ocupar (sic) no cargo de feitor sera Christao Velho e aprovado por mim, porq avendo de ser capitão e administrar justiça parece q não convem fiarse isto de gente de nação em partes tao distantes pelo prejuizo q disso se segue. E ao ditto Conselho [Ultramarino] ordinareis tome por lembrança q ao diante se não punha mais nem admitão neste contrato nem em outros algus semelhantes condições por serem mui perjudicaēs*": tr. "The person who is to be made factor should be a *cristão velho* and approved by me [Filipe II], because being the captain and administering justice it is not a good idea to trust *cristãos novos* in such distant places because of the damage which may result. And the *Conselho Ultramarino* must be ordered that from here on they must not admit in this contract or any other similar conditions since they are every prejudicial".

<sup>33</sup> BA, Códice 51-VIII-15, folio 128v, December 7<sup>th</sup> 1612: the issue of the Contratador of Cabo Verde has not been resolved, the Viceroy and Inquisitor-General of Portugal Bishop Pedro de Castilho writes, because Soeiro "*tem no Conselho da Fazenda o deffensor que VM sabe, contra quem não ha ali penitencia*": tr. "has in the *Conselho da Fazenda* the defender which is known to your excellency, with whom there is no arguing".

<sup>34</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde Caixa 1, doc. 18; more serious is AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 30, dated December 16<sup>th</sup> 1613, in which the bishop and clergy of Cabo Verde complain that they have not been paid by Soeiro for three years.

<sup>35</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 23.

Soeiro was also accused of having a brother in Flanders who loaded goods there for trade in Guiné<sup>38</sup>, and various witnesses linked Soeiro directly to the rise of public Judaizing in Guiné<sup>39</sup>. There is no specific evidence for Soeiro's personal connection to the Jewish community of the Low Countries, though there was a Portuguese resident of Antwerp called Diogo Lopes Suero in 1608 who associated with people accused of Judaizing<sup>40</sup>. However it is usually seen as significant that it was under Soeiro's watch that the open synagogue flourished in Senegambia. Moreover, the denunciations to the Inquisition make it plain that Soeiro was held to be profiting from the Amsterdam connection to draw the maximum benefit from his contract<sup>41</sup>.

These documents all agree that the head of this Jewish community in Senegambia was one Jeronimo Rodrigues Freire, who originated from Tancos and was known as Jacob Peregrino<sup>42</sup>. Recent research has illuminated Peregrino's activities on Senegal's *petite côte*. He was a member of Beth Yahacob congregation in Amsterdam<sup>43</sup> who had previously spent over a decade living in Venice<sup>44</sup>, where he had probably learned the detail of Jewish ritual which made

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<sup>36</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 93 has a list of the ships who went to Guiné without paying taxes under Soeiro's aegis.

<sup>37</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 28: a letter from Governor Francisco Roiz de Segura, in which he states "*não ha rendimento do que o contratador tem a culpa*": tr. "there is no profit and it is the contractor's fault".

<sup>38</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 30: "*Flandes aonde o contratador João Soeiro tem hu irmão carregador de mercadorias a resgatar*" (tr. "Flanders where the contractor João Soeiro has a brother who loads goods to be traded"); also AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 93; IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folios 116r-v.

<sup>39</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 93: "*em Guiné na costa que são mais de quinze os que judaizão publicamente...e isto depois que o ditto João Soeiro he contratador*" (tr. "on the coast of Guiné there are over 15 people who Judaize publicly...and this is since João Soeiro has vbeen contractor"); IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folios 116r-v and 119r-v.

<sup>40</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, pages 3-4; "Suero" was a commonplace Spanish spelling of "Soeiro" (see AGI, Contratación 800, no. 15: "*Juan Andres Pozolo vezino desta ciudad de Sevilla digo que Juan Suero contratador q fue de los Rios de guinea...*": tr. "Juan Andres Pozolo resident of this city of Seville declares the Juan Suero the former contractor of the rivers of Guiné...").

<sup>41</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folios 116r-120r.

<sup>42</sup> See also BA, Códice 56-VI-54, folio 147r.

<sup>43</sup> GAA, Portuguese Jewish Archives, Book 1, folio 244; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 170.

<sup>44</sup> GAA, NA, 196, folio 323v; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 169-70.

him a natural religious leader of the Sephardim in Senegambia. He was not a permanent resident in Africa, but rather made repeated trading voyages to the coast to buy hides and wax in particular, returning with them to Europe where they were traded through colleagues in Italy and the Low Countries<sup>45</sup>; this business was stymied by a disastrous expedition in 1612, which led to serious disputes with members of the Amsterdam Sephardic community<sup>46</sup>.

Thanks to this research, much can be said about this community in terms of its religiosity, its relations with peoples in Africa and its international connections. The work by Mark and Horta is particularly revealing from the religious perspective. They describe the extent of the community's connections with Amsterdam<sup>47</sup>, their liturgical use of Jewish prayerbooks<sup>48</sup>, their establishment of a synagogue in the house of the community's leader in Joal and Portudal [Porto de Ale]<sup>49</sup>, and ritual activities such as circumcision and the slaughtering of meat according to the laws of Kashrut<sup>50</sup>.

The evidence is also important on the connections of these Jews with the Wolofs of the coast. A complex mosaic of evidence suggests that Jacob Peregrino's son, Manoel – who was the ritual slaughterer of the community – had a sexual liaison with the daughter of the Wolof king in the region of Joal, and was robbed by the king when this was discovered<sup>51</sup>. As I have

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<sup>45</sup> GAA, NA 645, folio 887; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 172-3.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., and GAA, NA, 382, folios 202-3 and GAA, NA 461, folios 297-8; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 172.

<sup>47</sup> Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta (2004), 235-8.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 251; Peregrino was even said by some to be bringing 12 copies of the Torah (241), while another witness described the Jews of Joal meeting on Friday nights and praying “in a Torah written in Spanish, each praying on their own” (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 154r: “*ajuntar casi todas as sextas ferias...a tarde, estavam rezando por hum thora em castelhano, cada hum rezando pera sy*”).

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 247.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid..

<sup>51</sup> GAA, Notarial Archive 645A, folios 595-6, the testimony of Daniel Belmonte and Jorge Fernandes Carneiro, both of whom claimed to have witnessed this when in Joal. However, the accuracy of the testimony is somewhat compromised by its position within the wider picture of the dispute between Manoel Ayres and the Peregrinos as to a purported sexual liaison between Manoel Peregrino and Ayres's daughter, Riffika, with the evidence probably intended to blight Manoel Peregrino's reputation (GAA, NA, 461, folios 297-8 and GAA, NA 382, folios 202-3);

remarked elsewhere<sup>52</sup>, this is intriguing evidence both as to the willingness of the Sephardim to integrate into the society of the *petite côte*, and of the fact that their activities were beholden to the rulers there. Certainly, as Mark and Horta note, the presence of numerous mulatto Jews in the *petite côte* communities are suggestive of relationships being developed between the male Sephardim and women from the coast<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, in the emerging Atlantic world where race was increasingly constitutive of position in the hierarchy, such offspring, while capable of becoming full players in the societies of Caboverdean space, would increasingly find it difficult to be accepted within the Jewish community of Amsterdam<sup>54</sup>.

This position as tolerated guests was one that of course Sephardim had long been accustomed to, and the censure he received at the hands of the Wolof king does not seem to have discouraged Manoel Peregrino from returning to the coast in the 1620s, probably as a result of the problems encountered in Amsterdam following his father's disastrous voyage of 1612<sup>55</sup>. Manoel performed ritual circumcisions there in the 1630s, and was still in Portugal in 1637<sup>56</sup>. It is therefore clear that any dispute with the local elites must have been temporary, and that a relationship of accommodation was developed between African peoples and Jews here, with the senior partners in the relationship unquestionably the African peoples of the coast.

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moreover, this claim by Ayres itself needs to be placed within the context of the fact that he was the brother-in-law of one of Jacob Peregrino's creditors, Fernando Alvares Melo (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 203, folio 182r and Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 206, folio 245r). The allegations against Manoel Peregrino may, therefore, have been concocted to damage the Peregrinos *in toto*; more probable, perhaps, is that the knowledge of Manoel Peregrino's previous liaison was recalled to damage the family in the eyes of the community, in lieu of the possibility of making good the losses suffered by Alvares Melo. See Tobias Green (2005), 177, 182-3.

<sup>52</sup> Tobias Green (2005), 180.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta (2004), 252-3. It should be noted, however, that some of these mulatto Jews are cited as having originated from Portugal. A deposition to the inquisitors from 1612 refers to two mulatto Jews in Portugal, one from Faro and the other from Cabeça de Vide (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 154v: both are described as "*meios xpos novos*").

<sup>54</sup> See above, page 114 n.46.

<sup>55</sup> António de Almeida Mendes (2004), 149; see above, page 177.

<sup>56</sup> Alexis de Saint Lô (1637), 103-4, 167.

In addition to this picture of Africans interacting with practitioners of ritual Judaism, however, case studies from among the Senegambian Sephardic community reveal its connections to the wider Atlantic world. One such is that of Pero Rodrigues Veiga, who had a suitably international background. He was claimed by one witness to be a “Portuguese born in Antwerp”<sup>57</sup>. Other denunciations mentioned that Veiga’s brother Gaspar was also found on the *petite côte*, and that his parents lived in Amsterdam<sup>58</sup>. Evidence from Amsterdam shows that Veiga was in fact a resident of Rotterdam<sup>59</sup> and the agent for Gaspar Sanches from the Amsterdam community, and that he also owned a sugar mill in Bahía (Brazil)<sup>60</sup>, where he previously had been the factor in a mill owned by his brother Manoel<sup>61</sup>. It was claimed that Pero had travelled from Guiné to Amsterdam in order formally to become Jewish<sup>62</sup>, filling out a not untypical picture of someone with fingers in the pies of Africa, America and Europe. Indeed, its peripatetic background meant that the community witnessed the constant passage of people on the *petite côte* to and from Amsterdam and America<sup>63</sup>.

A Senegambian resident of international significance was Simão Rodrigues d’Évora, who was the leader of the Jewish community of Portugal<sup>64</sup>. Rodrigues d’Évora was the brother of Lopo Rodrigues d’Évora, who ran one of the most important trading houses in Lisbon with commercial interests across the Portuguese *Ultramar*. Simão was in fact the “mentor” and leader

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<sup>57</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folio 585v: “portuges nacido en envers”.

<sup>58</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 154r.

<sup>59</sup> GAA, NA 62, folio 201v; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 173.

<sup>60</sup> GAA, NA, 210v-211r; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 173.

<sup>61</sup> E.M. Koen (1969), 115, n.51; on the fraternal relationship see GAA, NA 62, folio 210v.

<sup>62</sup> Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta (2004), 239.

<sup>63</sup> See Tobias Green (2005), 178; members of the Senegambian community were constantly appearing in the notarial offices of Amsterdam in these years as witnesses and to make affidavits, showing the fluid nature of the community in this period.

<sup>64</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 154v.

of the 4 brothers who ran the family's business concerns<sup>65</sup>. He was a member of the highest echelons of Portuguese society, being married to the daughter of Ruy Ximenes, who had been granted the Pope's surname Peretti in 1586<sup>66</sup>. He was already well-known to Pieter van den Broecke when the Dutch trader visited Portudal in 1608 as previously a fine merchant in Amsterdam<sup>67</sup>; his presence in Portudal, which may be related to flight from a fiscal demand made against him in 1607 as an executor of the dowry of Maria Mendes<sup>68</sup>, reveals the scope and connections of this small emerging community on the fringes of Caboverdean space.

The Senegambian Sephardic community was recognized as of international importance. Chroniclers of the coast all made reference to the Jews of the coast<sup>69</sup>, while the Jesuit missionary Baltasar de Barreira went so far as to claim that 100 Jews followed the Mosaic law in Portudal in 1606<sup>70</sup>, although this number is probably exaggerated. In 1618, a Flemish witness to the inquisitors of Lisbon referred to the synagogue here in his denunciation of Amsterdam's Sephardim<sup>71</sup>, while the States-General wrote to the Inquisitor-General Dom Pedro de Castilho

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<sup>65</sup> J. Gentil da Silva (1956), Vol. I, 3, 304.

<sup>66</sup> Jean Denucé (1937), 54.

<sup>67</sup> J.D. La Fleur (ed.) (2000), 47.

<sup>68</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles, Office Fiscal, Dossier 2126*.

<sup>69</sup> See the accounts of Pieter van den Broecke (J.D. La Fleur (ed.) (2000: 47)), André Donelha (1977: 128), and later of Francisco de Lemos Coelho (1669: 7).

<sup>70</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (eds.) (1972), 28: “*seguese o Porto Dali no qual ha hũa aldea de cem Portugueses que seguē a ley de Moises*”: tr. “then follows Porto Dali (sic) in which there is a village of 100 Portuguese who follow the Mosaic law”.

<sup>71</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 203, folio 515v: “*e sabe elle testemunha que por este modo o Comercio vay muita fazenda para Olanda, e que Judeus tem synagoga em terra firme no Cabo verde entre dous rios grandes entre cabo roxo e cabo verde*”: tr. “and this witness knows that in this way much trade goes to Holland, and that the Jews have a synagogue on the continental mainland of Cabo verde between two big rivers between Cabo Roxo and Cabo Verde”.

on November 9<sup>th</sup> 1611 with a list of all the Sephardim from the Low Countries involved in the trade to Guiné, revealing their connections to Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brazil, Lisbon and Porto<sup>72</sup>.

However, the geopolitical significance of this community was probably exaggerated. The accusations linking Soeiro to the growth of this Sephardic community are undermined by some of the evidence referred to above, in particular the accounts of Barreira and Broecke which show active Judaism on the coast by 1606, prior to the beginning of Soeiro's contract. The evidence would suggest that these connections were already longstanding by then, and that Soeiro was merely capitalizing on them. Thus Nicolas Rodrigues, the founder of the Rodrigues d'Évora dynasty, had run a sugar mill on São Tomé as early as 1543<sup>73</sup>. Antwerp had been the capital of the early market for African commodities in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and all the voyages between Antwerp and São Tomé operated between 1540 and 1554 were run by Portuguese ships, where many of the Portuguese in Antwerp were *cristãos novos*<sup>74</sup>.

On the *petite côte*, moreover, the evidence would suggest that many of the Sephardim also had longstanding knowledge of the area – and that this may indeed have influenced them in the founding of their community there. Almada noted that countless ships going to Brazil and the Indies stopped in Portugal in the latter 16<sup>th</sup> century to arrange their ships before crossing the

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<sup>72</sup> K. Ratelband (1959), 49-50: “*De belangrijkste [Joden] die opde kost van Guinee zaken does zijn: Diogo Dias Querido, Duarte Fernandez, Manoel Thomás, Hieronymo Roiz, Diogo Nunes Belmonte, Diogo Roiz de Leão, Francisco Mendez en Christovão Nunes Irmãos, allen geboortig uit Porto; Jorge Vaz, Manoel Roiz Vega, Francisco Godinho en endered, die in Antwerpen wonen; Diogo Roiz, van Lissabon; Manoel Nunes de Mattos, van Brazilië gekomen, is gehuwd met de dochter van Henrique Dias Milão, die in Amsterdam wonen*”: tr. “The following [Jews] are all trading along the coast of Guiné: Diogo Dias Querido, Duarte Fernandez, Manoel Thomas, Hieronymo Roiz [probably Jacob peregrino, whose Portuguese name was Jeronimo Rodrigues Freire], Diogo Nunes Belmonte, Diogo Roiz de Leão, the brothers Francisco Mendes and Christovão Mendes – all the above born in Porto; Jorge Vaz, Manoel Roiz Vega and Francisco Godinho, who live in Antwerp; Diogo Roiz, of Lisbon; Manoel Nunes de Mattos, who has come from Brazil, is married to the daughter of Henrique Dias Milão, who lives in Amsterdam”.

<sup>73</sup> Jean Denucé (1937), 42.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 76, Appendix 1.

ocean<sup>75</sup>. Given the many Brazilian connections of the Amsterdam community and the Sephardim of Senegambia, therefore, it must be probable that some of them had got to know Portugal on these voyages to and from Brazil. Thus, as with the cases of Fernam de Loronha and Duarte de Leão, pre-existing experience was crucial in forming trading networks and communities in the early Atlantic<sup>76</sup>. There was a longstanding knowledge of the African Atlantic in these families before the arrival on the scene of Soeiro.

Moreover, claims as to the role of Soeiro in the advance of the Sephardim of the *petite côte* are undermined by the fact that these Sephardim had no connection to the trade in slaves which traditionally formed the bedrock of the Caboverdean *asiento*. Almada said nothing of a trade in slaves in the area between Arrecife [Rufisque] and the Gambia<sup>77</sup>. In 1602, the Dutch sailor Dirck Ruiters noted that Arrecife was a centre of the trade in hides, amber and ivory, but said nothing of slaving<sup>78</sup>. Indeed, officials in Cabo Verde noted in 1616 that the foreign trade on the Guiné coast dealt mainly in wax, ivory, gold, amber and hides<sup>79</sup>, and the depositions made by the Amsterdam Sephardim to notaries as to their voyages to Guiné made it clear that their main trade was in hides<sup>80</sup>; where slaves were bought, these were for personal use only<sup>81</sup>.

All this suggests a need for caution in identifying the growth of the Sephardim here solely with Soeiro's contract. Soeiro's own *feitor*, Baltasar Lopes de Setuval, was based in

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<sup>75</sup> André Alvares d'Almada (1994), 35.

<sup>76</sup> See above, pages 124-125.

<sup>77</sup> André Alvares d'Almada (1994), 35-6.

<sup>78</sup> Cit. Nize Izabel de Moraes (1993), 70.

<sup>79</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 81, folio 2v: "*o que estes estrangeiros vão resgatar a costa de Guiné a troco do ferro e outras muitas cousas que levão he sera, marfim, ouro, ambar, couros...*": tr. "these foreigners go to purchase wax, ivory, gold, amber and hides on the coast of Guiné in exchange for iron and many other things that they bring".

<sup>80</sup> GAA, NA 62, folio 209r and *ibid.*, folio 218v; GAA, NA 129, folios 163-4; GAA, NA, 645, folio 887; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 174-5.

<sup>81</sup> GAA, NA 62, folio 206r; cit. Tobias Green (2005), 175. See also Amanda Sackur (1999: 53) on the relative lack of importance of this region for the slave trade.



Cacheu and not on the *petite côte*<sup>82</sup>; Cacheu, moreover, was the slaving capital of Guiné. Thus in fact, the Sephardic community of the *petite côte* was largely outside the orbit of Soeiro's contract, as were its dealings in Europe; it was thus also outside the norms of slaving, which, as far as the Jewish presence in the region was concerned, remained a crypto-Jewish activity.

### 1.3 The Crypto-Jews of Guiné and the Orientation of the Networks

The sources of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century were clear that there was also considerable Jewish activity in Cacheu. An account circa 1615 noted that in the port of the Rio São Domingos there was “a large number of white people and all of them [*cristãos novos*]”<sup>83</sup>. However, in contrast to the community led by Jacob Peregrino there was no open synagogue in the Rivers of Guiné. Portuguese influence extended to Cacheu, and thus the Jewish activity here was of necessity clandestine.

To the above denunciation of crypto-Jewish activity in Cacheu, more specific accusations can be added. Soeiro's *feitor*, Baltasar Lopes de Setuval, underwent trials subject to the Inquisition that were destroyed by his allies before being delivered to the authorities<sup>84</sup>, and was elsewhere denounced for declaring, blasphemously, that a religious procession was “as beautiful as a horse in a stable”<sup>85</sup>. Moreover, there appear to have been both commercial and

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<sup>82</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folio 600r.

<sup>83</sup> BA, Códice 56-VI-54, folio 146r: “”*Do rio de são domingos que he mais abaixo de joala aomde esta hũa Igreja que se chama nossa senhora do vencimento aomde vao todas os naos de registo e estão neste porto grande cantidade (sic) de gente bramca e toda da nação*”: tr. “below Joal on the River São Domingos is a church called *nossa Senhora do Vencimento* and it is here that all the registered ships go and in this port there are large numbers of white people and all of them are *cristãos novos*”.

<sup>84</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, 604r.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 600r: “*que saindo hũa ves a porsisão da ermida do bem aventurada Sancto Antonio, dicera Balthazar Lopes de Setuval publicamente na porsisão, que o benaventurado Sancto Antonio hia tão fermoso como hu cavalo na estrebaria*”.

human connections between the open and the crypto-Jews, with the notary of the *feitoria* in Cacheu said to be heavily involved with the Jewish community of the *petite côte*<sup>86</sup>.

This clandestine Jewish community coincided with the area which had become the centre for slaving operations in Guiné. The Rio São Domingos was said to be where all the slaving ships went<sup>87</sup>. Cacheu was called “the most important port in the whole area under contract because all the registered ships that go to buy slaves go to this port”<sup>88</sup>; even ships going to Cabo Verde and further along the West African coast stopped here to be refitted because of the excellent beaches<sup>89</sup>. The life histories of numerous witnesses to the Inquisition in Cartagena and Lima referred to their activity as slavers specifically in Cacheu<sup>90</sup>, and the extent to which Cacheu had superseded Ribeira Grande in the trade was revealed by a letter of June 30<sup>th</sup> 1616, in which the Governor of Cabo Verde Nicolão de Castilho – the nephew of Inquisitor-General and former Viceroy of Portugal Pedro de Castilho - noted how all these ships went direct from Cacheu to America<sup>91</sup>. Thus the area of Guiné in which Judaism was said to be practiced clandestinely – rather than openly - coincided with the area which was the centre for slaving operations.

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<sup>86</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folio 580r: a question in the list put to witnesses in this deposition made to the inquisitors was “*se sabem que algém tẽ neste porto de cacheu algũ dinheiro destes judeus e o nega porque o tal dinheiro pretence ao fisquo, pois he de Judeus que de Portugal fogirão, por medo da Santa Inquissição*”: tr. “if they know whether anyone in this port of Cacheu has any money belonging to these Jews or denies it because this money would belong to the state as belonging to Jews who have fled from Portugal for fear of the Holy Inquisition”; on Manoel Pinto d’Oliveira, the notary, see *ibid.*, folio 586r.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>88</sup> BA, Códice 51-IX-25, 88v: “*es este el mas importante Puerto que ay en todo este contrato porque todos los [naos] que van con registro a sacar negros par alas yndias van a este dicho Puerto*”.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*: “*y asi tambien los navios de cabo verde y otras partes vienen a este dicho Puerto por ser acomodado y tener playas muy buenas para concertar los navios*”: tr. “the ships of Cabo Verde and elsewhere come to this Port as it is comfortable and has very good beaches for marshalling the ships”.

<sup>90</sup> e.g. AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15, 12v; AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1621, Expediente 1, no. 1, folio 68v; AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folios 114v-115r.

<sup>91</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 70.

Of course, one must be very careful to differentiate between generalizations and specific evidence. The letters to the Crown were replete, in these years, with generic denunciations of “Jewish” activity<sup>92</sup>. Yet a careful examination of the evidence reveals the extent to which historians must take stock of the careful interplay between perception and reality. For in the Guiné there *was* a substantial Jewish presence at this time, one that was rapidly growing and linked into expanding Atlantic networks; and of these people it was indeed the crypto-Jews, rather than the Jews, who were involved in slaving activities, as is confirmed by analyzing the activities of the *asentista* Antonio Fernandes d’Elvas.

Elvas signed the contract for the *asiento* on October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1615<sup>93</sup>, and during his contract the slave trade to the Indies saw significant expansion. In the years 1617-1619 more slaves were exported across the Atlantic than ever before, and the trade became impossible to control<sup>94</sup>. Elvas held the contract for Angola as well as Cabo Verde, and the ships from Cabo Verde were directed far more at Cartagena than Veracruz<sup>95</sup>, with 40,000 slaves estimated as having been introduced between 1618 and 1624<sup>96</sup>.

Elvas came from a well-known *cristão novo* family from Madrid<sup>97</sup>. His wife, Elena Rodríguez de Solís, came from a *cristão novo* family prominently associated with the Portuguese pepper contracts for the East<sup>98</sup>. After the inception of the dual monarchy, Jorge Rodrigues Solís assumed the pepper contracts of Manoel Caldeira, father-in-law of the

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<sup>92</sup> The best known is the *lembrança* of the former Governor of Cabo Verde, Dom Francisco de Moura, on the condition of the Rivers of Guiné, which are “*ocupados, e cheos de gente da Nação*”: “full of *cristãos novos*”. MMA, Vol. IV, 698-704.

<sup>93</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1977), 50.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>95</sup> As becomes apparent from a reading of the evidence supplied by Vila Vilar (*ibid.*), 148-51, Appendices 3 and 4.

<sup>96</sup> Jorge Palacios Preziado (1975), 20: this figure consists of 29,574 slaves legitimately imported and an estimate of 11,800 brought by contraband.

<sup>97</sup> Hugh Thomas (1997), 164.

<sup>98</sup> James C. Boyajian (1993), 14.

Governor of Angola, Luís de Mendes Vasconcelos, an interest which he retained into the 1590s<sup>99</sup>; thus, Fernandes d'Elvas was connected to the heritage of international trading *crístãos novos* that bridged Europe, Africa, America and Asia.

Elvas quickly filled Ribeira Grande with his relations. On May 20<sup>th</sup> 1617, just 7 months after taking up the contract, his brother-in-law, Francisco da Cunha Sequeira, was the *ouvidor geral* (special magistrate) of Ribeira Grande<sup>100</sup>, while the same document shows that another of his brothers-in-law, Jeronimo Rodrigues Solis, participated in the slave trading that derived from Elvas's contract<sup>101</sup>. Moreover Elvas's network had numerous contacts in the Cabo Verde region, residents of both Ribeira Grande and Guiné, who were prepared to testify in their favour<sup>102</sup>.

It is likely that at least some members of this network were active crypto-Jews. There exists, for instance, a denunciation of the same Jeronimo Rodrigues Solis for crypto-Jewish activities in Angola, albeit from the later date of October 19<sup>th</sup> 1632; here, he was accused of praying in secret according to Jewish tradition<sup>103</sup>. Similarly, another of Elvas's brothers-in-law, Francisco Rodrigues de Solis, confessed to Judaizing in Cartagena, albeit this confession is unreliable as it was extracted under torture<sup>104</sup>.

The pre-eminent mercantile position of this network in the peninsula precluded the open profession of Judaism. Crypto-Judaism, therefore – for those who disavowed the official

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 16-9.

<sup>100</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 85.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid..

<sup>102</sup> Ibid..

<sup>103</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 221, folios 389r-390v.

<sup>104</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15, folios 19v-21r: the trial of Soliz unfortunately does not survive, and this information is drawn from the trial of another Judaizer, Manoel Alvarez Prieto. Soliz confirmed the bloodtie in his deposition in Cartagena in 1630 to a census of foreigners in the port (AGI, Santa Fe 56B, Expediente 73, no. 2: “No. 69: Francisco Soliz natural de la ciudad de Lisboa de edad de 40 años dijo que avia ocho (sic) que paso a la dicha ciudad de Cartagena por administrador del asiento de negros que Antonio Fernandes d’Elvas su cuñado avia tomado...”: tr. “Francisco Soliz from the city of Lisbon, aged 40, declares that about 8 years ago he travelled to Cartagena as administrator of the slave contract held by his brother-in-law Antonio Fernandes d’Elvas...”).

religion of Iberia – was the only practical possibility for members of *cristão novo* families who participated in the Caboverdean contract. Thus Manuel Rodríguez Lamego, who succeeded Elvas as holder of the *asiento* in 1623<sup>105</sup>, was connected to numerous crypto-Jewish families in northern Europe<sup>106</sup>, and his brother Antonio Rodrigues Lamego, who participated in the slave trade and was present in both Guiné and Cartagena<sup>107</sup>, was accused of Judaizing in Rouen in 1633<sup>108</sup>. Participation in the *asiento*, as it required participation in the Iberian world in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, required the profession of Catholicism, even if this at times masked a covert reversion to Judaic practice. Thus any slaver who was sympathetic to Judaism had, in practice, to live a religious double life, and to practice a code of secrecy.

#### 1.4 The Ethics of Openness

Such considerations on the activities of the crypto-Jews act as a counterpoint to enable us to place the activities of the Jews of the *petite côte* in a fuller context. While the communities of Portugal and Joal are not new to historians<sup>109</sup>, the scope of their activities has only recently

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<sup>105</sup> Hugh Thomas (1997), 165.

<sup>106</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1977), 113.

<sup>107</sup> AGI, Escribanía 632A, Pieza 1: “*en una nao nombrado nuestra señora del Rosario y San Rafael que con armazon de esclavos delos Rios de guinea arribo al puerto desta ciudad [de cartagena]. Benia con el maestro marcos mendez antonio rodrigues lamego persona q tuvo mano en el dicho navio aviendo cargado en ella secretamente en el puerto de cacheo en el dicho Rio de guinea ciento y cinquenta piezas de esclavos sin los registrar*”: tr. “In a ship called Our Lady of Rosario which came with a load of slaves from the rivers of Guiné to this city of Casrtagena. Travelling with it came the captain Marcos Mendez and Antonio Rodrigues Lamego who had a share in the ship having loaded 150 slaves secretly in the port of Cacheu”.

<sup>108</sup> Cecil Roth (1929), 126. For background investigations by the authorities into Lamego’s activities in Rouen, see ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI: *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles, Conseil de Brabant, Office Fiscal, dossier 924 bis*.

<sup>109</sup> António Carreira (1984), 44-7; Nuno da Silva Gonçalves (1996), 38-9; Jean Boulègue (1971, 25-7); Nize Izabel de Moraes (1972), 38-40.

been made plain in published research<sup>110</sup>. Now the material adduced here helps us to place the Sephardim of the *petite côte* in a much broader Atlantic context.

One of the most important aspects to emerge is that this *petite côte* community was not peripheral to the diaspora of Atlantic Sephardim. Simão Rodrigues d'Évora's presence in Portugal shows that the community was connected to the most influential elements of the Atlantic Sephardic network of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. And while this ties the community to wealthy trading houses of Lisbon, the presence of Pero Rodrigues Veiga ties it to the highest echelons of Amsterdam's Sephardim, for Pero was the brother of Manoel, who, as noted above, was the very first crypto-Jew to settle in Amsterdam<sup>111</sup>. Not only was Manoel instrumental in getting the Amsterdam synagogue up and running, but he was related to the important Lisbon trading house of *Manuel da Veiga e Irmãos*<sup>112</sup>. The extent to which the categories of "Jew" and "crypto-Jew" remained fluid at this time is revealed by the trading links of *Manuel da Veiga e irmãos* with Jorge Rodrigues Solis, connected by marriage to the Fernandes d'Elvas network<sup>113</sup>.

This Sephardic community is therefore not a tangential footnote to the evolution of the Amsterdam community, but an integral part of that community's Atlantic heritage. The community's significance derived from its position as a staging post not only for the trade of Guiné, but also for the whole African Atlantic<sup>114</sup>. The degree to which every level of the

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<sup>110</sup> António de Almeida Mendes (2004); Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta (2004); Tobias Green (2005).

<sup>111</sup> See above, page 169 n.1.

<sup>112</sup> J. Gentil da Silva (1956), Vol. 1, 3.

<sup>113</sup> J. Gentil da Silva (1956), Vol. 1, 165, 241.

<sup>114</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, Folio 643r: "*no cabo Verde ate Cabo Roxo...estão 15 ate 20 casas de portuguezes judeos q tem sua sinagoga aqual acuden muitos xpãos novos e judeos de diversas partes por respeito do Comercio é escala de toda a fazenda q resgatem e recolhem de toda aquella Costa de Guine, Congo e Angola para mandar a holanda...*": tr. "between Cap verde [the peninsula that is the site of Dakar] and Cap Roxo...there are 15 to 20 households of Portuguese Jews and they have their own synagogue to which many *crístãos novos* and Jews of diverse parts come for business reasons, and this is a staging post for all the goods which are obtained on this whole coast of Guiné, Congo and Angola and which are then sent to Holland".

Amsterdam community was involved in Cabo Verde in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century is revealed by the involvement of Abraham Farar with residents of the islands<sup>115</sup>: Farar was one of the elders of the congregation and among those responsible for the purchase of the Sephardic cemetery in Oudekerk<sup>116</sup>.

It is my contention that this developing correlation between the openness of Jewish religious observance and the type of trading activities undertaken was not merely contingent. The practice of crypto-Judaism went with the contraband that had come to characterise the slave trade<sup>117</sup>, since both crypto-Judaism and contraband required a sense of doubleness and deceit: a mantle of secrecy had cast itself over these activities, which would have important implications in the evolution of Atlantic networks in this period. By contrast, the geopolitical considerations which barred Dutch Jews from involvement in the slave *asientos* meant that in Judaism there was an increasing connection between openness of religion and non-slaving commercial practice, something which is best explicated through the case study of Diogo Dias Querido.

As noted above, Querido had had extensive experience of the sugar trade in Brazil in the 1580s and 1590s<sup>118</sup>. His activities in the sugar mill in Bahia required direct involvement with slaves. However, we also know that, once installed in Amsterdam, Querido showed what was deemed to be an unusual zeal in converting even his slaves to Judaism<sup>119</sup>; indeed, a shocked

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<sup>115</sup> GAA, NA 62, folio 181v: refers to a trading transaction by a Doctor Simão Lopes Rosa with agents in Cabo Verde called Maria Rodrigues and João Mendes; Lopes Rosa was the pseudonym of Farar (L.A. Rosa (1994: 13)). There are also numerous incidental details which reveal the extent of Amsterdam's activities in Cabo Verde, such as the capture of Diogo Vaz de Sousa's son by pirates in Cabo Verde (GAA, NA 62, folio 563).

<sup>116</sup> L.A. Rosa (1994).

<sup>117</sup> Thus in 1617, it was claimed that "for two years the ships which have gone from the Rio de São Domingos to the Indies have smuggled many slaves and much wax in order not to pay duties" – AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 85: "*as nãos que partirão do Rio de São Domingos pera indias de dous annos a esta parte levarão furtados aos direittos alem das peças que despacharão muytas mais e muyta sera...*".

<sup>118</sup> See above, page 172.

<sup>119</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 178.

visitor to the synagogue in Amsterdam in 1611, after meeting Querido, noted that “there were three blacks at the door of the synagogue, making a great fuss because the Jews had perverted (sic) one of their black friends and turned him into a Jew”<sup>120</sup>.

The existence of a significant mulatto Jewish population in Amsterdam in these years was noted above<sup>121</sup>, and the accommodation of Africans within Sephardic Judaism is further confirmed by the existence in the 16<sup>th</sup> century of a mulatto rabbi in Venice<sup>122</sup>, not to mention the presence of mulatto Jews within the community of the *petite côte*<sup>123</sup>. Nonetheless, Querido’s desire to proselytize his own slaves was regarded as abnormal<sup>124</sup>, and the changes in the laws governing the Sephardic community in Amsterdam up to 1650 shows that it ran counter to the prevailing, whitening currents in Europe.

However, if Querido’s behaviour was abnormal in Europe, it made greater sense within the Caboverdean context. An anonymous legal opinion of circa 1620 on the dangers of the *cristãos novos* reaching Perú via Buenos Ayres noted that a principal danger was that the *cristãos novos* might get the indigenous people to Judaize “as experience has shown that they have done in some parts of Guiné, where they have managed to teach Judaic ceremonies and rites to the gentiles”<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>120</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 130v: “*estavão a dita porta (da synagoga) tres negros fazendo grandes queixas de os dittos Judeus lhe avere pervertido hũ Negro seu companheiro e feito Judeu*”.

<sup>121</sup> See above, page 114 n.46.

<sup>122</sup> Itic Croitoru Rotbaum (1967), 251.

<sup>123</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 58, folio 154v; IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 202, folio 583v.

<sup>124</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 178.

<sup>125</sup> BL, Egerton 344, folios 98r-v: “*como por experiencia le tienen visto q hacen en algunas provincias de Guinea, adonde procuran enseñar las cerimonias y ritos Judaicos a los Gentiles*”.



As the principal shareholder in the disastrous trading expedition led by Jacob Peregrino in 1612<sup>126</sup>, Querido was heavily involved in the *petite côte* community, to which this document must refer. His previous career in Brazil suggests first-hand knowledge of the mechanics of slaving, and quite possibly of the African coast itself. Therefore an interesting correlation emerges, between Querido's life as a crypto-Jew in Brazil, in which he was involved in activities related to slaving, and as an open Jew in Amsterdam, where geopolitical considerations required that his trade with Guiné was not in slaves: it was during this latter period that he actively proselytized his personal slaves and tried to convert them to Judaism, in keeping with the activities of the Sephardic community on the *petite côte* itself, where, unlike prevailing conditions in Brazil or Europe, accommodation and openness to African values characterized the community.

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<sup>126</sup> GAA, NA 645, folio 887. Querido was, moreover, the financier behind other expeditions to the region in these years, such as that led by Simão and Estevão Rodrigues in 1611 – GAA, NA 62, folio 218v.

## CHAPTER TWO: IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICTS, 1600-1621

### 2.1 Crypto-Judaism: A New Trading Ideology in Caboverdean Space

Following the onset of Cabo Verde's ecological crisis in 1580, droughts continued to devastate the islands, with perhaps the most severe of all running from 1609 to 1611<sup>127</sup>. It was in the first decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century that Santiago definitively lost its function as a slaving entrepôt<sup>128</sup>. Jewish and crypto-Jewish activity – though not absent from the islands – was increasingly centred around Guiné.

The archipelago had, in fact, reached a real point of crisis, caused by a combination of the climatic disasters and political wrangles in Iberia. While 13 slaving ships called at Ribeira Grande in 1609, there were only 2 in 1613, and in the same period the Crown's receipts fell from 6,351,677 *reis* to 260,962 *reis*<sup>129</sup>. The drought did not help, but neither did the disputes between Portugal and Spain, with in 1611 the *consulado* in Seville attempting to force all ships from Cabo Verde to go to the Indies via Seville. This heavy-handed attempt to minimize the cost of importing slaves to the Indies succeeded merely in suppressing the legal trade and aiding the flourishing contraband<sup>130</sup>. The slaves from Cabo Verde remained those in highest demand<sup>131</sup>, but this attempt of the Iberian crown to strengthen its control in fact merely weakened its position.

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<sup>127</sup> See above, pages 139-140.

<sup>128</sup> Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão (1995), 35.

<sup>129</sup> António Carreira (1983), 37-41.

<sup>130</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1977), 44-5.

<sup>131</sup> Elizabeth Donnan (ed.) (1930), Vol. 1, 124: a document of 1614 in which Filipe II says that “as many [slaves] as possible [should be] taken from Cape Verde”.

In Ribeira Grande, conditions were stark. By 1612, inflation was rampant<sup>132</sup>, and the residents of the city were demanding to be allowed to use local cloth as a currency<sup>133</sup>. As the Governor Francisco Rodriguez de Sequeira wrote on July 25<sup>th</sup> 1613, “we are all faced with real poverty and the lack of money”<sup>134</sup>. Three years later, on March 14<sup>th</sup> 1616, four grandees of Ribeira Grande referred to the “misery and wants which the residents of this island have suffered from for years because of the lack of trade”<sup>135</sup>.

The requests for succour were ignored, however. By 1618, the island was “almost entirely extinguished and devoured” by miseries<sup>136</sup>. The excesses of the first settlers meant that there was almost no wood on the islands and the Jesuits had to import wood from Madeira to build their houses in Ribeira Grande<sup>137</sup>. The island repeatedly lamented the lack of trade and the continual by-passing of Cabo Verde by slaving ships, but to no avail: a pattern had set in which, by and large, was to continue<sup>138</sup>.

The combined impetus which these conditions of drought and failed royal control gave to the trade in Guiné abetted the flourishing contraband, with vast numbers of slaves being smuggled without the proper payment of duties<sup>139</sup>. Increasing numbers of prominent residents

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<sup>132</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 13: June 15<sup>th</sup> 1612, “*do crescimento em que na cidade [da Ribeira Grande] de Santiago da Ilha de Cabo verde vay os preços das cousas*”: “concerning the increase in the prices of things in Ribeira Grande on Santiago de Cabo Verde”.

<sup>133</sup> Antonio Carreira (1983), 45.

<sup>134</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 28: “*a suma pobreza e falta de dinheiro em que todos estamos*”.

<sup>135</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 65: “*miserias e necessidades que os moradores desta ilha a tantos anos padesen pello pouco comercio que nella ha...*”: the grandees were Diogo Ximenes Vargas, João Tavares de Sousa, Lucas de Barros and João Rodrigues da Costa.

<sup>136</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 86: “*quazi de todo extinta e consumida*”.

<sup>137</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 36, doc. 24, March 6<sup>th</sup> 1618: the import of wood is “*por nesta terra não aver madeira algũa*”.

<sup>138</sup> Nuno da Silva Gonçalves (1996), 46-7.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. also IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 36, doc. 7 (undated, circa 1621), which alleged that ships smuggled up to 700 slaves each: “*muito dos navios de registo em Guiné levão furtados cada hum aos direitos quinhentos e sete centos negros*”. See also AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 99, for accusations of Fernandes d’Elvas for smuggling in 1619.

from Santiago spent large parts of their time in Guiné<sup>140</sup>. Thus the participation of people from Santiago in the growing hidden trade of Cabo Verde involved their immersion in a commercial atmosphere of deceit and doubleness that accompanied the religious and economic orientation of Guiné's Atlantic trade at the time.

Yet while Cabo Verde was facing a crisis in these years, in Guiné things were altogether rosier. In addition to the long-standing links with Cartagena, a new link had been established with Buenos Aires in 1602 with wheat, salted meat and tallow being imported from the River Plate<sup>141</sup>. The Atlantic connections supplemented the long-standing links to North Africa, which continued in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century in the region south of the Gambia<sup>142</sup>. Guiné was comprehensively wedded to the Atlantic and to the Sahara, and the coast was flourishing: it was hither that those Portuguese with most capital went to trade, as business “was more profitable and much swifter to transact”, while those who had little with which to start went first to Santiago<sup>143</sup>.

It is important to grasp the contrast between the thriving coastal trade and the commercial despair of the islands in order better to situate the reports we have as to social change based around crypto-Judaism at this time. For it was in these same years, as the coast

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<sup>140</sup> One such was Diogo Ximenes Vargas, whose activities in Guiné were said by the *contratadores* to be at the expense of the terms of their contracts (see, e.g., AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 31, on a grievance held against Vargas by João Soeiro, on a ship “*que em Guine se tomou por perdida...*”). like the Gramaxos, Vargas sent slaves to Cartagena (Iva Cabral (1995: 249).

<sup>141</sup> A.P. Canabrava (1944), 52.

<sup>142</sup> Thus Barreira writes in 1606 of the marabouts selling slaves to the “Moors of Barbary” as well as to the Portuguese (Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (eds.) (1972: 29): “*tratam em escravos q vendem aos Mouros de Berberia e aos Portugueses destas partes...*”.

<sup>143</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 37, doc. 35, folio 31v: “*se o ditto Diogo Ximenes Vargas tivera o cabedal...nao fora necessaria hir o ditto Diogo Xez Vargas deste Reino a Ilha de Cabo Verde como fazem os que querrem comesse sua vida e fora direito a guine como fazem os mais mercadores que tem cabedal por le ser de maior proveito e muito mais breve o comercio*”: tr. “if Diogo Ximenes Vargas had had the capital...it would not have been necessary for him to go from this kingdom to Santiago de Cabo Verde, which is the practice of those who want to make a start in life; instead he would have gone straight to Guiné like those traders who already have capital, since this area is more profitable and trade is much swifter”.

comprehensively rose to pre-eminence in the Atlantic trade, that reports began to emerge of Jews proselytizing *cristãos velhos* in Guiné. Thus a list of questions to be asked of witnesses concerning the community of Jews on the *petite côte* included the accusation that the Jews were converting some “ignorant Christians” to their faith<sup>144</sup>. A subsequent deposition to the inquisitors was even more specific: “There are on this coast many men who are held to be Christians and trade and deal with these Jews making themselves Jews when they are with them and Christians among Christians”<sup>145</sup>; these men included Simão Torres, Diogo de Albuquerque, Henrique Soeiro, Gaspar dos Reis and Alvaro de Araugo<sup>146</sup>.

This evidence is corroborated by material from the Inquisition in Lima. Here, on June 14<sup>th</sup> 1636, Sebastián Duarte – the brother-in-law of Manuel Bautista Perez, accused of being the ringleader of Lima’s crypto-Jews – stated that he had been converted to Judaism in Guiné by Di[o]go de Albuquerque in 1619<sup>147</sup>. Moreover, the idea that an atmosphere was developing on the coast in which *cristãos velhos* were happy to adopt some Jewish practices is confirmed by a deposition to the inquisitors in 1641 by one Manoel Frago, who referred to “many Jewish practices he had seen performed by Jews [who were] baptized Christians [and] who claimed to be descended from the best families of Portugal”<sup>148</sup>.

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<sup>144</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folio 580r: “*se sabem que estes iudeus com sua brandora pretende trazer a sua opinião alguns cristãos ignorantes*”.

<sup>145</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 210, folio 455v: “*Ha na mesma costa muitos omens q são tidos por cristãos e tratão e comunição com eses judeus façendose entre eles judeus e entre cristãos cristãos*”.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid..

<sup>147</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 195v: “*estando en Ginea el año de 19 siendo el Reo de 18 años y despachando un almacen de mercaderias de un tio suio llamado Phelipe Rodriguez, le enseño la ley de Moisses un Diego de Albuquerque...*”: “being in Guiné in the year [16]19 when he was 18 years old despatching a store of goods belonging to his uncle Phelipe Rodrigues, a certain Diego de Albuquerque taught him the Mosaic law...”. Duarte later retracted this evidence and was condemned as a *negativo* (someone who refused to confess) and relaxed in the Auto of January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1639; however, evidence from other sources confirms his presence on this mission at this time (see below, page 224), which lends greater credence to the reliability of the evidence.

<sup>148</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 220, folio 352r: “*muitas juderias q vira fazer a judeus cristãos baptizados dizendo q decendião do melhor de portugal*”.

There is no question that the Jewish communities discussed here that were active on the coast had strong ties with the *cristãos velhos* who were also on the coast<sup>149</sup>. However it is my contention that these links were not merely commercial, and reflected wider currents of identity then being worked through in the Atlantic. The adoption by *cristãos velhos* of some Jewish practices reveals the strength of structural similarities perceived between Judaism and the African societies of Guiné, similarities which turned around the pivots of doubleness and ambiguity which we have examined in Parts I and II: the fact that in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century these perceived structural similarities paved the way for adoption of some Jewish practices shows that it was now that these similarities were ready to develop their most far-reaching effects for Caboverdean identity and its emergent Creole society.

In the first place, as we have seen, the structural similarities necessary to be both a crypto-Jew and an active *contrabandista* facilitated this adoption of some Jewish practices. But in the second place, Judaism, as the religion of otherness *par excellence* in the conceptual lexicon of the Portuguese, was perceived as an appropriate point of entry for Africa, a new otherness. Jews had always represented an adaptive people, since adaptation was a prerequisite of their diasporic condition<sup>150</sup>; thus, perhaps, it was seen by some that in order to adapt and succeed in Africa, it was necessary to become Jewish, or at least feign Jewishness. In this sense, we can perhaps see this adoption by *cristãos velhos* of some Jewish practice as a form of counter-cultural choice, in which it was not so much Judaism but the attitudes which went with

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<sup>149</sup> Felipa Ribeira da Silva (2004), 167.

<sup>150</sup> Fernand Braudel (1966), Vol. 2, 136: “*Les Juifs, où qu’ils soient, apparaissent à l’historien comme très capables de s’adapter au milieu ambiant. Ils sont les bons élèves de toute acculturation qui les prend en charge, ou simplement les rencontre*” : tr. “Jews, wherever they are found, appear to the historian as very capable of adapting to their surrounding milieu. They are good students of all sorts of acculturation which they encounter”. In India, for instance, the *Bnei Israel* spoke in Marathi, adopted local dress and also the caste barriers of their host culture: Dayan Dr Pinchas Toledano (20??: 8).

it in the early modern Atlantic that were of interest; in particular, the opportunity represented by the alienation that characterized the *cristão novo* (as opposed to Jewish) experience was particularly well matched to the quandaries and compromises which trade in the Atlantic required<sup>151</sup>.

This is not to say, of course, that the underlying structural similarities in the perceptions of the condition of Judaism and the condition of European traders in Africa was the only factor at work in these cultural choices by some *cristãos velhos*. The advanced levels of doctrinal learning among some of the Jews of the area must also have been a factor<sup>152</sup>, but what perhaps was of greatest importance was the sheer prevalence of Jewish and crypto-Jewish life; for numerous snippets of evidence would suggest that *cristãos novos* were so prevalent in Cabo Verde that these *cristãos velhos* who adopted some Jewish practices were assimilating to a predominant atmosphere among the Europeans of the region rather than leaping into a void.

The community's extent is best illustrated by the casual nature with which the *cristão novo* presence is revealed. Thus a copy of a prayerbook used by the communities of the *petite côte* was handed over to be dispatched to Lisbon by "Simão Lopes *cristão novo* and resident of the [said] Island of Santiago"<sup>153</sup>. The prayerbook had been given to Lopes by the *ouvidor geral*, but this was not a surefire method of ensuring its dispatch to the peninsula, since Lopes was the brother of Diogo Lopes Ferreira<sup>154</sup>, who in a separate deposition to the inquisitors in 1617 was said to be suspected of holding Sabbath night services for some of the other *cristãos novos* of the island (perhaps, indeed, this very same prayerbook might instead have been handed over for

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<sup>151</sup> See above, pages 134-135.

<sup>152</sup> Jean Boulègue (1972), 58.

<sup>153</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 156r: "*Simão Lopez xpao novo morador na dita Ilha de Santiago*".

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*.

use in these very same services)<sup>155</sup>. The people said to attend these services included Lopes Ferreira's brother-in-law, Jeronimo Lopes Velho<sup>156</sup>; however, when the Governor, Francisco de Sequeira, attempted to gather evidence by placing a spy outside the house of Lopes Ferreira, "as there are few secrets in that city word got out and from then on they stopped meeting at the usual time"<sup>157</sup>.

This evidence is not, of course, conclusive, but it does testify to the atmosphere of Santiago at the time, and that there were Jewish elements at least perceived to be active on the islands as in Guiné. This is confirmed by the words of a royal investigator to the archipelago in 1623, who, somewhat cryptically, said that, with regard to his instructions for investigating the *cristãos novos* of the island "I did nothing because in the fourth chapter of my letter [of instruction] the subject is put in such a way that I did not understand it"<sup>158</sup>.

As so often, case studies reveal the complexity and extent of the connections between the *cristão novo* and *cristão velho* elements of Caboverdean society. Thus João Rodrigues da Costa, one of the executors of the will of Diogo Ximenes Vargas<sup>159</sup> and an important business associate of his<sup>160</sup>, was later denounced to the Inquisition in Lima for being a proselytizing Judaizer in this period<sup>161</sup>. João Rodrigues da Costa's relative, Francisco – also denounced in this

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<sup>155</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folio 229r: "*em casa de hũ Diogo lopes Ferreira cristão novo se ajuntavão ordinariamente as sextas ferias a tarde algũs dos homẽs da nação hebreã que vivem naquella ilha...*".

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.. Also cited are Alvaro Coresma, Alvaro Dias Santiago, Antonio Mendez Peixoto and Pedro Anriques.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.: "*como naquella terra he pouco segredo divulgouse a murmuração do ajuntamento e daly por diante não se ajuntarão naquella hora costumada*".

<sup>158</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 2, Doc. 19, dated January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1624 (i.e. referring to investigations of 1623): "*Do q toca a gente da Nação não pude tomar informação porq no quarto capitulo da carta se fala de maneira na materia que nao pude entender qual elle era*".

<sup>159</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 37, doc. 21, folio 1v. For consistency's sake, I use the Portuguese spelling, but it should be noted that Spanish documents refer to the family as Rodriguez de Acosta.

<sup>160</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 65: a letter signed by Da Costa and Vargas, together with two others.

<sup>161</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 222v: Juan [João] Rodrigues Duarte (whose career is traced below, pages 298-305) "*confeso ser judio y aver guardado la ley de moyses enseñado en guinea por un Francisco rodriguez de acosta y juan Rodriguez de acosta su yerno y alvaro goncalves frances...*": tr. "confessed to



deposition in Lima as a proselytizing Judaizer – was also involved in Vargas’s trading transactions as he was owed money on Vargas’s death in 1624<sup>162</sup>. Meanwhile, another of Vargas’s associates was Ambrosio Dias Rabelo<sup>163</sup>, almost certainly related to the Gonçalo Dias Rovalo later accused of Judaizing by witnesses in Lima<sup>164</sup> and who died a Jew on the *petite côte* after a flawed circumcision operation<sup>165</sup>.

Thus although there is no evidence that Ximenes Vargas himself was a crypto-Jew, he unavoidably mixed in circles where crypto-Judaism was active. Trading circles were concentrated increasingly around the coast, but the atmosphere in which crypto-Judaism was rife embraced the whole of Caboverdean space. This suggests that the conversion of some of the *cristãos velhos* was in fact a part of a trading survival strategy, and that crypto-Judaism had become necessary for commercial success, and that the secrecy which was part and parcel of crypto-Jewish identity had helped to create a network which governed commercial practice in the region: something of this sort is certainly intimated by the source which describes some *cristãos velhos* as Jewish among the Jews and Christian among the Christians.

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being a Jew and to have kept the law of Moses having been taught in Guinea by one Francisco Rodrigues de Acosta and his son-in-law Juan Rodriguez de Acosta and Alvaro Goncalves Frances”.

<sup>162</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 37, doc. 22, folio 1v: “*devia a Francisco Rois da Costa a pagar nas Indias 170.000rs.*”: tr. “he owed 170,000 rs. to Francisco Rodriguez da Costa payable in the Indies”. The precise relationship between Francisco and João remains unclear. In his denunciation to the inquisitors Rodrigues Duarte says that Francisco is João’s father-in-law, but an account of 1641 states instead that the two men were brothers (AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, document 45: “*João Roiz da Costa deve em sivilha a Antonio Nunes Gramaxo cinco mil cruzados por seu irmao Francisco Roiz da Costa...*”: tr. “João Rodrigues da Costa owes Antonio Nunes Gramaxo 5000 cruzados in Seville via his brother Francisco Rodrigues da Costa...”). Given the similarity of the surnames, a fraternal relationship is perhaps the more likely.

<sup>163</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, docs. 7 and 28.

<sup>164</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 115v: he was accused by Antonio de Espinoza, relaxed in the great Auto da Fé of 1639, who declared “*en [la auto da fe] q le avia enseñado la lei de Moisses en guinea Gonçalo Diaz Rovalo...*”: tr. “in the Auto that he had been taught the law of Moses in Guinea by Gonçalo Diaz Rovalo”.

<sup>165</sup> António de Almeida Mendes (2004), 149. Another of this family on the coast was Gaspar Dias Roballo (sic) who lived in Cacheu (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folio 481r).

This is really to suggest that to some degree crypto-Judaism was becoming the pre-eminent religion of the Caboverdean trading diaspora. In a famous paper on trading diasporas within West Africa, Cohen, noted how “ a diaspora must define its membership and its sphere of operation by defining its identity and exclusiveness within the contemporaneous setting”<sup>166</sup>; moreover, he added, in its development, a diaspora “may develop its own ideology”<sup>167</sup>. A shared ideology is crucial to the success of a trade diaspora, as trust and communication spring from understanding and not separation by cultural barriers<sup>168</sup>. In West Africa, Islam formed the pre-eminent trading ideology for the *juula* trading diaspora – which reached the coast at the mouth of the Gambia – and it is clear from the considerations that have emerged in this discussion that, in the early decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, crypto-Judaism was coming to fulfill a similar role, and that it was the *de facto* religion of trade for the Atlantic orientated groups of Caboverdean space.

This development of crypto-Judaism as a diasporic trading religion in Caboverdean space was also to be of central importance in emerging creolization. For commercial exchange was a key agent of the process of creolization. Indeed, Trajano Filho has called this the principle agent of creolization in Guiné, and argued that the social, cultural and linguistic changes which encompassed creolization here were parallel to the development of a commercial diaspora<sup>169</sup>. Trade requires the exchange of cultural ideas as well as material goods in the reaching towards a communication; thus those involved in commerce are those most involved

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<sup>166</sup> Abner Cohen (1971), 271.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>168</sup> Philip D. Curtin (1975), 60.

<sup>169</sup> Wilson Trajano Filho (2003), 15.

with cultural exchanges<sup>170</sup>. If, as we have seen in this chapter, the role of crypto-Judaism in forging that diaspora was central, then clearly crypto-Judaism was an essential force in the emergence of creolization in Guiné.

The notion of crypto-Judaism as a diasporic religion of trade in this era appears at first an utterly counter-intuitive assertion. Judaism remained taboo in Portugal in this period, and the notion that people would choose to adopt some of its practices seems peculiar. Yet the weight of evidence is difficult to gainsay, and this pattern needs to be considered not within the framework of a dominant *cristão velho* culture, but within a pattern where that culture's pre-eminence was being challenged. As we will now see, people were attracted to Judaism because the secrecy and doubleness which life in the Atlantic required did not sit comfortably with the rigid worldview of the peninsula: the rise of crypto-Judaism as a diasporic trading religion therefore reflected a wider rebellion against a conceptual hegemony whose tenor was increasingly foreign to the new worlds being created in the Atlantic.

## 2.2 The Politics of Caboverdean Sedition

These considerations emerge in a richer light when Portuguese concern about the Jewish networks in Cabo Verde is considered. The *lembrança* of former Governor Francisco de Moura is a famous example of these attitudes<sup>171</sup>. The *cristãos novos* of Guiné “publicly declare that they are just as much the lords of those parts as are the kings of Portugal”<sup>172</sup>. They live “without

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid; such traders become in effect, as Filho says here, cultural intermediaries.

<sup>171</sup> See above page 185 n.92.

<sup>172</sup> MMA, Vol. IV, 698: “*publicamente dizem que naquellas partes são tão senhores como os [senhores] de Portugal*”.

obedience, or fear”<sup>173</sup>, and “the maliciousness of these businessmen and their greed has grown all the time to the benefit of their profits and interests, robbing the duties owed to the estate of Your Majesty by scheming and artifice”<sup>174</sup>.

Once again, economic concerns seem paramount. Economic conflicts of interest between Cabo Verde and Guiné accompanied a retreat into familiar accusations. Thus as the economic situation on the islands worsened, the familiar stereotypes were revisited. Moura’s statement that the coast was “full of *cristãos novos*”<sup>175</sup>, and the Jesuit Sebastião Gomes’s assertion a few years later that “the whites who go there [to the coast] are usually *cristãos novos*”<sup>176</sup> reflect how far this embattled stereotype had gone in shaping the social realities of Guiné<sup>177</sup>.

Moreover the rise in accusations against *lançados* as *cristãos novos* needs to be set in the context of a situation where many of them were adopting African customs, in opposition to the type of mentality which had sought to create a “ghetto of purity” through the formation of Cacheu. By 1606, the *lançados* were happily trading with the Marabouts south of the Gambia for slaves<sup>178</sup>. In 1612, the Portuguese Antonio Rodrigues Casquo was accused of involvement in the funerary rites of a king near Bissau and of having lived among the Pepels for 20 years without attending confession<sup>179</sup>. And the English trader Richard Jobson, in the Gambia in 1623, noted how a Portuguese called “Gonsalvos” who lived far inland had been apprised by a griot of

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 699: “*sem obediencia, nem temor*”.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 704: “*A malicia dos homens de negoceo, e sua cobiça foi crescendo para acrecentamento de seus ganhos e interesses, roubando e diminuendo com traças, e invencões os direitos que se devem, á real fazenda de V. Magestade*”.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 698.

<sup>176</sup> MMA, Vol. V, 233: “*os brancos que lá vão serẽ de ordinaria Christãos novos...*”.

<sup>177</sup> See above, pages 100-102.

<sup>178</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (eds.) (1972: 29): the Marabouts “*tratam em escravos q vendem aos Mouros de Berberia e aos Portugueses destas partes...*”.

<sup>179</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, folios 601v-602v.

Jobson's coming the night before and had prepared for their arrival, so that when Jobson arrived there was a sumptuous breakfast prepared<sup>180</sup>.

Thus we see that the process of assimilating the ambiguity of the *lançados* with that of the *cristãos novos* that we noted in II:3 was accelerated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>181</sup>. The very etymology of the word “*métis/mestizo*”, meaning multiple or protean<sup>182</sup> – that is, between worlds – stresses how agents such as the *lançados* were seen. Of course, the similarity in some – but not all – of the denunciations of *cristãos novos* and *lançados* of this period means neither that all *cristãos novos* were *lançados*, nor that none of them were, but that in the minds of their adversaries in Cabo Verde the two categories were fluid and interchangeable<sup>183</sup>.

This assumption of the interchangeability of *cristãos novos* and a category of people largely assumed to be *cristãos novos* is not unknown to the Iberian mentality of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Tax collectors in Spain were still all assumed to be of Jewish origin at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, even when they were not<sup>184</sup>; in Guiné, *lançados* were perceived as Judaizers even when they were *cristãos velhos*, and this very assumption helped to shape the atmosphere in which they were willing to embrace crypto-Judaism.

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<sup>180</sup> David P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair (eds.) (1999), 159. Whatever the truth behind this assertion, it reveals that this Gonsalvos was intimately acquainted with local practice.

<sup>181</sup> Malyn Newitt (1992), 50-1.

<sup>182</sup> Peter Hulme (1985), 21.

<sup>183</sup> The testimony of Manuel Alvares c. 1616 on the *tangomãos* may usefully be taken as an example. It is testimony for which, in other times and places, the word “Jew” could simply be used as a substitute for “*tangomão*”: These people “*coopera[ndo] com o gentio idolatra no culto, e Sacrificios de sua falsa Religião*”: tr. “cooperating with the idolaters in the cult and sacrifices of their false religion”. They are “*lançados...da graça do Senhor, de cujas almas tão longe está a joya preciosa, como perto da Divina Justiça*”: tr. “*lançados...from the grace of the Lord, their souls as far from precious jewels as they are near to divine justice*”. They are all “*omes Idolatras, perjuros, desobedientes ao Céu, homicidas, sensuões, ladrões da fama, do credito, do nome dos innocentes, da fazenda, traidores, lançando-se nos apertos com as Pirátas, levando as suas Nãos aonde costumão surgir, e resgatar as Nossas Embarcações, gente sem direito, nem avêco, sem respeito mais que ao proprio appetite, semente do inferno*”: tr. “idolaters, perjurers, disobedient to the heavens, murderers, sensual, thieves of the fame, credit and name of the innocents, thieves of property, traitors, throwing themselves open to the pirates and taking goods to their ships wherever they appear, people without law or respect for anything but their appetites, seed of the devil”. SG, *Etiópia Menor...*, folio 16r.

<sup>184</sup> Henry Kamen (1965), 17.

This dynamic, moreover, occurred within a wider pattern where expected patterns of domination and hegemony were subverted. In Guiné trade remained under the control of the African kings. An anonymous account of the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century noted how the Portuguese were impotent to stop the king of Portudal from protecting the Jews of the *petite côte*<sup>185</sup>, and that for 14 leagues up the River São Domingos the north bank of the river was controlled by “Jalofos [this is an error on the author’s part] who are not tamed even now so that whenever a ship is lost there they steal everything and enslave the crew”<sup>186</sup>. An undated account of Cacheu from a similar period refers to the frequent battles with the Pepels<sup>187</sup>, and the “tyrannies of the blacks and the robberies that they continually commit against the whites”<sup>188</sup>, which are usually committed “by night stealing slaves from the houses of the whites and ornaments from the churches”<sup>189</sup>.

The Portuguese presence on the coast was thus at the pleasure of local potentates. Yet this position was extremely difficult for the Portuguese to accept. In attempting to resist this pattern of their subordination, some Portuguese traders sought to forge alliances with the Mande *juula* traders of the Gambia, apparently on the basis that this group shared their values of purity and superiority, and perhaps also on the basis of their common otherness to societies in Senegambia<sup>190</sup>. Yet the collapse of Mali by this time and the *juula* traders’ comparative

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<sup>185</sup> BA, Códice 51-IX-25, folio 87v.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., folio 88v: “*todas estas catorce leguas de la banda del norte son de jalofos gente que asta agora no esta domada y quando se pierde algun navio roban todo y cautiban la gente*”.

<sup>187</sup> BA, Códice 51-VI-54, folio 143r: “*Esta pouca terra está muitas vezes de guerra com o gentio vizinho que he gente esforçada e animoza e peleiaço...*”.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., folio 143v: “*tirantias dos negros e dos Roubos que de continuo fazem aos brancos*”.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., folio 144r: “*de noite levando as peças de caza dos brancos furtados e os ornamentos das igrejas...*”.

<sup>190</sup> SG, *Etiópia Menor*, folio 10v: “*Como são peregrinos, e verdadeiros mercadores, são grandes amigos nossos...[es] esta familia geralmente lustrosa, e de boa indole, que de ordinario, sempre he tal daquelles, aquem não tocou veneno da liga do sangue estrangeiro*”: tr. “as they are wandered and real traders, they are great friends of ours...this people are generally shiny and of good temper, so that ordinarily among them they will not touch the poison of a link to foreign blood”. Cf. also Walter Rodney (1970), 81.

isolation within the mosaic of peoples of Guiné could not reverse this dynamic; the failure of this alliance of “pure bloods” to ameliorate the Portuguese position reinforced the point that the conceptual lexicon of the Portuguese worldview, and Portuguese domination itself, seemed far distant in Cabo Verde.

In II:2 I suggested that the lack of Portuguese control in Guiné encouraged the subversion of *cristãos novos* who found themselves there in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>191</sup>. It becomes clear that some of the processes identified as behind this subversion in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were extended in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is within this context that the adoption of some Jewish practices by some *cristãos velhos* should be put: the limits of the Iberian worldview were now accepted not only by its traditional enemies – the *cristãos novos* – but also by others who lived in the region at this time. Where the domination of the persecuting society broke down, genuine choice and rebellion against its imposed categories could begin.

By 1620, the cultural influence of crypto-Judaism in Cabo Verde (and open Judaism, on the *petite côte*) was very broad. It was no coincidence that the boom in the seditious philosophy coincided with a genuine crisis for Portuguese order on the archipelago, which hitherto had been the seat of the Portuguese attempt to dominate Caboverdean space. Ribeira Grande had become a city of fear by the early 1600s<sup>192</sup>, and witnessed a string of tyrannical governors whose actions probably reflected the social breakdown around them as much as their own characters<sup>193</sup>.

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<sup>191</sup> See above, page 130.

<sup>192</sup> See e.g. MMA, Vol. IV, 161 for Barreira’s formulation from August 1606: “*Neste tempo nem os moradores se dão por seguros na cidade...*”: tr. “in these times not even the residents feel safe in the city”.

<sup>193</sup> The worst of these was Francisco Lobo de Gama, who had continual run-ins with the clergy in Ribeira Grande, sending armed gangs into churches and throwing the Archdeacon into prison (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folios 110r-113r). Subsequently, Francisco Rodrigues de Sequeira was accused of a whole string of excesses in 1614 (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, doc. 35).

Traditional social structures collapsed as the *cristão novo asentistas* refused to pay the clergy<sup>194</sup>. Ecological crises merely worsened matters; the Mandingas of Gambia sent food to help during the famine of 1609<sup>195</sup>, making the idea of Portuguese dominance laughable.

Thus Cabo Verde was experiencing an important change in identity, and all categories were under strain; in 1620 a decision was made in Portugal to exile female white convicts to Cabo Verde, and not Brazil, in an attempt to be done with the mulatto “race”<sup>196</sup>: and thus traditional scapegoats were, like identities, mutating and adopting a protean form in the African Atlantic.

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<sup>194</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 1, docs. 18, 30., 107.

<sup>195</sup> SG, *Etiópia Menor...*, folio 8v.

<sup>196</sup> Daniel A. Pereira (1988), 62.



**CHAPTER THREE: CRYPTO-JUDAISM IN THE ATLANTIC, 1621-1640**  
**CASE STUDIES OF AFRICAN- AND AMERICAN-CENTRED NETWORKS**

**3.1 An African-Centred Network: The Gonçalves Frances/Barrassa Connection**

The process of identity-formation in Cabo Verde, and the role played by crypto-Judaism as a religious ideology for an emergent trading diaspora, only takes on the richest interpretative potential, however, when placed within the wider context of how such processes were being worked through in the pan-Atlantic dynamic. The networks identified in III:1 and III:2 were not isolated to Cabo Verde and the African Atlantic, but were part of a much broader picture which meant that the developing consciousness and identity in which crypto-Judaism was so important during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century in Cabo Verde was integrated into a pan-Atlantic context. Once again, case studies are essential if we are to grasp the development of these processes, and I shall begin by looking at a detailed African-centred network.

In the history of Caboverdean *cristãos novos*, the name of Alvaro Gonçalves Frances looms large. The documentation to be found in the correspondence of the *Conselho Ultramarino* suggests that he must certainly have been a *cristão novo*, and possibly a Judaizer. Yet as Moraes notes, this documentation, while revealing something of his origins, leaves large lacunae regarding his activities<sup>197</sup>

One aspect cited by Moraes as suggestive of Frances's crypto-Judaism is a dispute between Frances and Antonio de Proença, Captain of Cacheu, in 1622. The conflict revolved around Frances's refusal to attend church with Proença, with Frances claiming along with other residents of Cacheu that "for that touching the service of the King and the defence of [Cacheu]

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<sup>197</sup> Nize Izabel de Moraes (1995), 300.

he would assist with his men and slaves, but when it came to accompanying [Proença] to church he [Proença] would have to show a royal provision which obliged [Frances] to do this”<sup>198</sup>.

Frances was for a time Captain of Cacheu, but this was a cause of great scandal given his *cristão novo* origins, and he was accused of trading with the enemy<sup>199</sup>. He was arrested and taken by ship to Santiago, where he was imprisoned in Ribeira Grande<sup>200</sup>. However, Frances evidently had a strong network of contacts on the islands as well as on the coast, as he rapidly engineered an escape from the jail on a passing ship said to be taking salt from Sesimbra to Brazil, making his getaway with the help of signs made by lanterns which allowed him to escape by night<sup>201</sup>.

This evidence in the *Conselho Ultramarino* shows that Frances was widely accused of being a *cristão novo* and that his attitude towards the church was at the least questionable. This much is known to historians and has been discussed, as are the activities of his son, Jorge, who married in Cacheu and integrated into African life, so much so that his wife Crispina Peres was hauled before the inquisitors of Lisbon as a witch in 1667<sup>202</sup>. Yet nothing has hitherto been said about the strength of Frances’s Jewish roots and their possible influence on his behaviour.

In his testimony to the investigation into the dispute between some of the residents of Cacheu and Proença, Frances declared that he was originally from Cabeça de Vide, near

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<sup>198</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 4, folio 11r, June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1622: “*que no tocante ser de serviço se Sua Magde e defenção desta povoação [de Cacheu] a fazião com suas pessoas e escravos mas para o acompanharã a Igreja quelle mostrasse provisão por onde os obriguasse a isso*”. These events are cited in Nize Izabel de Moraes (1995), 303.

<sup>199</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 21, dated December 19<sup>th</sup> 1635: “*Alvaro Gonçalves Frances que se diz ser homem da Nação muito Revoltoso...tratando e comercendo com os enemigos e outras cousas nao menos graves...*”: tr. “Alvaro who is said to be a very rebellious [*cristão novo*]...dealing and trading with the enemies and involved in other matters which are no less serious”. This document is published in Maria da Graça Garcia Nolasco da Silva (1970), Vol. 25, no. 100, 549.

<sup>200</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. August 11<sup>th</sup> 1634.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid..

<sup>202</sup> For a detailed analysis of this case, see Philip Havik (2004b), 149-62. See also below, pages 314-315.

Fronteira<sup>203</sup>. As Moraes notes (without elaborating further), he had connections to Cartagena<sup>204</sup>, and in fact the documentation from the *Conselho Ultramarino* declares that his son-in-law and heir, Manuel Alvarez Prieto<sup>205</sup>, had died there as a Judaizer at the hands of the Inquisition<sup>206</sup>. The trial of Alvarez Prieto reveals that matters are not quite so clear-cut, as Alvarez Prieto, having confessed to Judaizing, then retracted his confession and died after being tortured without having confessed further<sup>207</sup>. However, in the genealogy he provided to the inquisitors, Alvarez Prieto confirmed that he was the son-in-law of Frances and that Frances was originally from Cabeça de Vide<sup>208</sup>, where he himself had been born<sup>209</sup>; moreover, Alvarez Prieto's daughter Leonor subsequently attempted to have her father's sentence of *relajado* revoked in order to recover the confiscated goods, and in so doing repeated the fact that her father had been born in Cabeça de Vide<sup>210</sup>, while some of the witnesses in the case referred to the fact that Alvaro Gonçalves Frances had also been born there<sup>211</sup>. Yet although in his inquisitorial trial Alvarez Prieto retracted his confession as a Judaizer, and his daughter attempted to stress that

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<sup>203</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 4, folio 12r.: “*Alvaro Gonçalves Frances natural da Cabeça da Vide ora estante nesta povoação...*”: tr. “Alvaro Gonçalves Frances born in Cabeça de Vide, now present in this town...”

<sup>204</sup> Nize Izabel de Moraes (1995), 300.

<sup>205</sup> Although the documentation refers to him as “Preto”, his case is best known in its Hispanic context and so I stick to the Castillian spelling.

<sup>206</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 27, Anexo 1: “*Morreo Alvaro Gonçalves Frances em Guine foi seu erdeiro hũ seu genro per nome Manoel Alvares Preto o qual morreu na Inquisiçao de Cartagena convençido por Judeo...*”: tr. “Alvaro Gonçalves Frances has died in Guiné and the beneficiary of his will is his son-in-law Manuel Alvarez Prieto who died in Cartagena as a Jew”.

<sup>207</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15, folios 2-111.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., folio 41r: “*Mujer e Hijos: Ana Frances hija de Alvaro Gonzalez Frances y de Leonor Nunes vecinos que an sido de Lisboa aunque el dicho Alvaro Gonzalez Frances fue natural de Caveza de Vide...*”: tr. “Wife and children: Ana Frances daughter of Alvaro Gonzalez Frances and of Leonor Nunes formerly residents of Lisbon although the said Alvaro Gonzalez Frances was born in Caveza de Vide”.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., folio 36r.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., folio 191r.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., folio 203v.

both her father and Gonçalves Frances were *cristãos velhos* and not *cristãos novos*, this testimony was thrown out by the inquisitors of Seville, who refused her petition<sup>212</sup>.

The documents from his son-in-law's trial as a Judaizer can leave us in no doubt, then, that Alvaro Gonçalves Frances came from this small town in the Alentejo (as he himself declared in the 1622 evidence in Guiné). And although Alvarez Prieto's retraction of his confession means that the strength of crypto-Judaism must be seen as open to question on the basis of this trial alone, the possibility that there was a current of crypto-Judaism in the family may explain why, when providing his details for a census of foreigners in Cartagena in 1630, Gonçalves Frances declared that he had been born in Lisbon, not Cabeça de Vide<sup>213</sup>: the experienced investigator of inquisitorial testimony may suspect that there was a dangerous past here, something which the rest of this chapter will confirm.

In fact, in this document from Cartagena, Gonçalves Frances's mendacity extended to his age, for he stated that he was 63 years old, which would put his year of birth as 1567<sup>214</sup>. In the evidence given in 1622 in Cacheu concerning his dispute with Proença, Frances had merely declared that he was "over fifty years old"<sup>215</sup>. This choice of words would seem to imply that he is not much over fifty, and probably not fifty-five, as he would need to have been had he been

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid., folios 191-224.

<sup>213</sup> AGI, Santa Fe 56B, expediente 73, no. 2: An *abecedario* of foreigners in Cartagena – "*Alvaro Gonçalez Frances natural vecino y casado en la ciudad de Lisboa...vino a la ciudad de Cartagena por enero de seiscientos y veinte y nueve del lugar de Cacheo de los rios de guinea...*": tr. "Alvaro Gonçalves Frances originating from and resident in Lisbon...came to the city of Cartagena in January 1629 from Cacheo in the rivers of Guiné".

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.: "*de 63 años*".

<sup>215</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 4: "*disse ser de idade de mais de sinquoenta annos...*" - the document is dated June 22<sup>nd</sup> 1622.

born in 1567. And in fact, the baptismal records of Cabeça de Vide suggest that he was born in January 1571, not 1567<sup>216</sup>.

This identification is not without its problems. The baptismal records for Cabeça de Vide only begin in 1570, and thus the entries for 1567 cannot be examined. Moreover, the “Frances” family name does not appear in this child’s parental surnames. Yet numerous people – including Gonçalves Frances’s own grandson<sup>217</sup> – changed their family names when in the *Ultramar*<sup>218</sup>, and many pressing considerations suggest that this identification is the correct one, the first point of interest being that one of this child’s godfathers is a Barassa<sup>219</sup>; there were many Barrassas in Cacheu, and the Barrassa and Gonçalves Frances clans were said in Cabo Verde to be related<sup>220</sup>: here is evidence that this is correct, and that the relation refers at least to Alvaro Gonçalves Frances’s baptism in Cabeça de Vide.

A second vital consideration is that a brother of this child baptized in 1571 was called Jorge, who was baptized on October 13<sup>th</sup> 1580<sup>221</sup>. This is the same Jorge who confessed freely within the period of grace to the inquisitors of Goa in 1610 that he had Judaized for ten years

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<sup>216</sup> ADP, Paróquia de Cabeço de Vide, Registos de Bautismos, Cx. 1, Maço 1B, folio 18v: “aos vinte he cinco dias de Janeiro [de 1571] baptizei eu Manoell guollario ha allvaro filho de Joam goncalvez he de issabel diaz padrinhos belchior barassa he issabel gracia...”: tr. “On January 25th 1571 I Manoell Guollario baptized Alvaro the son of Joam Goncalvez and Issabel Diaz with the godparents Belchior Barassa and Issabel Gracia...”.

<sup>217</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 52, folio 3v: refers to a Dioguo Barraça Castanho, son of Alvaro’s son Jorge Gonçalves Frances.

<sup>218</sup> E.g. IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 244, folio 421r: a denunciation of João de la Porta in Brazil, who was called João Pireira in Portugal.

<sup>219</sup> ADP, Paróquia de Cabeço de Vide, Registos de Bautismos, Cx. 1, Maço 1B, folio 18v: “padrinhos belchior barassa...”.

<sup>220</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 74: “os brancos [de Cacheu] são ao mais seis em numero, e parentes todos...e nao he de pouca consideração a advertencia dos officiaes de Camara de que esses seis sao todos homes da nação hebreia...”: tr. “the whites [of Cacheu] are no more than 6 in number and all of them are related to each other...and it is not a matter of minor consideration to the officials of the council that all these 6 men are [cristãos novos]”.

<sup>221</sup> ADP, Paróquia de Cabeço de Vide, Registos de Bautismos, Cx. 1, Maço 2B, folio 1r: “Treze de Outubro de mil e quinhentos e oitenta bautizou o padre e prior Frei Francisco Mendez a Jorge filho de João Gonçalves e de Isabel Diaz, foi o padrinho o Licenciado Manuel Alvarez, Promotor de Queiluz...”: tr. “On October 13th 1580 Friar Francisco Mendez baptized Jorge the son of João Gonçalves and Isabel Diaz, with the godfather being Licenciado Manuel Alvarez, the fiscal of Queiluz...”.

between 1597 and 1607, and whose evidence reveals that the family was *cristão novo*<sup>222</sup>. Since Alvaro Gonçalves Frances called his own son Jorge, thereby implying a fondness for the name, and this Jorge from Goa is the brother of the child baptized in 1571, this is strong circumstantial evidence both that this identification from the baptismal records is correct, and that there were strong Judaizing tendencies in this family, just as the inquisitors of Cartagena suspected in the case of Manuel Alvarez Prieto.

The crowning consideration demonstrating that Gonçalves Frances is this child baptized in 1571 comes from the evidence on Alvarez Prieto. For in his trial evidence, Alvarez Prieto stated that he was 42 or 43 years old in 1636, which would put his birth at 1593/4<sup>223</sup>. Yet the baptismal records of Cabeça de Vide for these years reveal no boy called Manoel with the parents who are cited by him and his daughter Leonor, Juan Gonçalves Prieto and Maria Gutierres<sup>224</sup>. There is, however, a certain “Manoell, daughter of Britiz Riga and a father who she refuses to name, whose godfather is Alvaro Gonçalves...”<sup>225</sup>. By this time, the Alvaro Gonçalves baptized in 1571 would have been 22 years old, well able to act as a godfather, and the parents cited by Alvarez Prieto must have been adoptive of this child (though whether or not he was aware that his parents were adoptive is, of course, a moot point).

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<sup>222</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 369, folio 35r: “*Jorge Goncalves soldado Portugues xn natural da cabessa de vide Bisgado delvas da idade de 29 annos...confessou q averia 13 annos sendo ensinao por certa pessoa conjunta sua errada na fee, se apartava de nossa Sta Fee e se passava a lei de Moises tendo para si q era boa, esperãdo salvarse nella, e não na de christo Nosso Senhor, em q não cria...*”: tr. “Jorge Goncalves a Portuguese soldier and a *cristão novo* originating from Cabeça de Vide in the see of Elvas, aged 29 years...confessed that 13 years ago being taught by one of his companions who erred in faith that he should leave our Holy Faith for the Mosaic law, and holding this law to be good and hoping to save himself in it, and not in that of Christ Our Lord...”. It is the consonance of this Jorge’s age with the age of the child being baptized which confirms the identification.

<sup>223</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15, folio 36r. The document says “Goncalez”, but I use the Portuguese spelling to keep consistency with Alvaro’s surnames.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, folios 40v, 191r.

<sup>225</sup> ADP, Paróquia de Cabeço de Vide, Registos de Bautismos, Cx. 1, Maço 2B, folio 211r: “*Aos dous dias do mes de novẽbro de 1593 annos bautizou o frei Joam da Costa a Manoell filho de Britiz Riga o pai a mai não diva padrinho Alvaro Gonçalves...*”: tr. “On November 2<sup>nd</sup> 1593 Fray Joam da Costa baptized Manoell the daughter of Britiz Riga who refused to give the name of the father, the godfather being Alvaro Gonçalves...”.

This piece of evidence confirms the complex web of blood ties spanning the Atlantic which bound Gonçalves Frances and Alvarez Prieto. Gonçalves Frances, as both the godfather and father-in-law of Alvarez Prieto, was comprehensively tied in to events in Cartagena, and thus the career of this well-known captain of Cacheu cannot be isolated from its transatlantic context. Yet my identification of him as having been born in 1571, not 1567, is not a matter of pedantic point-scoring, but also touches on the deeper causes of his presence in Caboverdean space. For there were, in fact, very good reasons why Gonçalves Frances would not have wanted his true origins always to emerge, particularly somewhere like Cartagena – where he lied as to his age and origins<sup>226</sup> – in which there was a tribunal of the Inquisition. He had what the inquisitors would have termed “a record”, having been reconciled in the *Auto da Fé* in Évora of June 12<sup>th</sup> 1594 as a Judaizer and abjured *de vehementi*<sup>227</sup>. Thus both he and his brother Jorge had Judaized in their youth, and there can be no doubt that the accusations levelled at him by his adversaries in Cabo Verde were broadly accurate.

This brings us to the separate, but related question, of the reasons for Gonçalves Frances’s presence in Guiné in the first place. Someone in his position, who had been reconciled by the Inquisition, suffered from severe social disadvantages, with all sorts of career avenues barred for them and their descendants<sup>228</sup>. Following the granting of the *perdón general* to

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<sup>226</sup> See above, page 210.

<sup>227</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 9, folio 264r: “*Catalogo delle personi che furno sententiate nelle Auto delle sede e reconciliazione d’heretici fatta in evora Domenica alli 12 de Giugno 1594...Alvaro Gonsalvez chirst. novo di Caveça de Vide per giudeo...*”: tr. “Catalogue of people who were sentenced in the Auto de Fe and of the reconciliation of heretics made in Evora on Sunday June 12<sup>th</sup> 1594...Alvaro Gonsalvez, *crístão novo* of Cabeça de Vide for Judaizing...”. Although both “Alvaro” and “Gonçalves” are common names, the Alentejano town of Cabeça de Vide is so small that it is extremely unlikely that this document can refer to anyone else of the same name, especially as it confirms that, like his brother Jorge, this defendant is a *crístão novo*.

<sup>228</sup> The records of the Iberian Inquisitions are filled with examples of this; visitors often censured the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of *reconciliados* or *relajados* for such crimes as wearing silk or carrying a dagger (see e.g. AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 2022, Expediente 18, folios 2r-4r, for a visit by the tribunal of Murcia to Hellin in 1587), while there are cases of investigations stretching back 7 generations in order to prove that a candidate for a post in

Portugal's *cristãos novos* in 1604, it was easier for someone such as Gonçalves Frances to leave the peninsula<sup>229</sup>, and in this position, somewhere like Cabo Verde would have seemed highly attractive.

However the key factor in Gonçalves Frances's career appears to have been that there was already a familial tie to the region. For it will be recalled from II:1 that there was a *cristão novo* from Fronteira called Diogo Barassa in Cabo Verde in the 1550s<sup>230</sup>, and that Gonçalves Frances's godfather was a Barassa. Given the fact that Barassa is a relatively unusually surname, and that Fronteira is only 13 kilometres from Cabeça de Vide, this Diogo Barassa must have had blood ties to Gonçalves Frances's godfather Belchior Barassa; moreover, as we shall see below, there is very strong evidence that one of Gonçalves Frances's relatives in Cabo Verde, also called Diogo Barassa, also came from Fronteira<sup>231</sup>, and – just to make things as confusing as possible - it should also not be forgotten that one of the *earlier* 16<sup>th</sup>-century Diogo Barassa's relatives on Fogo was called Alvaro Gonçalves<sup>232</sup>!

Such almost uncanny correspondences over two generations may indeed suggest that the blood ties between the Barassa and Gonçalves families of the Fronteira/Cabeça de Vide region went back much further than merely to Belchior Barassa being Alvaro Gonçalves Frances's godfather, and that the career of Diogo Barassa in Cabo Verde in the 16<sup>th</sup> century may have encouraged Alvaro Gonçalves Frances to seek his fortune here in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thus personal

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the Inquisition had ancestors who had previously fallen the wrong side of the inquisitors (see e.g. AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 265, Expediente 5, where in 1669 the inquisitorial prosecutor traced back the ancestry of Luis de Aguilera to 1531 to prove his unsuitability for a post in the Tribunal of Toledo).

<sup>229</sup> Moreover, in 1601, the *cristãos novos* had paid Filipe II 200,000 ducats for permission to go to the *Ultramar*, which remained in place until 1610: Seymour B. Liebman (1971), 477-8. For a good account of the politics of the *perdón general*, see James C. Boyajian (1993), 91-2.

<sup>230</sup> See above, page 111.

<sup>231</sup> See below, pages 219-220.

<sup>232</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 157: see above, page 147.



ties in the Alentejo and the Caboverdean experience of family members, together with the pariah status of a *reconciliado*, all prompted Gonçalves Frances's decision to forge his career in Cabo Verde.

Gonçalves Frances was ensconced in the region by 1616 at the latest, and at this stage his business was related to the contract of Soeiro for slaves<sup>233</sup>. Numerous sources confirm that slaving was his principal activity. Manuel Alvarez Prieto married Gonçalves Frances's daughter Ana in Lisbon in 1628<sup>234</sup> having arranged the wedding with him in Cacheu<sup>235</sup>, and then left Iberia for Guinea to take a shipment of slaves to Cartagena in 1629<sup>236</sup>. Soon he was ensconced in Cartagena where he acted as his father-in-law's agent in Cartagena for slaves<sup>237</sup>. By 1630, another of Gonçalves Frances's trading associates in Cartagena, Juan Rodriguez Mesa, was

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<sup>233</sup> AGI, Contratación 800, no. 15, folios 55v-56v: "*Traslado del rremate que se hizo de cinco negros que estan depositados en las manos de alvaro goncalvez frances y Duarte Lopez Rosa por pertenecer a Juan Soeiro contratador q fue deste contrato de Guinea...*": tr. "Copy of the auction of 5 slaves deposited in the hands of Alvaro Gonzalez Frances and Duarte Lopez Rosa as belonging to Juan Soeiro the former contractor for Guiné". Dated June 15<sup>th</sup> 1616.

<sup>234</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15: in 1636, Alvarez Prieto said he had been married for 8 years (folio 41v), and that he had married in Lisbon (ibid., folio 56r).

<sup>235</sup> Ibid., folio 203v, where Simón Rodriguez Bueno declares that Alvarez Prieto arranged the marriage in Guiné: "*fue a guinea, y alli se concerto de casar con hija de Alvaro Goncalvez frances...*": tr. "he went to Guiné and there arranged to marry the daughter of Alvaro Gonzalez Frances...").

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 56v: "*luego torno a yr a Sevilla donde residio hasta que se embarco para Guinea y desde alli vino con una fregata con Armacon de negros a esta ciudad...*": tr. "then he returned to Seville where he lived until he set sail for Guiné and from there came with a frigate of slaves to this city". That this was in 1629 is confirmed by the account book of his associate, Juan Rodriguez Mesa, for 1629 (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 19, folio 19v: "*por ocho piezas de esclavos que dejo manuel alvarez prieto por mi cuenta...*": tr. "for 8 *piezas* of slaves which Manuel Alvarez Prieto left on my account").

<sup>237</sup> AHN, Inquisición 1609, Expediente 17, no. 1: this is a civil case against the estate of Manuel Alvarez Prieto, which makes reference to "*Andres Dias Montesinos Persona, que truxo aesta ciudad una armazon de negros de los Rios de Guinea que le entrego Alvaro Gonzalez Frances, para que en esta ciudad la entregasses al dicho Manuel Alvarez Prieto su yerno...*": tr. "Andres Dias Montesinos a person who brought to this city a shipment of slaves from the rivers of Guiné given to him by Alvaro Gonzalez Frances, so that he should give them in this city to his son-in-law Manuel Alvarez Prieto". Folio 4r.

sourcing most of his slaves from the Cabo Verde region<sup>238</sup>, the slaves being dispatched by Gonçalves Frances<sup>239</sup>.

Gonçalves Frances shipped his slaves through contacts on the coast of Guiné, and there were frequent accusations of contraband in these vessels<sup>240</sup>. One of his main allies on the African coast was Diogo Barassa, and the two men made trading expeditions together to Cartagena from their base in Cacheu<sup>241</sup>. Like Gonçalves Frances, Diogo Barassa is a shadowy figure in the history of Guiné; a careful unpicking of the documentary record reveals, however, a similar trajectory to that of his colleague.

Like Gonçalves Frances, Barassa was involved in the shipment of slaves to Cartagena. After one of these expeditions, Barassa went on to Seville, where he was arrested in 1635 for having traded illegally in the Indies<sup>242</sup>. Barassa claimed that he had gone on a legally registered ship from Cacheu to Cartagena, after having lived for 12 years in Guiné before earning enough money to buy four small slaves and take them across the Atlantic to sell<sup>243</sup>.

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<sup>238</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15, folios 20-29.

<sup>239</sup> The business connections between the two men are confirmed by the Inquisition of Cartagena's record of its confiscation of Rodríguez Mesa's goods, which includes money sent by Alvaro Gonçalves Frances: see AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1601, Expediente 26, folio 2v.

<sup>240</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A: *Comisión de Investigación en Fraudes de los Navios*, Cartagena, 1641. A ship of 1635 includes a list of the slaves that died on the Middle Passage, including several belonging to Gonçalves Frances (e.g. folios 58v, 60r).

<sup>241</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folio 29r. This is a copy of a letter from the crypto-Jew Blas de Paz Pinto to Tomás Rodríguez Barassa, a resident in Cacheu, dated October 13<sup>th</sup> 1635, in which Pinto states that he has paid his debt to Barassa through the auspices of Alvaro Gonçalves Frances and Diogo Barassa: "*lo que venia devendo a VM pago al Señor Diego de Varassa y al Sr. Alvaro Gonzalez Francdes que eran las personas a quienes tenia que pagar...*".

<sup>242</sup> AGI, Contratación 5737, Expediente 12, Ramo 1: "*el Señor presidente estando visitando en la ciudad de Sant Lucar el navio nonbrado nuestra señora de las mercedes que vine de tierra firme por passagero mando que me presentasse ante V.S. porque siendo portugues pase a las yndias...*": tr. "the president visiting the ship Our Lady of Mercy in the city of San Lucar in which I came from America ordered that I should present myself before your excellency as being Portuguese I went to the Indies...". **NB: THERE ARE NO FOLIO NUMBERS ON THIS DOCUMENT.**

<sup>243</sup> Ibid..

This was a blatant lie, as the Inquisition had discovered in Cartagena. There, Barassa had attempted to impersonate Pedro Francisco – the captain of the licenced ship he claimed to have accompanied when arrested in Seville – and when unmasked had stated that this was because Francisco had died in Cacheu<sup>244</sup>. This was not Barassa’s only piece of deceit, since he had also claimed that there were 100 slaves on the ship, before soon admitting that in fact there were a further 300 slaves coming “outside the register” [i.e. contraband]<sup>245</sup>. But the inquisitorial officials were more interested in the search for banned books than for contraband slaves, and, finding nothing prohibited, allowed Barassa entry, where one of his associates was none other than Manuel Alvarez Prieto<sup>246</sup>.

Thus Barassa was comprehensively wedded to the doublethink required for contraband in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of the greatest ironies of his evidence to the authorities in Seville is his claim of poverty since he was one of the most powerful Portuguese residents in Cacheu, who held semi-official status<sup>247</sup>. His relative and ally Tomás Rodrigues Barassa shared in his trans-Atlantic links<sup>248</sup>, and traded with the important crypto-Jewish merchant of Cartagena Blas de Paz and Sebastián Duarte, the crypto-Jew relaxed in Lima in 1639<sup>249</sup>.

Thus all members of the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network in Guiné had extensive contacts with crypto-Jews who died at the hands of the American Inquisitions. Moreover, it is plain that there was an active level of crypto-Judaism among these African-centred networks. In

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<sup>244</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folios 5r-7r.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., folios 6r, 7r.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., folios 11v (on the lack of banned books), 7v-9r (on Alvarez Prieto’s involvement).

<sup>247</sup> BA, Códice 51-VIII-22, folio 120r – a provision of December 24<sup>th</sup> 1628 which declares “[Ao] Thomas Roiz e Diogo Barrasa...[ha de]conceder mais hum anno para q possão tornar a este Reino das partes de Guiné aonde estão, reformando a fiança que tem dado...”: tr. “A concession of a further year’s residence in Guiné should be given to Thoams Roiz and Diogo Barassa, in modification of the security that they have given...”.

<sup>248</sup> On their being relatives see AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 52.

<sup>249</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folios 2r, 32v.

addition to the string of denunciations to the *Conselho Ultramarino* and the evidence of the inquisitorial experiences of Alvaro and Jorge Gonçalves, evidence from America confirms the crypto-Jewish orientation of this group.

Thus Gonçalves Frances's associate in Cartagena, Juan Rodriguez Mesa, denounced Gonçalves Frances as a Judaizer when interrogated in Cartagena (although this evidence was extracted under torture)<sup>250</sup>. This piece of evidence was corroborated by the deposition of Juan Rodrigues Duarte in Lima, who declared (also under torture) that he had been converted by Gonçalves Frances among others<sup>251</sup>. Meanwhile Manuel Bautista Pérez, the alleged ringleader of Lima's crypto-Jews was said by Antonio de Acuña to have said that "the Barrassas are Jews who observe the Law of Moses"<sup>252</sup>.

Such denunciations certainly lend weight to the crypto-Jewish credentials of the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network. The beliefs of the crypto-Jewish networks in America remain hotly debated, and some authors see the famous *autos* of the 1630s and 1640s as part of a Spanish commercial conspiracy precipitated by envy of Portuguese success in the Americas<sup>253</sup>. However, close attention to these individuals does lead towards the supposition of attachment to some elements of Judaism. Thus it is perhaps not coincidental that among the goods confiscated by the Inquisition from Juan Rodriguez Mesa were 36 hats, which could have been used as a

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<sup>250</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1021, folio 13r.

<sup>251</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 222v; see also AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 42r, an *abecedario* of the people denounced by the crypto-Jews of Lima which includes 1 citation of Gonçalves Frances (probably referring to this one of Rodrigues Duarte).

<sup>252</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 35r: "*que los barrassas son judíos observantes de la ley de Moises*".

<sup>253</sup> This, for instance, is the argument of Yara Nogueira Monteiro (1992). Nathan Wachtel (2001a: 85-6) sees instead a rational scepticism as substantially underpinning the worldview of Manuel Bautista Pérez in Lima, while accepting that there was a Jewish aspect to his activity (95).

form of head covering such as is prescribed by Judaism<sup>254</sup>. Moreover, one of the formulations of Blas de Paz Pinto in his letter to Tomás Rodríguez Barassa of October 12<sup>th</sup> 1635 – “*Alavo a Dios*”<sup>255</sup> – was a variant of a prayer which had been recited by converted Jews in Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>256</sup>, and also of a favoured prayer of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, the famous crypto-Jew of Mexico who declared his Judaism as he marched to the stake and was burnt in the great Auto of 1649<sup>257</sup>.

Thus the denunciations from the American Inquisitions bolster the case that Gonçalves Frances was a Judaizer. Two unanswerable additional factors confirm the validity of this hypothesis. The first is that Alvaro Gonçalves Frances was connected to the emergent Sephardic community of Amsterdam. In 1618, the executors of the will of Andre Fernandes Viegas, a member of the Amsterdam community, were instructed that Viegas had died in Cacheu and left ten slaves with Gonçalves Frances<sup>258</sup>. Moreover, it may not be a coincidence that Gonçalves Frances’s earliest recorded companion in Cacheu, Duarte Lopes Rosa<sup>259</sup>, bore the same surname as the pseudonym – Simão Lopes Rosa – of Abraham Farar, one of the elders of the Amsterdam congregation who, as noted above, had established contacts in Cabo Verde<sup>260</sup>.

The second factor is the inquisitorial trial of one Diogo Barassa from Fronteira. This Diogo Barassa was arrested on May 23<sup>rd</sup> 1616 and accused by 5 separate witnesses of

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<sup>254</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1601, Expediente 26, folio 1v.

<sup>255</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1608, Expediente 24, folio 25v: “...*alavo a Dios para server a VM...*”.

<sup>256</sup> Haim Beinart (1974), 258: one of the prayers recited by the crypto-Jews of Ciudad Real in the 1480s was “*Alabado sea Adonay*”: tr. “God be praised”.

<sup>257</sup> Sobremonte’s son testified that his father had taught him a prayer which included the sentiments “*Alabad al Señor todas las gentes; alabad al Señor todos los pueblos*”: tr. “All nations praise the Lord; all peoples praise the Lord”. See Arnold Wiznitzer (1971b), 144.

<sup>258</sup> GAA, NA 381, folios 480r-v.

<sup>259</sup> AGI, Contratación 800, Expediente 15, folios 55v-56v.

<sup>260</sup> See above, page 189.

Judaizing<sup>261</sup>. As if to confirm the links between the crypto-Jewish communities of Fronteira and Cabeça de Vide, two of the witnesses came from the latter town, and moreover Barassa himself had been born there<sup>262</sup>. Although at first denying the charges, Barassa eventually confessed that he had been a Judaizer ever since the time of the *perdón general* in 1604. Then, when threatened with torture, he confessed that about 7 years previously he had discussed Judaism with a certain Alvaro Gonçalves of Cabeça de Vide, and that both had agreed that they were Jews<sup>263</sup>.

Barassa was eventually reconciled and sentenced to wear a penitential habit in Fronteira, but the authorities there complained that he was not doing so and he was summoned in 1620. Shortly afterwards Barassa begged the inquisitors to be allowed leave of absence for one or one-and-a-half months, since the trial had made him so poor that he needed to seek financial help from a relative in Lisbon<sup>264</sup>.

The similarities between this case and the details of the individuals we have been following on the coast of Cabo Verde make it overwhelmingly probable that these are the same. In his trial in Évora, Diogo Barassa confirms his blood ties with Gonçalves, and the end of his trial – 1620 – fits well with the time of the Caboverdean Barassa’s first arrival in Africa, since on his arrest in Seville in 1635 he said he had been living in Cacheu since 1623<sup>265</sup>. Moreover Barassa declared in this testimony that he arrived penniless in Cacheu, which coincides with the

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<sup>261</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Évora, Proceso 5035. **NB: THIS TRIAL HAS NO FOLIO NUMBERS.**

<sup>262</sup> Ibid..

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.: “avera sette anos pouco mais ou menos...no limite de fronteira, [se achou] com Alvaro Gonçalves xpão novo morador em cabeça de vide o qual se da por parente delle declarante mas não sabe se o he, nem em que grao, e...vindo a fallar nas cousas da ley de Moyses...disserão hum ao outro q criam e vivião na ditta ley, e nella esperavão salvarse, e que era bom por honra della guardar os sabbados de trabalho...”: tr. “about seven years ago...on the parish limits of Fronteira, with Alvaro Gonçalves *cristão novo* and resident in Cabeça de Vide, who is said to be a relative of his even though he [Barassa] does not know if he is, nor how closely related they are...they came to talk about the Mosaic Law...and both said to one another that they believed in and observed the said Law, and hoped to save themselves through it, and that it was a matter of honour to keep the Sabbath and not work on Saturdays...”.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid..

<sup>265</sup> AGI, Contratación 5737, Expediente 12, Ramo 1.

letter to the inquisitors of Évora after his trial, and although in Seville he said this was because the ship in which he had been travelling had been wrecked<sup>266</sup>, this fib is understandable if he had really sailed to escape further investigations by the inquisitorial authorities. His denunciation of Gonçalves might seem to sit oddly with the subsequent alliance of the two men, were it not for the fact that Gonçalves was already in Africa in 1616; this denunciation can be interpreted as an attempt by Barassa to give more names to the inquisitors in the knowledge that it would probably not lead to trouble for the person denounced<sup>267</sup>.

All these considerations reveal the extent of this network's Jewish roots in Portugal and its connections across the Atlantic. Yet this deciphering of the roots of the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network all but falls foul of Brion Davis's admonition that "in trying to determine who was or was not a covert Jew, the historian comes perilously close to acting like the Inquisition"<sup>268</sup>. I would argue, however, that in this case this approach is justified, for the deciphering of this network is crucial for an understanding of crypto-Judaism in Cabo Verde and the role of Cabo Verde in the emergent Atlantic.

It is clear that the people discussed here came to Cabo Verde as a place of escape. The region was, then, seen as beyond effective Portuguese control, and it was within this context that the persecuting culture of the Inquisition – at the hands of which all these people had suffered – could be rejected<sup>269</sup>. This rejection necessarily involved the willingness to adopt the customs of

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid..

<sup>267</sup> This trial also reveals an important piece of evidence that there are in fact two Diogo Barassas on the coast of Cabo Verde at this time, this individual – who states that he is 37 in 1616, i.e. born circa 1579 – and Diogo Barassa Frances, who was 25 years old in 1637 (see AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folio 37v). The fact that the elder Diogo Barassa first arrived in Guiné circa 1623, when Diogo Barassa Frances would have been just 11, makes it very unlikely that the two are the same individual.

<sup>268</sup> David Brion Davis (1994), 15.

<sup>269</sup> Thus a *parecer* on the *homens de nação* circa 1620 implied that if they were expelled from the Iberian dominions they would be most likely to go to Guiné, and that for this reason strong forts should be built there to

their new host culture, and so members of this network gradually Africanised over the succeeding generations<sup>270</sup>. But in doing so they brought with them the heritage of doubleness and international vision that was the birthmark of crypto-Jews in the Atlantic, as people who were forced by circumstance into a culture of deceit, and who had brought this culture to their religious and commercial practice as they explored the opportunities of the complex status which force and circumstance had conferred on them: as three-footed crypto-Jews who had one foot each in Africa, Europe and America, but were, perhaps, truly at home nowhere.

### **3.2 The African Connections of Famous Crypto-Jews of America: Manuel Bautista Pérez and the Duartes**

One of the leading figures of the now well-studied crypto-Jews of 17<sup>th</sup>-century America<sup>271</sup> was Manuel Bautista Pérez, the so-called *gran capitán* of the Jews of Lima in the 1630s. Bautista Pérez came to the attention of the inquisitors after a single denunciation on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1634 led to the accusation of the entire Portuguese merchant community of Lima for crypto-Judaism. By May 1638, there were 83 prisoners accused of involvement in the “*gran complicidad*”, and 110 further people had been questioned. The culmination came with the great

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prevent them from taking control (BL, Egerton 344, folio 78r): “*Lo que se deve prebenir en las conquistas para que esta expulsion se haga con seguridad y quietud. 45. Conbiene prebenir a tiempo q en los Rios, Bahias y mas partes escogidas de Guinea...se hagan fortalezas a lo moderno de tapia y ladrillo, como se fabrican en flandes por modelos de ingenieros, los quales escogen el sitio fuerte, y con agua dulce cerca de la mar...y q estas fortalezas tengan treynta o quarenta pieças de bronce con ocho o diez de alcance, y las muniçiones neçessarias...sepa V Magd q del dia q llegaren a seis meses se passaran todos a do mas pueda prejudicar al serviçio de V. Magd [i.e. Guiné]*”: tr. “What must be arranged in the overseas conquests so that this expulsion is done with security and peace. No. 45: The rivers, bays and districts of Guiné must be prepared ahead of time with modern forts built of brick, such as those made in Flanders on engineers’ designs, sited in a strong location with fresh water supplies and near to the sea...these forts will need 30 or 40 pieces of bronze with a reach of 8 to 10? and the necessary munitions...since Your Majesty must know that within 6 months of the provision all those who can will go to where they can most damage your interests [i.e. Guiné]”.

<sup>270</sup> See above, page 217 for Alvaro’s son Jorge. See also BA, Códice 51-VI-21, folios 280r-v on the African sympathies of Tomás Rodríguez Barassa and Diogo Barassa Frances.

<sup>271</sup> See above, pages 19-20.



*Auto da Fé* in Lima of January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1639, in which 11 Judaizers were relaxed, including Bautista Pérez<sup>272</sup>, who was the richest merchant in Lima<sup>273</sup>.

However Bautista Pérez, in common with the rest of those accused of crypto-Judaism in the Americas, has been studied almost exclusively within his American context. In general, the crypto-Jews of America are studied with barely any reference to their African connections. The main exception to this is Israel, who has noted that these communities did have some connections to Africa<sup>274</sup>, while Wachtel noted in passing that Bautista Pérez had made one voyage from Cacheu to America before settling in Lima<sup>275</sup>. However, as Havik remarks, the “African continent is almost absent” from research on the diaspora of the Atlantic *cristãos novos*<sup>276</sup>.

In fact, numerous documentary references can fill out our understanding of the African connections of the American *cristãos novos*. What emerges is that just as the African-centred networks of Gonçalves Frances and Barassa had frequent and long-standing contacts with America, so the American-centred networks under Bautista Pérez and his brother-in-law Sebastián Duarte had extensive contact with and knowledge of Africa.

The chain of evidence begins with Sebastián Duarte, who, like Bautista Pérez, died in the *Auto* of 1639. In his own evidence, Duarte stated that he had been converted in Guiné in 1619 by Diogo de Albuquerque<sup>277</sup>. As noted above, this accusation is consonant with other

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<sup>272</sup> For a discussion of these events and of the 1639 *Auto* which followed them, see e.g. Boleslao Lewin (1960: 53-5), George Alexander Kohut (1971), 13-5, Paulino Castañeda Delgado and Pilar Hernandez Aparicio (1995: 388-413), Rene Millar Carvacho (1997: 140-53).

<sup>273</sup> For a thorough study of the library and collection, see Nathan Wachtel (2001a), 85-6.

<sup>274</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1992), 365-6; *idem.*, (2002), 99-106.

<sup>275</sup> Nathan Wachtel (2001b), 153; *idem.*, (2001a), 81.

<sup>276</sup> Philip Havik (2004), 103-4.

<sup>277</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 195v and also AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 164v.

evidence that Albuquerque was a crypto-Jew<sup>278</sup>, and its plausibility is enhanced by further documentary evidence. Thus in his trial in Lima, Duarte claimed that he had come on a ship with his uncle Phelipe Rodrigues<sup>279</sup>; while such evidence was extracted under torture, it is broadly the same account of his arrival in America that Duarte had given for a census of foreigners in Cartagena in 1630<sup>280</sup>. Moreover Rodrigues's presence in Cartagena in this period is confirmed by an investigation that was made into the Portuguese in Cartagena in 1620, where he stated that "his only trade was to come to [Cartagena] with ships of slaves from Guinea"<sup>281</sup>. The evidence of Duarte's uncle Rodrigues given here strongly suggests deep-rooted ties with the African coast; this is confirmed by a document that shows that circa 1616 Rodrigues was in Cacheu and holding slaves on deposit for the former *contratador* João Soeiro<sup>282</sup>.

Arriving in Lima, Duarte became an associate of Bautista Pérez and married his sister. Like Duarte, Bautista Pérez had connections with Guiné, but these were not limited to the one extended stay in 1618/9 identified by Wachtel<sup>283</sup>. In fact, Bautista Pérez made 4 or 5 journeys to

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<sup>278</sup> See above, page 195; moreover, Albuquerque was accused by one witness of trading with the open Jew Jacob Peregrino (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 210, folio 455v).

<sup>279</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 195v.

<sup>280</sup> AGI, Santa Fe, 56B, Expediente 66: "*Sebastián Duarte...de edad de treinta y seis años dixo que el de seiscientos y diez y siete [1617] llevo a la dicha ciudad de Cartagena por la via de los rios de Guinea en un navio de el capitan Phelipe Rodrigues su tio que avia traído armaçon de esclavos...*": tr. "Sebastián Duarte...aged 36 states that in 1617 he reached the city of Cartagena via the rivers of Guiné in a ship whose captain was his uncle Phelipe Rodrigues which brought a shipment of slaves...".

<sup>281</sup> AGI, Escribanía 589A, Pieza 15, folio 7r: "*se llama Felipe Rodrigues y q el es de edad de quarenta y siete años poco mas o menos y que de presente no tiene oficio ninguno q negociar venir a esta ciudad con navios de esclavos de guinea...ha quatro años q vino a esta ciudad con licencia de su magestad por maestre de un navio de negros...*": tr. "his name is Felipe Rodrigues and he is approximately 47 years old and at present he has no trade except to bring ships of slaves from Guiné...4 years ago he came to this city with permission from the king as captain of a slave ship". The document is dated January 4<sup>th</sup> 1620, which would place his arrival in 1616. Although this therefore gives us three separate years for the arrival of Rodrigues and Duarte in Cartagena (1616, 1617 and 1619), the fact that Duarte's evidence is given 13/14 (1630) and 19/20 (1636) years after the event suggests that these small inconsistencies should not detract from the broadly accurate version of events given in the evidence.

<sup>282</sup> AGI, Contratación 800, Pieza 15, folios 39v, 53r. This is the evidence of Baltasar Pereira de Castilbranco, who states that arriving in Guiné, he found that Soeiro had sold the slaves and deposited them with Rodrigues as he owed so much on his contract to the Crown.

<sup>283</sup> Nathan Wachtel (2001a), 81.

the region between 1607 and 1619<sup>284</sup>, and the connections of his entire family to the area are confirmed through the fact that his brother Juan died there circa 1615<sup>285</sup>. Thus both Bautista Pérez and his family were constantly in and out of Guiné between 1607 and 1619, and given the evidence that Sebastián Duarte's relations also had extensive contacts here at this time, the relationship between the two families involving Atlantic trade was in fact almost certainly begun in Africa, and not Perú, as previously thought.

It is clear that Bautista Pérez's numerous voyages between Guiné and Cacheu were a means of raising capital. As Israel notes, many of the most influential crypto-Jews in America raised their capital through bringing slaves from Africa to the New World<sup>286</sup>. Though Israel's examples derive from Angola and Mexico, it is clear from the evidence cited in this chapter that Cabo Verde and Cartagena were also linked in this way. In 1608, the Spaniard Pedro de Avendaño Villela had reported that the slave trade was the main form of entry for "prohibited people" into America<sup>287</sup>, and cases such as Bautista Pérez proved the point: on each slaving voyage, several individuals would "own" an agreed quantity of the *piezas*<sup>288</sup>; in this way, a few

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<sup>284</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 265r: "y a poco tiempo que llego a [Lisboa] se embarco en una nao...para guinea y con armacon de negros de guinea paso a Cartagena y hizo otros tres o quatro viajes a guinea y Cartagena...": tr. "and as soon as he reached Lisbon he embarked in a ship...for Guiné and with a shipment of slaves he went from Guiné to Cartagena and then made a further three or four journeys to Guiné and Cartagena...".

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., folio 263v: "'Juan Bautista Perez...soltero y murio en guinea abra veinte años...": tr. "Juan Bautista Perez...unmarried who died in Guiné twenty years ago". The evidence was given on August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1635 (folio 262r), which, as Juan died "about 20 years ago" would put his death at 1615.

<sup>286</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (2002), 103-4; idem. (1990), 322-3.

<sup>287</sup> BL, Thomason Tracts, 1324, folio 2r: "[henche] la tierra de gente prohibida a passar a aquellas partes, dando mayor cuydado y ocupacion al tribula del Santo Oficio sola esta nacion, que todas las demas juntas, y como ellos navegan la costa, y rios de Guinea, para el trato de los negros...suelen llevar muy gruesas cargazones, para venderlas despues en los puertos de Cartagena, u la Veracruz...": tr. "the land is swollen with people who are prohibited from passing to these areas, with this nation giving more work to the Holy Office [of the Inquisition] than all the others put together, and as they navigate the coast and the rivers of Guiné for the slave trade, in order to sell [the slaves] later in the ports of Cartagena and Veracruz...".

<sup>288</sup> There is good evidence for this in the inquistorial visits to ships searching for banned books in Cartagena circa 1634. On November 28<sup>th</sup> 1634, a passenger on the ship Nuestra Señora de el Rosario from Angola described how "se embarcaron en Angola hasta trecientas pieças pocas mas o menos por que Tome hernandez Passagero

individuals could benefit from each voyage, and the number of people such as Bautista Pérez and Duarte grew in the New World.

Once in Lima, Bautista Pérez and Duarte consolidated the capital that had accrued from the slaving voyages. A cornerstone of this growth was the use of contacts in Cacheu to supply slaves which were cleared through contacts in Cartagena and Panamá. Already by 1631 the brothers-in-law were combining to ship slaves from Angola to Lima through Panamá<sup>289</sup>. But they also traded in Guiné, where their main contact was none other than Tomás Rodriguez Barassa, from whom they bought slaves via contacts in Cartagena<sup>290</sup>.

It is reasonable to assume that the connections of Bautista Pérez and Duarte with the African-centred networks went back to their own sojourns in Cacheu. This is important evidence as to the significance of the African contacts for the wealthy crypto-Jews of America in their careers. For Bautista Pérez and Duarte were by no means unusual. The supposed leader of Cartagena's crypto-Jews, Blas de Paz Pinto, was so well known in Guiné that on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1637 4 people testified in Cacheu that they recognized his handwriting<sup>291</sup>. Of lesser financial importance, but equally representative of this trend, was Manuel de Mattos, who was an associate of both Rodriguez Barassa and Blas de Paz Pinto<sup>292</sup>. Various considerations would

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*embarco ciento y treinta pieças y la gente de mar cincuenta pieças, y este testigo embarco de cuenta suya once pieças y las de mas cumplimiento a las que tiene dichas embarco el capitan francisco rodriguez...*: tr. "they loaded about 300 *pieças* in Angola with the passenger Tome Hernandez taking 130 and the sailors 50 and this witness embarked on his own account 11 *pieças* and the rest of the compliment were loaded by the captain Francisco Rodriguez" – AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folios 30v-31r. See also the evidence from the *Livros dos Mortos*, testimony taken by scribes of the death of slaves on the Middle Passage, which always record to whom the slaves belonged – AGI, Escribanía 591A, Piezas 4 and 5.

<sup>289</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1601, Expediente 44, folios 31r-32r.

<sup>290</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folio 31v, 54v, 55r.

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, folios 34v-37v; this was on an account book of Tomás Rodriguez Barassa's that related to affairs in Cartagena.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 27v: Blas de Paz Pinto writes to Barassa that "*hice muy grande negocio y assi en isto como en los settenta y siete mil y quatro cientos reis que cobrei de Manuel de Mattos...*" : tr. "I made a very good deal in this as with the 77,400 Reis which I charged Manuel de Mattos...". I shall use the Castillian spelling of Mattos's name

suggest that this is almost certainly the same Manuel de Mattos who was reconciled in the *Auto da Fé* of Lima of 1639 and banished from the Indies<sup>293</sup>, and who subsequently returned to Cabo Verde where he spent the rest of his career<sup>294</sup>.

The connections between American-centred and African-centred networks of crypto-Jews embraced all echelons of society, from people at the very top such as Blas de Paz Pinto and Manuel Bautista Pérez, to small-time businessmen such as Mattos who had a textiles shop in Lima<sup>295</sup>. The currents that had pushed even some *cristãos velhos* to Judaize in Cabo Verde were also present in America, where many of those found guilty of Judaizing were *cristãos velhos*<sup>296</sup>; in one case which reveals just how widespread this trend was, the *morisco* Juan Ramos confessed to being a Judaizer (not under torture) in Lima during the *gran complicidad*<sup>297</sup>. Both Africa and America were embraced in an emerging identity in which the doubleness of commerce and religion were essential. This was tied into the differentiated identity from which facets of modernity would emerge, and was a typically pan-Atlantic phenomenon; frequently, the American crypto-Jews retained their contacts in Africa, something which would be of

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throughout, even though he is found in both Spanish and Portuguese documents, as this is the context in which he first appears.

<sup>293</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1030, folio 583v. The fact that this is the same individual as the associate of Barassa is strongly suggested by the fact that he was subsequently denounced by Pedro Duarte, brother of Sebastián, and therefore involved in the trading connections which linked the Duartes and Tomás Rodríguez Barassa (AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1021, folio 78v), and because he first appears in documents from Guiné in 1641 (AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, Anexo 6, a document of March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1641 recounting the acclamation of João IV in Geba confirms Mattos's presence there), two years after the *Auto da Fé* in Lima of 1639.

<sup>294</sup> See below, page 303.

<sup>295</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 11, no. 4, folio 42r: this evidence emerges in Mattos's testimony regarding another alleged crypto-Jew, Manuel Henriques.

<sup>296</sup> Countless examples of this emerge from the records of the American Inquisition. In Cartagena, Manuel da Fonseca Henriques is an example (AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1021, folio 25r); in Lima, Juan de Acevedo (AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 84v), Garci Mendez de Dueñas (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1648, Expediente 16, folio 69r), Jorge Rodríguez Tavares (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 52rff) and Bartolomé de León (ibid., folio 80r).

<sup>297</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1030, folio 590r: "*Juan Ramos nacion morisco presso por Judaizante confesso ser Judío antes de darle la acusacion*"; tr. : "Juan Ramos a *morisco* was arrested on suspicion of Judaizing and confessed to being a Jew before being accused".

particular use to them when, as we shall see, after the inquisitorial witch-hunts of the 1630s, many of them returned to Africa.

### **3.3 Loyalties of Nation and Religion: The Subversion of Expanding Hegemonies Among Atlantic Crypto-Jews**

Having laid out the evidence for the activities of the African- and American-centred networks of crypto-Jews, it is possible to reflect on what this evidence says about evolving dynamics in the Atlantic during the first 40 years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. On a practical level there is much to be learnt about how these communities operated, whilst on a theoretical level we can learn much about Atlantic identities.

On the level of functionality, we see, in the first place, that family ties were essential to the practice of these networks. Just as Sebastian Duarte and Manuel Bautista Pérez were in-laws, so Alvaro Gonçalves Frances appears to have been both the godfather and father-in-law of his agent in Cartagena, Manuel Alvarez Prieto, and to have been related to the Barassas who also operated out of Cacheu. Moreover, it is unquestionably of significance that the Cacheu/Cartagena network under examination operated through the auspices of 4 people who all came from the same corner of the Alentejo. Thus we can say that these networks, and therefore the states of mind that accompanied them, were very much collective family enterprises, even if individual approaches were implicit within this collective approach.

The evidence adduced here also supports Israel's notion of a certain fluidity between the identities of Jews and crypto-Jews in this period. Thus Gonçalves Frances had contacts with Amsterdam, and members of the Amsterdam community were able to Judaize in supposedly "crypto-Jewish" Cacheu, even though there was an openly Jewish community further north on

the *petite côte*; and moreover, crypto-Jews from Lima had contacts among Sephardic communities of South-West France<sup>298</sup>, and thus there were contacts among both Jews and crypto-Jews that spanned Africa, America and Europe.

This brings out the role of Judaism in the networks considered in this chapter. The contacts of the African networks with Amsterdam, and the relation of Gonçalves Frances to his brother who confessed to active Judaism in Goa, show that an essential element of these networks was their Jewish orientation, adding to the picture developed by Liebman of the contacts between the crypto-Jews of New Spain and the Sephardic community of Amsterdam<sup>299</sup>.

Thus the evidence supports the contention made earlier with regard to the *petite côte* that the Jewish presence in the African Atlantic in the 17<sup>th</sup> century must be brought into the wider context of the Sephardic diaspora. The African-centred network led by Gonçalves Frances – with its contacts with Amsterdam, Cartagena, Lima, Lisbon and Seville - may be said to share in the evolution of the social type known as the “port Jew”. In one of the most important articles on this subject, David Sorkin identifies 5 defining features of these people: (1), that they were involved in migration and commerce; (2), that their presence was permitted because of the value their hosts placed on commerce; (3), that they were incorporated within existing legal structures rather than necessitating new ones being created to accommodate them; (4), that there was a broad Jewish textual curriculum and secular studies (*haskalah*); and (5), that a loyalty to the community was maintained even by those who were lax in observing Jewish laws<sup>300</sup>. The

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<sup>298</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (2002), 146.

<sup>299</sup> Seymour B. Liebman (1970), 190-211.

<sup>300</sup> David Sorkin (1999), 89-94.

communities we have been considering meet all these criteria bar number 4<sup>301</sup>. They had contacts with groups across America, and with communities in the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal. They were not a marginality, but a part of the emerging group known as the “people of the Nation”.

The integration of the African-centred networks into the Atlantic diaspora of the Sephardim requires us to consider their interaction with other Sephardic groups rather as if they are partially intersecting circles, some of which are separate and some conjoined. Just as members of the African-centred networks – such as Alvaro Gonçalves Frances and Diogo Barassa – travelled to Cartagena and had experience of America, so members of the American-centred networks – such as Manuel Bautista Pérez and Sebastián Duarte – knew the Cabo Verde region. This is why one must speak of *African-centred* and *American-centred* networks, as the communities were not restricted either to Africa or America, and there was some overlap in their contacts and activities.

The best example of these partially overlapping circles of influence is the complex relationship between João Soeiro, Phelipe Rodrigues, Sebastian Duarte and Alvaro Gonçalves Frances. As we saw above, Soeiro had commercial ties with both Rodrigues<sup>302</sup> and Gonçalves Frances<sup>303</sup> in Cacheu, while Duarte was Rodrigues’s nephew and had contacts with most of the

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<sup>301</sup> Moreover, in keeping with this condition, some evidence suggests that there was a significant degree of learning among at least some of the crypto-Jews of Cacheu. Antonio de Espinoza, who was burnt in the 1639 *Auto* in Lima, claimed that he had been converted in Cacheu and that there 4 of his proselytizers gathered together and discussed with him various aspects of the Mosaic Law, “using more than a sheet of paper” before he was convinced to convert (AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folios 114v-115r “*gastando en esto mas de un pliego de papel...*”). The evidence on Jacob Peregrino’s use of Torahs and on prayerbooks examined in III:1 also suggests a fairly complex understanding of Jewish ritual here.

<sup>302</sup> See above, page 224.

<sup>303</sup> See above, page 215.



crypto-Jews in Lima and Cartagena, as well as with Tomás Rodrigues Barassa in Cacheu<sup>304</sup>. Yet there is no evidence linking Duarte directly with either Soeiro or Gonçalves Frances, or linking Rodrigues to Gonçalves Frances. Thus the web of links connecting all these agents in the Atlantic trade was a complex one. The contacts all tended to overlap at some level, meaning that open Jews in Amsterdam had contacts overlapping with crypto-Jews in Africa and America, but there were not direct links at all levels of the networks.

This model of intersecting circles applies not just to groups of crypto-Jews themselves but to the wider developmental patterns of the Iberian Atlantic. These communities were in the process of working through a new, pan-Atlantic identity, in which crypto-Judaism emerged as some form of diasporic trading religion, as identified in III:2 for Cabo Verde. Yet this very process of the formation of a pan-Atlantic identity through the auspices of a subaltern category such as crypto-Judaism could only take place within the wider patterns of the emergence of a dominant and persecuting culture in the Atlantic world; that is, it represented a smaller circle encompassed by the wider circle of Iberian expansion.

Thus, as we have seen, the crypto-Jewish trading networks linking Africa and America were crucial in the development of commercial enterprise in the Iberian Atlantic. Even though these people were often involved in contraband, their activities were welcomed by the local Hispanic authorities who themselves profited from them, and therefore contributed to Hispanic consolidation of the New World<sup>305</sup>. Yet with trade also being a means of diffusing Iberian

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<sup>304</sup> See above, page 226.

<sup>305</sup> Particularly instructive in this regard is the evidence of the inquisitorial visits to slaving ships in Cartagena in 1635. On July 31<sup>st</sup> 1635 a visit began to a ship that had come from Cacheu, and one witness from Cartagena, Juan Rodriguez de Olmedo, described how for thirteen years ship captains had been bribing the local authorities to turn a blind eye to their contraband (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22: “*tiene experiencia de trece años a esta parte que los Dueños de los navios de negros...se conciertan con el governador y su teniente general y oficiales reales y el factor de los negros para que les hagan buen Passaxe en los negros que traes fuera de*

customs and values, these crypto-Jewish networks also represented the hegemonic arm of Iberia in the Atlantic, approximating to what Schorsch describes as “trans-shippers” of Iberian culture<sup>306</sup>. Thus the paradox is that though, in being crypto-Jews, members of these communities were, on an individual level, subverting Iberian ideology, through their commercial activities they were helping to enforce this ideology in the Atlantic world<sup>307</sup>: the act of superficial rejection of the ideology could only occur within a wider context wherein that ideology was expanding and being imposed on others.

This leads to the interesting suggestion that radicalized and subversive ideologies draw much of their strength from the very ideology against which they supposedly rebel: that the two are in fact symbiotic, and radicalism requires the persecutions of its host culture to thrive: there may, even, be a relationship between the intensity of persecution and the intensity of rebellion towards that persecution from within that culture. This interpretation is also bolstered by one of the key constituents of the emerging Atlantic identity which is under discussion, the emerging concept of “*gente de nação*”, or “men of the Jewish nation”.

The use of this term gained particular currency during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and was heavily connected to evolving notions on lineage and purity then convulsing the Iberian ideation<sup>308</sup>. Yet while used generically by Portuguese to describe what had formerly been

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registro” (folios 92r-v): tr. “he has seen himself that for 13 years the captains of slave ships have been plotting with the Governor and the Lieutenant-General and the factor and other royal officials so that they are able to import slaves who have not been registered”). He described how in this way the captain of this ship, Luis Gomez da Silva, had given 6 slaves to the Governor Francisco de Murga, and one each to the Accountant, Scribe, Sub-Lieutenant General and Treasurer (ibid., folio 99r), with the bribery having been arranged by Blas de Paz Pinto and Bernave Gonzalez, the public prosecutor of the city (ibid., folio 100r: “*y save este testigo que el dicho concierto se hizo por mano de Bernave Gonçalez Procurador general desta ciudad y de Blas de Paz...*”: tr. “and this witness knows that the said plot was arranged by Bernave Gonçalez the *Procurador General* of this city and by Blas de Paz...”).

<sup>306</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2002), 69.

<sup>307</sup> As Schorsch says (ibid.), “mobile, circulating *conversos* and Jews indeed served as one of the conveyors of Iberian racialised discourse and social engineering into the expanding northern European colonial sphere”.

<sup>308</sup> Miriam Bodian (1997), 11; David L. Graizbord (2004), 53.

known as the *cristãos novos*, the term as used by the Sephardim themselves was ambiguous, having widely differing meanings within the context of Amsterdam<sup>309</sup>, and later in London<sup>310</sup>, and in many ways reflected ambiguities attendant to the rise of the concept of “nation” in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The term was, moreover, first bestowed on the Sephardim by the Portuguese, probably during the trials of the Inquisition<sup>311</sup>, and then reappropriated by the Sephardim as a form of self-identity which was consonant with their growing sense of ethnic difference<sup>312</sup>.

The phrase “men of the Jewish nation” therefore derived from nascent ideas of race in Iberia – though in itself it was not a racial one - and the transition from a situation in which the term “*cristão novo*” predominated to one in which nationality was the prime form of reference reflected the increasingly racialized discourse of the early modern world<sup>313</sup>. Thus although this concept of “the Nation” was appropriated by Sephardim, its development was dependent upon the wider hegemony of Iberian discourse both over the conceptual framework of the Sephardim themselves and over the emerging dynamics of the Atlantic. The development of this concept of “men of the Jewish nation” in fact presupposed the previous persecution and discrimination which the Sephardim had faced, since the racialized discourse was itself a development

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<sup>309</sup> Yosef Kaplan (1996), 29: Kaplan cites the word as referring, variously, to the Sephardi community of Amsterdam, the Sephardic diaspora as a whole, the Portuguese diaspora in western Europe and *cristãos novos* living in “*tierras de idolatría*”.

<sup>310</sup> Thus in 1655, Simón de Cáceres wrote to Cromwell with a plan for the conquest of Chile, saying that he would “engage with some young men of my own nation” for the purpose, implying the “men of the Jewish nation” here (Günter Böhm (1963: 121-2)); yet the text of the establishment of the Sephardi congregation in 1663 referred to “the Jews of the Portuguese and Spanish Nation”, where the term “Nation” has an Iberian context (Lionel Barnett (ed. and trans.) (1931: 3)).

<sup>311</sup> Exhaustive consultation of inquisitorial evidence leads me to the suspicion that the term evolved originally as an abbreviation. Documents of the period are filled with abbreviations, and for scribes of the Portuguese Inquisition in particular, the fact that almost all of the initial defendants under the Portuguese inquisition were “*de nação hebra* [of the Hebrew nation]” must have made some form of abbreviation sorely tempting.

<sup>312</sup> David L. Graizbord (2004), 52.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 53; Miriam Bodian (1997), 11.

predicated on the emergence of concepts such as *limpeça*. Though of course “nation” was a new idea, it emerged from this pre-history.

A distinctive pattern emerges from these considerations, in which the “men of the Nation” were to some degree internalizing and then replicating the perceptions of others in a self-identity which they perceived as autonomous. It is, moreover, of the greatest significance that this pattern can also be perceived as having pertained to some of the events in Cabo Verde which have been under discussion. For the similarities between the descriptions of Caboverdean *lançados* and of *cristãos novos*, and the development of a crypto-Jewish trading identity among the *lançados*, reveals a similar process, whereby external perception both shaped reality and shaped the autonomous identity of those – in this case the *lançados* rather than the men of the Nation – being perceived.

Thus it is clear that the distinctive identity among the traders of Cabo Verde in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, while apparently subverting the requirements of accepted Iberian discourse in adopting crypto-Judaism, was in reality circumscribed by the supervenient conceptual hegemony against which it rebelled. This is one of the fundamental theoretical considerations to emerge from the study of the Jewish presence in Caboverdean space, and one not without wider-ranging applications, where superficial rejections of ideology occur within a wider sphere of accommodation<sup>314</sup>.

And yet while to this extent the growing identity of the Caboverdean trading diaspora as crypto-Jews was mortgaged to the rigidity of the Iberian conceptual discourse, it was still a significant step. For, to follow Gramsci’s formulation, statehood (or perhaps, in our study,

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<sup>314</sup> This is strong support for Gramsci’s assertion that: “subaltern groups are always subject to the activity of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up”: Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds. and tr.) (1971), 55.

nationhood) is a prerequisite for the uniting of subaltern groups<sup>315</sup>, and so the formulation of the diasporic trading religion of crypto-Judaism was, as we shall see, a relevant factor in the emergence of Creole power in the later 17<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3.4 Recapitulation: Trade, Materialism and Religious Identity Among the *Cristãos Novos***

This chapter has seen both extensive documentary evidence on crypto-Jews in the African and American Atlantics and the development of important theoretical considerations on rebellion and the place of rebellion within the larger pattern of a supervenient hegemony. One of the central features to have emerged is that of crypto-Judaism as some form of diaporic trading religion in both Cabo Verde and the Americas. The adoption of some Jewish practices by some *cristãos velhos* which was remarked upon for Cabo Verde in III:2 has also been seen to have occurred in the Americas, making it clear that this diasporic trading religion was a trans-Atlantic phenomenon. This should be no surprise, for the evidence shows that these were trans-Atlantic communities, and thus that the ideas and identities being worked through also had a trans-Atlantic quality.

When recapitulating the evidence in this section, it is important to bear in mind that other conscious factors must have been at work in addition to these ideological rebellions. The desire to fit in with people perceived as most similar to themselves (the “white Portuguese”) would undoubtedly have encouraged a sympathy to some Jewish practice among those newly arrived in Cabo Verde, as would the perception that adoption of the ideology of this “secret society” was a prerequisite for success and the fact that many of those who first arrived on the coast were

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 52: “The subaltern classes, by definition, are not unified and cannot unite until they are able to become a “State””.

young, and easily impressionable. Nevertheless, however, the recapitulation of the evidence which follows strengthens the evidence for the notion that these rebellions were subsumed within an inevitable pattern of Iberian expansion: in particular, we will now see how considering the materialism of these crypto-Jews supports this idea, and how this picture is emblematic of the wider tensions implicit in expansion.

For materialism was one of the central features of the trading religion of crypto-Judaism in the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Atlantic diaspora. Indeed, many people appear to have been attracted to adopt Jewish practice in this period precisely because of the perception that this would assist them materially in life. Thus in Cartagena, Manuel de Acosta y Sosa, son of the factor of the slaving contracts in the city, confessed that he had kept the Mosaic law “so that God would give him good fortune and to save his soul”<sup>316</sup>. In Lima, meanwhile, the *cristão velho* Jorge Rodrigues Tavares confessed that “he had determined to follow the Mosaic law because he was poor”<sup>317</sup>. Also in Lima, Sebastian Duarte declared that his brother-in-law Manuel Bautista Pérez had been proselytized by Garci Mendez de Dueñas, who had told him that “he would have great success in his affairs and God would make him very rich and that he could follow [crypto-Judaism] for a time and if his earnings did not go well he could leave it”<sup>318</sup>.

There is of course the possibility that some of these remarks, exacted in the judicial process of the Inquisition, may have been intended to satisfy the prejudices of the inquisitors, since the role of the *cristãos novos* in Iberian trade meant that an association of heresy with commerce in the mind of the inquisitor was inevitable. Yet that these views percolated through

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<sup>316</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1621, Expediente 1, no. 1, folio 90r: “*porque dios le diese buenos successos y por salvar sua alma...*” - this showed where his priorities lay.

<sup>317</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1031, folio 172v: “*y averse determinado a seguir la ley de moyses por verse pobre...*”.

<sup>318</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 158r: “*que se pasase a la ley de moyses e la guardase y tendria buenos sucesos en sus contrataciones y le haría el señor muy rrico y que la siguiese un tiempo y sino le fuese bien en ella en las ganancias la dejase*”. Garci Mendez, moreover, was a *cristão velho*.

from the perception of the persecuting society to the crypto-Jews themselves is shown by a letter from Blas de Paz Pinto in Cartagena to Tomás Rodríguez Barassa in Cacheu, in which Pinto expressed the pious desire to Barassa that God should “conserve you with an increase in property”<sup>319</sup>. Materialism, and trade, were thus hallmarks of the identity of this pan-Atlantic diaspora. Yet Judaism was not a materialistic religion *per se*, and it was in Iberia that the mystical kabbala had its origins<sup>320</sup>. Instead, the perceptions of others and social conditions had forced Judaism to be perceived as being a religion whose practitioners *were* associated with commerce; once again, the perception informed the reality.

In understanding how these dynamics affected the materialism of the Atlantic crypto-Jewish diaspora of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we must remember some groundrules. The Atlantic saw the widescale expansion of the slave trade in these years. Slaving, though an age-old practice, was turned by the industrial quantities exported through the Atlantic trade – in which Cabo Verde had of course been a paradigm for what followed – into a materialistic activity and one that required double (or, one might say, hypocritical) states of mind: only once slaves had been reduced to “material” – a good to be traded like any other – could the conscience’s circle be squared, and this process would only hold good if slaves were simultaneously recognized for their human worth as labourers and dehumanized as part of this process of squaring the circle. There was a vacancy for a religion which both matched the doubleness of this worldview and justified its materialist strivings; prejudice, perception and projection had by this time turned crypto-Judaism into an ideal candidate for the post.

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<sup>319</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folio 25v: “*que Dios le conserve con aumento de vienes...*”.

<sup>320</sup> See e.g. Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. I, 244-68.

This is of course not to say that all slavers were crypto-Jews. The process whereby slaving was associated with crypto-Judaism only held for the first forty years or so of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, after which time it became abundantly obvious that the doubleness required to be a slaver was perfectly compatible with both the Protestant and Catholic faiths; such an identification, moreover, was limited to the Iberian world in which this crypto-Judaism had emerged. However it is to say that there was clearly an ideological vacuum of sorts in this earlier period, given the emergence of a new worldview to accommodate commercial realities in the Atlantic; secrecy and doubleness, which had accompanied the rise of crypto-Judaism in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the rise of Atlantic contraband in the later 16<sup>th</sup> century, now accompanied the psychology concomitant with the marked expansion in slaving in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century: for a short time, crypto-Judaism represented the shared ideology by which the secret commercial networks gained trust and mutual material expansion, and thus represented the alienated mentality's opportunity for gain and expression: the very secrecy and doubleness of crypto-Judaism, and its perceived and superimposed materialism, made it thus the perfect ideological vehicle for these networks until they were shattered by the Inquisitions of America from 1636 onwards.

Such complex dynamics of perception and secrecy helped shape the interactions of the Atlantic world. Thus the Portuguese were so rigid in their association of Jews with trade, that they sought out the griots – who they saw as Jews – to act as intermediaries in their financial transactions with the Wolof kings<sup>321</sup>; this was seen by them as a “Jewish” skill, although indeed

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<sup>321</sup> SG, *Etiópia Menor...*, folio 4v. The griots have “*outra habilidade Judeu...não tem os brancos melhores executores de suas dividas diante dos Reys, e grandes que a este. E he tanto assim que sendo o proprio Rey devidor são estes trições o meio de se pagarem delles*”: tr. “another Jewish skill...the whites do not have better callers-in of



the griots were excellent intermediaries in their own right as they possessed diplomatic immunities. With Judaism perceived as a religion utterly involved with trade, those *cristsãos novos* who were not involved with trade were expelled from Angola in 1627<sup>322</sup>. It was at this time that another label was developed for the *cristsãos novos* alongside “*gente de nação*”, that of the “*homens de negocios*”, or men of business<sup>323</sup>, for was it not obvious that every Jew was in business, and every businessman a Jew? Thus just as the use of the term “*de nação*” is resonant of a changing worldview in which ideas of race and nascent notions of nation are increasingly important, the introduction of the phrase “*homens de negocio*” is revelatory of a historical period in which business was in everyone’s mind.

Materialism, then, required slavery, and it required a new moral compass, which in these few short decades it found in crypto-Judaism, before the attentions of the Inquisition forced it to move on to the reappropriation of Christian doctrines. Yet it should be apparent from this discussion that what appealed in crypto-Judaism was not the “Jewish” element but rather the “crypto” element. The doubleness and materialism which had been projected onto this faith in defence against the growing materialism which emerged as Iberia found itself at the forefront of modernity at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, were what consolidated the extremely limited moral compass of these networks.

This discussion confirms Tolentino Dipp’s assertion regarding the colonization of Hispaniola, that “morality always found a way to accommodate itself to the economic

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their debts before the kings, So much is this so that if the king himself is the debtor these griots are used to get him to pay”.

<sup>322</sup> J. Lúcio d’Azevedo (1922), 233.

<sup>323</sup> See Yosef Haim Yerushalmi (1971), 16; Julio Caro Baroja (1978), Vol. 2, 31.

requirements of colonization”<sup>324</sup>. Morality was, in the final analysis, a means to an end. In some societies that end has been self-preservation; in the modernizing Atlantic of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, a state of mind was developed in which the end was unlimited economic and spatial expansion at all costs. The modernized consciousness required the development of a dynamic of masters and slaves, both for its economic development, and in order to project its own enslavement to the emerging consciousness onto others<sup>325</sup>.

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<sup>324</sup> Hugo Tolentino Dipp (1992), 47: “*Desgraciadamente, la moral siempre encontró la forma de acomodarse al interés económico de la colonización*”.

<sup>325</sup> This idea obviously draws heavily on Hegel’s master/slave theory: see G.W.F. Hegel (1910), 176-86.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MARGINAL IDENTITIES: CABOVERDEAN SOCIETY TO 1640

#### 4.1 Economic Marginalities

The foregoing analysis shows that the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde and Guiné was not a marginal aspect of Caboverdean history in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In this chapter, I argue that it was an important aspect related to emerging Creole identity and shifting patterns of trade and allegiance in a situation where Caboverdean society became marginal to the emerging Atlantic dynamic. Just as Judaism was marginal to the dominant cultures of western Europe, Cabo Verde developed into a space of economic, cultural and political marginalities.

The evidence for this marginality is immediately visible in the economic sphere. As we have seen, by 1620 the focus of Atlantic-oriented commercial activity had shifted decisively from Cabo Verde to Guiné. An added complication was the change of the boundaries of the region. Growing Dutch competition with Portugal meant that, with the definitive loss of Gorée to the Dutch in 1629 influence over the Senegambian region from Cabo Verde effectively ceased<sup>326</sup>. It was during this same episode that the Dutch fleet charged with capturing Olinda in Brazil spent several months effecting a rendezvous in Caboverdean waters<sup>327</sup>.

The failure of Portuguese domination therefore extended from Guiné to Cabo Verde. Portuguese society in Cabo Verde was effectively bankrupt by the 1620s. A letter from the new Governor, Francisco Vasconcellos da Cunha, written when he arrived on April 10<sup>th</sup> 1624, declared that “the state in which I found [the island] was that it had the greatest shortage of

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<sup>326</sup> A. Teixeira da Mota (1954), Vol. 2, 18.

<sup>327</sup> Sebastião da Rocha Pitta (1880), 119; Nize Izabel de Moraes (1995), 234-5.

money that has ever been seen”<sup>328</sup>. By 1626, inflation was rampant, as the crown itself acknowledged<sup>329</sup>.

Further evidence of the economic difficulties of Cabo Verde emerges from the Jesuits. The Jesuits were the wealthiest institution remaining on Santiago, but in these years they began to question the viability of their mission. Father Sebastião Gomes, the Jesuit superior, wrote a *parecer* on May 30<sup>th</sup> 1627 which mooted various reasons why it might be necessary for the mission to leave the islands: these included the fact that everything was in short supply with things being twice as expensive on Santiago as elsewhere, and that Ribeira Grande now had so few inhabitants that they fitted just into one parish<sup>330</sup>. Economic difficulties meant that the Jesuits were increasingly reliant on such wealthy powerbrokers as there still were<sup>331</sup>.

In such fraught circumstances where there was a tangible lack of political authority and economic influence, Cabo Verde experienced bitter power struggles. In his introduction to his description of the coast of Sierra Leone and Guiné, written in 1625, André Donelha referred to the “barren and envious times” which the region was experiencing<sup>332</sup>. The “barren” times appear to refer to the “decline in the affairs of [Santiago]”<sup>333</sup>, but the “envy” reveals the conflicts then emerging between different factions, and visions, in Cabo Verde, which would pave the way for the emergence of the Creole power block by the 1650s<sup>334</sup>. It was the growing

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<sup>328</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 2, doc. 23: “o estado em q achei q hé a mais falta de dinheiro que se numqua vio”.

<sup>329</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 2, doc. 36: this is a decree of Filipe III dated March 22<sup>nd</sup> 1626 which refers to the “*crecimento em qual o preço e valia das cousas nas Ilhas de Cabo Verde vão*”.

<sup>330</sup> MMA, Vol. IV, 184-5.

<sup>331</sup> This became clear through the polemic that emerged regarding Diogo Ximenes Vargas’s will, in which the Jesuits were left as inheritors and some claimed that this had been achieved fraudulently – see IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 37, doc.22.

<sup>332</sup> André Donelha (1977), 70: “*estamos em tempos tão estériles e cheios de enveja*”.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 176: “*por ir em desmenuição as cousas desta ilha [de Santiago]*”.

<sup>334</sup> See below, pages 272-278

economic and political marginality of the Caboverdean region that would facilitate the emergence of a largely autonomous Creole society in the islands.

The growing economic marginality of Cabo Verde reinforced the networks with Guiné. In 1623, the Dutch sailor Dirck Ruiters described a typical picture: salt was taken from Maio and Sal to Sierra Leone, traded there for gold, ivory and kola; these goods were taken to Joal and Portudal where kola was traded for cotton cloths; the traders then went on to Cacheu, where the remainder of the goods obtained in Sierra Leone were exchanged for slaves<sup>335</sup>. The strength of the links between Cabo Verde and Guiné was emphasized by an anonymous account that mentioned that many of the freed blacks in Cacheu had formerly been slaves from Santiago<sup>336</sup>.

The increasing emphasis on the trading networks of Guiné and their interrelationship with Cabo Verde seems to have accentuated the extractive economic cycle. As we saw in III.3, this period saw intensive trading activity by the Lusoaficans<sup>337</sup> and in particular a large contraband slave trade across the Atlantic that represented a significant numerical departure from the earlier trade. It is now clear that this trade expanded hugely in the period to 1640, and that this expansion must have had a significant effect on the societies of Guiné.

Archival material relating to the Spanish Indies now suggests a need to end the downplaying of the role of the Caboverdean region in the slave trade in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thus Vila Vilar's citation of the official accounts of ships arriving in Cartagena de las Indias in 1636 states that of 7 ships arriving, 6 came from Angola and only 1 from the Rivers of Guiné<sup>338</sup>.

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<sup>335</sup> George E. Brooks (1993), 157.

<sup>336</sup> BA, Códice 51-VI-54, folio 143r: Cacheu is populated by whites and "*algūs pretos forros da mesma terra criados porem com os brancos e muita parte são e forão cativos de vezinos da Ilha de Santiago*".

<sup>337</sup> As the *lançados* are commonly referred to for the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>338</sup> Enriqueta Vila Vilar (1977), 148-9.

Yet a document from the early 1640s describes a different picture in which the predominant source of slaves in Cartagena is said to be Guiné<sup>339</sup>.

The constant links between Cartagena and Cabo Verde are emphasized, furthermore, by numerous small but telling details. The Rector of the Jesuit college in Cartagena, Alonso de Sandoval, was suspended from his post in part because he allowed a member of his staff to make a commercial visit to Cabo Verde to raise money for the college<sup>340</sup>. Caboverdean *barafulas* were traded from Cabo Verde to Cartagena in the 1630s and raised a fair sum in the Indies<sup>341</sup>. Caboverdean cloths and clothes made of Caboverdean cloth were to be found among the possessions of the wealthiest traders in Cartagena<sup>342</sup>, while fruits from Guiné were traded as far afield as Lima, having been brought from Cartagena via Portobelo<sup>343</sup>.

The trade in cloths and fruits from the Caboverdean region was probably not, however, the mainstay of the trading connections that linked the two regions. The main interest of the

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<sup>339</sup> AGI, Indiferente, 2796: “*de los reynos de Guinea y otras partes de donde se conducen los negros solian yr a la ciudad de Cartagena por assiento grandes cantidades que con el alçamiento del Reyno de Portugal a çessado este contrato con q la dicha ciudad y su provinçia...padecen grande necesidad e los dichos negros*”: tr. “from the kingdoms of Guiné and other parts large numbers of blacks used to come to the city of Cartagena, but with the uprising of the kingdom of Portugal [in 1640] this trade has ceased with the result that the said city and its province are in great want of the said blacks”. **NB: This document is without folio numbers.** Though the “other parts” referred to here probably signify Angola, it is clear from the tone of the letter that the Guiné trade is deemed the more important.

<sup>340</sup> Robin Blackburn (1997), 155 n46.

<sup>341</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1608, expediente 27, folios 31v-32r. A document dated August 30<sup>th</sup> 1635 mentions “*paños y barafulas que le entrego Domingo de Vega en su nombre y en esta ciudad el dicho Juan Rodriguez Mesa*”: tr. “cloths and *barafulas* which were given by Domingo de Vega in this city to the said Juan Rodriguez Mesa...”. A *barafula* was a measure of cloth made in the Caboverdean islands, which were often used as a form of currency in Caboverdean space in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; the *barafulas* had raised 781 pesos and 5 *reis* in Spanish money (255,020 Portuguese *reis*).

<sup>342</sup> This emerges from the accounts of the Inquisitorial confiscations from some of the traders accused of Judaizing. Francisco Piñero had a chest of drawers with “*una colcha de Algodon Blanca de Cabo verde*” (tr. “a white cotton mattress from Cabo Verde”) (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4822, Expediente 3, folio 4r), while Blas de Paz Pinto had cloths from both Cabo Verde and Guiné (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4822, Expediente 5, folios 8v, 9v). The fact that the cloth was recognized and identified as such by the *escribanos* employed by the Inquisition in Cartagena, moreover, demonstrates that it was commonly to be found in the city.

<sup>343</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 55v: Jorge Rodriguez Tavares, in his evidence in the trial of Manuel Bautista Perez, referred to “*una cobilla...que es una raiz o fruta de Guinea y la traian de Cartagena*”: tr. “a *cobilla*...which is a root or fruit from Guiné which is brought [to Lima] from Cartagena”.

trading networks was the contraband trade in slaves, as the evidence cited in III.2 and III.3 attests. Alvarez Prieto, for instance, was constantly bringing slaves and trying to ensure that he declared as few officially as possible<sup>344</sup>. A trader based in Cacheu, Manoel Rodrigues Salgado, claimed that he only traded more slaves than were permitted because there was nothing else to be bought in Cacheu<sup>345</sup>. The official visits by the judicial and inquisitorial authorities to the slaving ships in these years make it apparent that it was routine behaviour to smuggle in as many as 510 slaves without declaring them<sup>346</sup>, while 300 and 400 slaves arriving as contraband was quite normal<sup>347</sup>.

Such evidence is consonant with Rodney's view that "Upper Guinea remained a key region for the supply of slaves to Spanish America...until the political break between Portugal and Spain in 1640"<sup>348</sup>. The demographic and socio-cultural impact of this intensification of the slave trade in these years must have been intense on the Caboverdean region. The *livros dos mortos*, or "books of deaths", which recorded the deaths of slaves in the middle passage on ships from the region, reveal that many ethnicities were affected. One ship from 1635, the *Nuestra*

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<sup>344</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1621, Expediente 1, no. 1, folios 62r-v. This is the evidence of Manuel Acosta y Sosa who declares that he suspects Alvarez Prieto for having denounced him to the inquisitors, after Acosta y Sosa's father, the slave factor, made him pay 1000 pesos more than he offered for a shipment of slaves in 1634, and then denounced him for trying to under-declare the number of slaves that he had brought in 1635. This makes it clear that the slaving journeys under the auspices of this network were an annual occurrence.

<sup>345</sup> AGI, Escribanía, 591A, folio 29v. Rodrigues Salgado was another accused of Judaizing in the region (see below, page 286).

<sup>346</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folio 75r: a ship arriving on July 31<sup>st</sup> 1635 has 510 slaves outside the register; see also AGI, Santa Fe 56B, Expediente 50, a document of January 28<sup>th</sup> 1621 written by Fernando de Soría recounts how a ship from Angola foundered near Cartagena on November 20<sup>th</sup> 1620: 152 slaves were brought to be registered, and when Soría went to visit the island where the ship had foundered a few days later, he found 462 still hidden.

<sup>347</sup> There are continual complaints of this nature in the Spanish documentation. See in particular AGI, Santa Fe 56B, Expedientes 29, 40, 52; AGI, Escribanía 632A, Piezas 1 and 2; for the inquisitorial evidence see AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22.

<sup>348</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 96. Rodney cites André Donelha's first-hand evidence from the port of Guinala as showing that this was one of the focal points for the trade.

Señora del Rosario, witnessed the death of 107 slaves on this journey alone, including 39 Pepels, 19 Banhuns, 15 Bijagos, 5 Cassangas, 5 Mandingas, 1 Balanta and 1 Serer<sup>349</sup>.

The *livros dos mortos* reveal as no other document can just how far the intensification of extractive activity affected virtually every ethnic group of Guiné. They also challenge the view held by some that in this period that the Atlantic slave trade merely tapped the internal African market in slaves which had sprung from conflicts<sup>350</sup>. For it will be noted that the ethnicities in the book cited above are, all of them, coastal and not from the hinterland, which suggests that there was a direct and localized impact of the slave trade in Guiné, one which did not depend on internal trading from inland such as developed later<sup>351</sup>, but which in some cases must have accentuated existing power struggles. It is significant, for instance, that a relatively large number of Banhuns is cited here, since Banhun power went into a long-term decline in this period<sup>352</sup>, and it is therefore reasonable to suggest that their decline was accompanied by the depredations of surrounding peoples leading to their export in the slave trade<sup>353</sup>.

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<sup>349</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Pieza 5. For 5 of the slaves the ethnicity is not recorded.

<sup>350</sup> John Thornton (1998: 74) argues that the “Atlantic slave trade was the outgrowth of this internal slavery” through to 1680; similarly, J.D. Fage (2002: 242, 244) argues that until the Dutch seizure of Portugal’s West African posts in the period 1637-42, slave trading across the Atlantic was not something which reoriented African societies. A general rebuttal of this position is in Patrick Manning (1990: 22), who argues that “most forms of African slavery were influenced and conditioned by the slave trade”; Paul Lovejoy’s estimates of the trade to the Iberian colonies in this period better reflect the realities of the impact of the trade, with slave exports to Hispanic America expanding from an official 73,000 between 1522-94 to 35,000 just in the four years from 1596 to 1600 (Paul Lovejoy (2000: 37); see also Robin Blackburn (1997: 140-1)). Perhaps the most perceptive argument against the notion that the trans-Atlantic trade in these years tapped an extant market is Trevor P. Hall (1992: Vol. 1, 74-5)’s point that there is no evidence for slavery in non-Islamic societies of Guiné at the time of the first travellers’ accounts, in opposition to the evidence for Islamic societies in West Africa at the time.

<sup>351</sup> One of the classic accounts of this trade is Mungo Park (1983).

<sup>352</sup> Charles de Lespinay (1987).

<sup>353</sup> Philip J. Havik (2004b: 99) notes how many of the Banhuns were assimilated by Mandinga and Djola communities in their decline from a powerful trading people to a small community; but the encroachment on their territory by these groups appears to have been accompanied by their use as objects in the slave trade.



This discussion places the attempts of some ship captains to declare only 100 slaves on their arrival in Cartagena in their clearest, and murkiest, context<sup>354</sup>. In these years the decline of Cabo Verde and the rise of Lusoafrikan trading communities on the coast went with an increase in transatlantic slaving that intensified extractive and disruptive social processes then at work in Guiné, and was not a mere outgrowth of existing relations. The Caboverdean region was in this sense a paradigm for the slaving experiences that followed in West Africa.

This dynamic of the intensification of slaving affected Cabo Verde as well as Guiné. Although most of the evidence considered here and in III.3 with regard to the crypto-Jewish networks referred to events in Guiné, these constant interactions between Cabo Verde and Guiné of necessity involved the crypto-Jewish groups that were of such importance in Guiné. A revealing instance is the dispute over the will of Alvaro Gonçalves Frances, where it emerges that Gonçalves Frances had signed a contract leaving 5000 *barafulas* in the possession of the *ouvidor geral* Jeronimo de Sousa Santiago, and that the document had been signed on the island of Santiago<sup>355</sup>. This implies that Gonçalves Frances was a frequent visitor to the islands, as does the speed with which he broke out of jail when imprisoned there in 1635, with the help of local contacts<sup>356</sup>.

Thus the intensification of the extractive process affected Caboverdean space as a whole. Internationalization was a key element to the furthering of this extractive process, and it is clear from the evidence considered in III.3 that the crypto-Jewish networks were key players in this internationalization. Thus the development of crypto-Judaism as a form of pan-Atlantic trading

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<sup>354</sup> This was, it will be recalled, the claim of Diogo Barassa on arriving in Cartagena in 1634 (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folio 6r).

<sup>355</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 49, anexo 8.

<sup>356</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. August 11<sup>th</sup> 1634. See above, page 208.

religion – which crucially, as we have seen, was predicated on growing materialism – was an essential part of the intensification of external demand and the effects it brought to bear on the Caboverdean economy in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.

#### **4.2 Centrality and Isolation: The Crypto-Jews in the Caboverdean Margins of the Atlantic**

The intensification of the extractive process discussed above ensured that Cabo Verde remained a destination of choice for many involved in the trans-Atlantic trade. Yet these events, as we have seen, involved the loss of autonomy and authority in the administration of Cabo Verde; it was this loss which ultimately presaged the marginalization of Caboverdean space.

As I argued at the outset of this chapter, crypto-Jewish groups were central to the development of these dynamics. A consideration of disparate sources and three case studies (albeit less detailed than that of the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network) reinforce this idea, and allow us to gain a broader perspective on the influence of crypto-Jewish groups in intensifying the processes of exchange and extraction in this period, and in contributing towards the emergence of Creole power blocks in Cabo Verde.

The first case study touches on an event already mentioned II:3, regarding Joana Coelha's proposed marriage to Fabião de Andrade<sup>357</sup>. A deposition in 1614 noted that Coelha's great-grandmother had disapproved of the proposed marriage since Andrade was not a *cristão novo*<sup>358</sup>. That the marriage was made regardless is revealed by evidence from the Inquisition in Cartagena, and the case brought by Juana de Cuellar (evidently a Hispanicization of Joana

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<sup>357</sup> See above, page 149.

<sup>358</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 205, 229v.

Coelha) against the Inquisition to recover goods owed by Juan Rodriguez Mesa, a convicted Judaizer, to her dead husband “Favian” de Andrade<sup>359</sup>.

This connection is important for numerous reasons. Andrade’s orbit remained very much the island of Santiago, and letters from Rodriguez Mesa referred to the difficulties of trade on the island<sup>360</sup>. This is therefore further evidence that the crypto-Jewish networks embraced Cabo Verde as well as Guiné. Moreover, Rodriguez Mesa confessed to Judaizing in Cartagena without having been tortured<sup>361</sup>, and as we saw above one of his other contacts was Alvaro Gonçalves Frances<sup>362</sup>. This might therefore suggest that Andrade was one of the Caboverdean *cristão velho* Judaizers, which would confirm that this atmosphere embraced both Guiné and Cabo Verde; although there is no direct evidence for this, his marriage to a member of a known *cristão novo* family and his subsequent hand in the pan-Atlantic networks reinforces the idea that the crypto-Jewish networks constituted some kind of clique in which membership – either by marriage or belief – assisted personal advancement: while endogamy was not necessary for membership, it is possible that some form of shared practice was needed in order to become a part of the pan-Atlantic trading diaspora.

The second case study also repositions a family already discussed, the Rodrigues da Costas. As we have seen, both Francisco Rodrigues da Costa and his relative João were accused of Judaizing in Lima, while João was a significant figure on Santiago and an ally of Diogo

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<sup>359</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1608, Expediente 27; when called to give evidence, Rodriguez Mesa agreed that he had owed the money to Andrade and various documents were brought forward to reveal connections between the two men stretching back through the 1630s (folios 5r, 14v, 31v-32r, 35r-36v).

<sup>360</sup> Ibid., folio 36r: “*de presente no ay navio que vaya a la Isla...los señores de aqui no estando a parecer de inbiar a essa isla navio porque en el viaje de esteban madera no ganaron nada*” : tr. “at present there is no ship going to [Santiago]...the traders here don’t want to send ships to the island because in the voyage of Esteban Madera there was no profit”.

<sup>361</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1021, folios 9v-10r.

<sup>362</sup> See above, page 219. The letter of Rodriguez Mesa appended to the case brought by Joana Coelha also reveals that another contact was Tomás Rodrigues Barassa (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1608, Expediente 27, folio 35v).

Ximenes Vargas<sup>363</sup>. He later became the *escrivão do almoxarifado* in Cabo Verde in 1624<sup>364</sup>, before apparently settling in Guiné and trading with Seville and America<sup>365</sup>. In Guiné he became factor circa 1639<sup>366</sup>; so influential was he that five years after the uprising of Portugal in 1640 he was said to be building a large ship with his brother Manoel in order to ship slaves to Cartagena<sup>367</sup>. Indeed, as late as 1658, Rodrigues da Costa was said to be a resident in the Farim region<sup>368</sup>, and at this time he was still said to be “of the Hebrew nation” and involved in active Judaism<sup>369</sup>.

Although João’s brother Francisco lived in Seville<sup>370</sup>, there is no evidence as to why he should have desired to swear his allegiance to the Spanish crown; it is far more likely that such protestations were designed to enable the established trans-Atlantic slaving operations to

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<sup>363</sup> See above, page 202. See page 202 n.163 for an explication of the difficulty in specifying the nature of their relationship: the two men were either brothers or in-laws.

<sup>364</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 41.

<sup>365</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 45: a list of the debts of residents of the Rivers made on August 13<sup>th</sup> 1641 includes those of João Rodriguez da Costa.

<sup>366</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (1974), 97.

<sup>367</sup> AGI, Indiferente 2796: “*a la ciudad de Santa Marta vino un barco con negros de los rios de Guinea y que en el vinieron algunos Portugueses y castellanos de los que estaban en guinea en la ocasion del alçamento del reyno de Portugal los quales son de los que se retiraron en aquellos Rios huyendo del dicho Alçamento los quales an venido aestas Partes juzgando tener en ellas buena acogida pagando a Su Magd sus derechos y por no estar ciertos desta otros que quedan en los dichos Rios sustan allí hasta saver el sucesso de los que por aca an venido como es el capitán Juan Rodriguez de Acosta questa fabricando un navio grande con intento de salir de allí para las yndias Donde vino tamvien un hermano suyo nombrado el Capitan Manuel de Acosta y por aver descaminadole al susodicho y al dicho navio de Sta Marta los esclavos que se le quitaron corre riesgo que los que estan en los dichos Rios salgan de allí adonde estan oprimidos y perseguidos del governador de Cavo Verde*”: tr. “A ship with slaves came to the city of Santa Marta [in Colombia] from the rivers of Guiné and in it came some of the Portuguese and Spaniards who were in Guiné at the time of the uprising of the kingdom of Portugal; these people were those who had retired to these rivers fleeing from the uprising and have come here believing that they will get a good welcome from the [Spanish] crown if they pay the proper duties; among those who have stayed behind in Guiné to see how this enterprise is received are Juan Rodriguez de Acosta who is making a large ship with the intention of coming to the Indies; and in this ship came Juan’s brother Manuel de Acosta, and since his slaves and those of the ship were seized there is a chance that those who are in Guiné hiding will come out into the open where they are persecuted by the Governor of Cabo Verde”. **NB: This document has no folio numbers.**

<sup>368</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 239, folio 90v.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid., folio 176v: “*João Rodrigues da Cosa da nação hebreá*”. In an argument with the *cristão novo* cleric Luis Rodrigues, Rodrigues da Costa accused him of being a “very superficial Jew” [*judeu muito baixo*].

<sup>370</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 45. He must also have been related to the Antonio Rodrigues da Costa who took ships from Seville on the Guiné-Cartagena run (Huguette and Pierre Chaunu (1956: Vol. 4, 506-7)).

continue unhindered. This evidence from Cartagena shows that he was like other members of the transatlantic networks and concentrated mostly in slaves. As an important figure on both the islands and the coast, he is emblematic of the way in which these networks bridged both poles of Caboverdean space. And while the evidence on his Judaizing is restricted to the one denunciation from Lima, circumstantial evidence is supportive of his involvement in the crypto-Jewish networks. One of his creditors in Seville was a member of the Gramaxo family<sup>371</sup>, and he may also have been related to the Jorge Rodrigues da Costa who was arrested in Lisbon in 1622 as the commercial agent for Duarte Esteves de Pina, a Jew in Hamburg<sup>372</sup>.

While these first two case studies fill out the picture derived from the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa networks, and reveal the reach of the pan-Atlantic crypto-Jewish networks in both Cabo Verde and Guiné, the third one reveals just how far this atmosphere affected attitudes parochial to Caboverdean space alone. The case relates to one Felipe Tavares Metello, a priest on the island of Fogo. In 1624, Tavares Metello was accused of blasphemy, having mocked the beliefs of the church openly<sup>373</sup>. The bishop of Cabo Verde wrote about his case to the inquisitors in Lisbon, and Tavares Metello made a getaway, re-emerging by 1631 on São Tomé, where he had lived previously. On São Tomé he was accused of violating the secrecy of the inquisitorial process by showing papers sent from the Inquisition in Lisbon to “people of his partiality”, causing a great scandal since they then threatened revenge on their accusers to the inquisitors

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<sup>371</sup> Ibid..

<sup>372</sup> AGS, Estado 2847, September 19<sup>th</sup> 1622.

<sup>373</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 208, folios 500r-501v. Tavares Metello’s accuser had said that he believed in the creed of the Holy Church of Rome, to which Tavares Metello had replied that so did the doorkeeper and the weaver of cloths; when the accuser then asked if Tavares Metello believed in anything else instead, he replied that he knew more than the teachings of the Holy Church.

whose names appeared in the papers<sup>374</sup>. He was despatched back to Lisbon where he was reconciled in an *Auto* of 1634<sup>375</sup>.

In the case of Tavares Metello, his *cristão novo* ancestry lurks beneath the surface. The details from the *Auto da Fé*, reveal that he was three-quarters *cristão novo*<sup>376</sup>, while in Cabo Verde some of the depositions related to whether or not Tavares had *cristão novo* origins<sup>377</sup>. Moreover, the evidence from São Tomé that Tavares Metello showed the inquisitorial documents to people of his “partiality” strongly suggests *cristão novo* antecedents, since there were many accusations of a large *cristão novo* population on São Tomé at this time<sup>378</sup> and the inquisitorial papers may well have referred to the activities of this group.

These three case studies underline just how central the crypto-Jewish element in Caboverdean society was in this period. It touched high-ranking administrative posts in the *almoxarifado*, vicars on Fogo, and members of *cristão velho* families marrying into the networks. It bridged the islands and the coast, and Africa and America. Cabo Verde and Guiné were frequently said to be crawling with the dreaded *gente de nação*<sup>379</sup>; Jews were said to be proselytizing their slaves in Cacheu, in an echo of the activities of some Jews of Amsterdam<sup>380</sup>;

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<sup>374</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 222, folios 71r-73v.

<sup>375</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 435, folio 55v: this document gives Tavares's name as Antonio, not Felipe; this must have been a scribal error, as the document also gives him the same job title as does the deposition in São Tomé, making it clear that they refer to the same individual.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid..

<sup>377</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 208, folios 501v, 503r.

<sup>378</sup> See e.g. ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 21, folio 38r; IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 209, folio 689r; IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 223, folios 304r, 346r-349v.

<sup>379</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folio 479r, a letter of 1633: “*Esta Ilha de Santiago e as povoações todas de guiné, estão cheas de gente de nação*”: tr. “This island of Santiago and all the settlements of Guiné are full of [*cristãos novos*]”.

<sup>380</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 5: a document of 1623 which recommends that slaves being sent to the Americas should be instructed in the faith first in Santiago, owing to the levels of Judaism in Guiné.

most of the men in government on the islands were said in 1627 to be *de nação*<sup>381</sup>. As subscribers to embattled worldviews tend to find, the enemy was everywhere; in 1629 the Governor of Cabo Verde, João Pereira Corte Real tried to punish its most evident manifestation, sending a force to punish the open Jews of the *petite côte*<sup>382</sup>. Yet it was of little help; the Jesuit superior wrote in the same year that in Guiné the *cristãos novos* turned into active Jews<sup>383</sup>, and in 1630, Christovam Cabral was appointed Governor of Cabo Verde even though he was said to be a *cristão novo*<sup>384</sup>: by 1640 there was said to be a synagogue still active<sup>385</sup>.

This wide-ranging Jewish influence in Cabo Verde was well known to the authorities in Portugal. The *conselho geral* of the Inquisition in Lisbon mooted a visit to the region in 1623, something that was supported by the papal nuncio<sup>386</sup>. The crown had issued orders seizing goods belonging to relatives of penitents of the Inquisition living on the island of Fogo circa 1640<sup>387</sup>. Yet such was the grip of *cristãos novos* among the Portuguese of the region that even

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<sup>381</sup> Ibid., Vol. 5, 183-4: “*A gente desta Ilha hé muy pouca, e se entre todos os moradores della se acharem vinte homes da governança que de todo sejaõ brancos naõ será pouco e destes naõ raro saõ os que naõ sejaõ da nação*”: tr. “there are very few people on [Santiago] and there are probably not even 20 administrators who are pure whites and of these it is rare to find one who is not a *cristão novo*”.

<sup>382</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 27, anexo 4.

<sup>383</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 214: “*os christãos novos que naquella terra se descobrem por Judeos*”: tr. “the *cristãos novos* who in that land [of Guiné] become Jews”.

<sup>384</sup> Christiano José de Senna Barcellos (1899), 237.

<sup>385</sup> BA, Códice 51-VI-21, folio 180r.

<sup>386</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 14, folio 40r: this document mentions the proposal in 1623 to send the new bishop of São Tomé to visit Angola, Cabo Verde Congo and Sierra Leone en route to his new post. See also Filipa Ribeira da Silva (2004), 162. See also Isaiás Rosa Pereira (1995), 131 for a letter from the Inquisitor General to the king urging action in this matter.

<sup>387</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 45. This document, dated 1641, refers to the death of Alvaro Gonçalves Frances and continues “his inheritors are in Spain, namely a daughter of his and his son-in-law who died as a Jew in the Inquisition of Cartagena and the King of Spain confiscated his goods there and his goods here belong to Your Majesty, and his executors here were his nephew Dioguo Barraza and Fernão Lopes da Misquitta, and Your Majesty must execute an order declaring all of this as you have already done on the island of Fogo”: “*seus erdeiros estao em Castela que he hua filha sua e hu cunhado seu que morreu na inquisição de cartagena por iudeu e el Rey de Castela confiscou lhe seus bens la e os da ca pertencé a V. Mgde. Ficarão por seus testamanteiros seu sobrinho Dioguo Barraza e Fernão Lopes da misquitta. He necessaria que V. Mgde mande huá orden nomeando todas estas cousas como V. Mgde faz aida ilha do fogo...*”. As this document relates to the activity of João IV it must refer to activities of his after his investment in 1640.

the man considered the best candidate for the post of Captain of Cacheu in 1624 was not a pure *cristão velho*<sup>388</sup>.

There can be no doubt that these years were the heyday for the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde. There was an open synagogue with which some of the crypto-Jews were associated. They successfully instilled a culture of secrecy which protected the extent of their Jewishness and the networks which they had developed both in Cabo Verde and America<sup>389</sup>. They dominated trade so successfully that they created a culture in which *cristãos velhos* readily adopted traits of Judaism. Their ideology of choice, crypto-Judaism, became the diasporic trading religion for the Caboverdean region, even if for some it was a religion of convenience and contacts rather than one of conviction.

Yet the paradox was that this strength spearheaded a region and subculture that was increasingly marginalized. This *cristão novo* stronghold was so atypical of Portuguese life that Caboverdean space and its evolution became ever more divergent from Portugal's imperial trajectory. At the same time, the consolidation of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam meant that a growing gulf divided the Jews from the crypto-Jews in the Iberian diaspora. The secrecy and cultural ambiguity, for so long a part of the crypto-Jewish identity, and which had helped to turn crypto-Judaism into a religion bridging networks across the Atlantic, now seemed an anachronism to the open Jews of Amsterdam, and the connections slowly fell away.

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<sup>388</sup> BL, Egerton 1131, folio 202v: "*Sebastiam Fernandes Casão a servido mucho i con satisfaccion en aquellas partes i tanto q se le dio por ello el abito de cristo a annos y asi le tengo por abil para la merçed q V. Md fuere servido aserle no embargante la falta de limpeza...*": tr. "Sebastiam Fernandes Casão has served widely and with efficiency in these districts and he was given the habit of Christ years ago and so I think him appropriate for the appointment which your Majesty wishes to make for him in spite of his lack of *limpeça*".

<sup>389</sup> See, for instance, the complaint of the Bishop of Cabo Verde in 1633 regarding the secrecy of these networks, when he stated that the groups of *cristãos novos* were "so closed that it is impossible to penetrate them and find out anything certain regarding them" ("*tam fechadas q não hã poder entrar cõ elles para q se possa saber cousa certa*"): IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folio 479r.



Moreover, the Amsterdam-oriented synagogue in Senegambia was severely affected by the raid led by Corte Real in 1629<sup>390</sup> and by the row between the Peregrinos and members of the Amsterdam community that had flared up in the years prior to 1620<sup>391</sup>. Though Jews remained on the *petite côte* through to at least 1641<sup>392</sup>, their numbers were in decline as the connection with Amsterdam dried up. For this strong and influential community, it was creolization which beckoned.

#### 4.3 1640: Towards a New Social Identity in Cabo Verde

By 1640 the social composition of Caboverdean space was divergent from the norms expected in Portugal for important areas of its *Ultramar*. The freedoms of the Lusoaficans in Guiné were not perhaps atypical<sup>393</sup>; the difficulties constituted by the seat of Portuguese power - the islands - were unusual, however, and represented a seditious challenge to imperial ideology.

A letter from the Jesuits of 1619 had revealed that the society was divided into boundaries which offset both racial and religious groups. In their letter, the Jesuits had divided the population of Ribeira Grande into 4 groups: Creole mulattos, *cristãos novos*, clerics from Portugal and *cristãos velhos*<sup>394</sup>, implying that the groups were ordered according to their number, for the Old Christians – who were the last mentioned category - were diminishing in

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<sup>390</sup> Nize Izabel de Morães (1972), 39; Jean Boulègue (1972), 25-6.

<sup>391</sup> See above, page 177.

<sup>392</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 355.

<sup>393</sup> In numerous places the realities of colonialism had taught that the spaces beyond the immediate confines of the colonial centres were difficult to dominate. A good instance of this is Goa. There were numerous missives sent by the inquisitors of Goa in this period as to the impossibility of censuring Portuguese who went to live among the Indians and adopted their customs, throwing off the mantle of their Catholicism. See IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 96, nos. 21, 25.

<sup>394</sup> MMA, Vol. 4, 613.

number and influence, and being replaced by the Creoles<sup>395</sup>, the first mentioned category. By offsetting the Creoles against the other groups, the Jesuits expressed the reality of a society that was increasingly divided between the (overwhelming) majority Creoles and minority groups of European orientation (in which category all the other three groups fell)<sup>396</sup>. At the same time, the way in which the letter expresses the class and status of groups on the archipelago reveals that the groups of European orientation were increasingly subordinated to the Creoles, who were the dominant force in both number and influence; it was this dominance which would shape the codification of Creole society in Cabo Verde as the 17<sup>th</sup> century progressed.

It will be noted that this Jesuit letter places the *cristãos novos* as the second largest group in the city after the Creoles. The evidence we have considered for both the period prior to 1619 and the period from 1619 to 1640 confirms the reality of this portrait. In this final section of this part I argue that something of the protean, double sense of identity which facilitated the importance of *cristão novo* groups permeated through to social identity in Cabo Verde during this crucial formative period, and thus that the developing nature of emerging Creole society was a work in which their presence was significant.

This third part of the thesis has shown comprehensively that the position of doubleness and ambiguity that was concomitant with both emergent modernity in the Atlantic world and the position of *cristãos novos* in Iberia and the Iberian Atlantic permeated most aspects of the relationships between Europeans and Africans during these years in Cabo Verde. The facility to live with and interact with people on the African coast and then cast their bodies into the sea and

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<sup>395</sup> Nuno da Silva Gonçalves (1996), 226.

<sup>396</sup> António Carreira (1983), 72-3; it should be noted that the identification of *creoles* with mulattos also showed that all those who were born on the archipelago were mulattos.

register their deaths solemnly in a *livro do morto* required a doubleness of outlook<sup>397</sup>. The same was true of contraband and crypto-Judaism. The facility to be both Jew and Christian was a part of the identity-complex that allowed people to humanize and dehumanize, look to Africa and Europe, or Africa and America. Thus it was that attitudes and the alienation which had been forced onto Jews in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century came to be replicated in the Atlantic, as pretence and assimilation to the dominant atmosphere of a particular place were everything; in such circumstances, it was not surprising that *cristãos novos* were both perceived, and perceivable.

This psychological current ran very deep in Cabo Verde, and not just among overtly crypto-Jewish groups. In 1635, the bishop of Cabo Verde, Fray Lorenzo Garro, sold slaves to the crypto-Jew of Cartagena Juan Rodriguez Mesa<sup>398</sup>. The following year, Garro was involved in buying slaves in Cacheu; a purchase price of 45 *barafulas* was agreed for each slave in chains and 50 *barafulas* for those who were unchained, with the money deposited for the slaves with none other than Tomás Rodrigues Barassa<sup>399</sup>. The Jesuits, meanwhile, were heavily involved in slaving. Baltasar Barreira had written circa 1606 that there was no way of living in Cabo Verde without slaves and that he himself had sold some<sup>400</sup>. In 1624 the superior Sebastião Gomes said that the Jesuits on the islands had almost 100 slaves waiting to be sold to the next registered ship<sup>401</sup>. The wages of the Jesuits on the islands were paid by selling slaves in Cartagena<sup>402</sup>. As with Bishop Garro, these activities involved dealings with the networks of crypto-Jews, for

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<sup>397</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Piezas 4 and 5.

<sup>398</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1608, Expediente 27, folio 16v: the document makes clear that the captain of the ship with the slaves was to pay a portion of money to Rodriguez Mesa in Garro's name as part of the transaction.

<sup>399</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folios 481r-482r. See above, pages 226, 228-9 and 261 for more on Rodriguez Mesa's connections to the crypto-Jewish networks of Cabo Verde.

<sup>400</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (1972), 21.

<sup>401</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 36, doc. 27, folio 1r: "*nos tinhamos para vender quassi de cem pessas que ficarão do Capitão mor*".

<sup>402</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Pieza 5, folio 4r: the monies received by the sale of a shipment of slaves in Cartagena in 1635 included 100,000 reis to be paid in cash to the Jesuits in Santiago for the payment of their *ordinarios*.

among the traders which the Jesuits used to make these deals were Blas de Paz Pinto in Cartagena and the alleged crypto-Jew of Guiné Manoel Rodrigues Salgado<sup>403</sup>.

It is true that this slaving activity of the clergy had been gestating for some time, as circa 1594 Carletti had observed of Santiago how all the clergy depended on slaving to survive<sup>404</sup>. Yet what these earlier negotiations do not reveal is interaction between clergy and *cristão novo* groups, and thus it would appear that one of the main changes of the period from 1600 to 1640 is the increasing dominance of these groups, and the necessity of the clergy's interaction with them in order economically to sustain themselves; this inevitably required some form of accommodation to the crypto-Jewish characteristic of a protean identity, an attitude whose protean quality had been precisely that most fitted to Cabo Verde at this time.

Moreover, the extent of the doubleheaded attitude towards identity which was a potentiality of crypto-Judaism is also apparent when one recalls the origins of the doubleness of the crypto-Jews. For the secrecy of the crypto-Jewish identity had been imposed upon Judaism by the forced conversions and depredations of the dominant culture in Iberia, and, as we have seen, Cabo Verde was a space in which something of this persecution was transferred to others<sup>405</sup>. Thus if on the one hand crypto-Jewish identity as a whole was shaped by the cultural memory of persecution and alienation from old forms of religiosity, in Cabo Verde its strength as a trading religion relied on the commercial profit to be derived from transferring this persecution to others. There was then at once a doubleness in the process of forming identity through both the shared cultural awareness of the persecutions suffered by *cristãos novos* and

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<sup>403</sup> Ibid., folio 2r on Rodrigues Salgado; see also AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folios 2r-v for Blas de Paz Pinto's role.

<sup>404</sup> Francesco Carletti (1965), 10-11: "priests, clergy ordained to administer the Most Holy Sacraments... maintain themselves there, as also does the bishop, by buying and selling the abovementioned Moorish slaves (sic), who are brought there by Portuguese merchants".

<sup>405</sup> See above, pages 94-96.

their Jewish forebears in Portugal and the process of trading in Cabo Verde which required the transference of such persecutions onto others. Thus in a sense, the role of doubleness in identity in Cabo Verde was itself predicated upon the transfer of prejudice from Jews to Africans, for where “natural slaves” in Portugal in the 1480s were largely perceived to be Jews<sup>406</sup>, by the early 1600s Africans had filled this role.

I do not pretend, of course, that this pattern was by any means unique to Cabo Verde. Schorsch has noted how the openly Jewish Atlantic Sephardic diaspora “produced those capable of parasitizing Blacks, another group marginalized/maintained by the dominant majorities”<sup>407</sup>, with “some Jews [believing] they had discovered an antidote to their own exclusion, a tincture to ensure their own whiteness”<sup>408</sup>. Yet in Cabo Verde, as society evolved differently to elsewhere in the *Ultramar*, Jews did not whiten; rather, as we have seen, they married Africans, had mulatto children, and thus “blackened”. Moreover, Cabo Verde was differentiated by this quality of doubleness; for whereas the growing openness of Jewish practice elsewhere in the Atlantic – in Amsterdam, Brazil, Suriname and later in the Caribbean - saw a separation developing between Jewish and crypto-Jewish communities, in Cabo Verde it was the ability of crypto-Judaism to be protean that ensured its centrality in the formation of identity in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century: a pervasive psychological atmosphere had developed with correlates in commerce, religion and society.

As crowning evidence of the protean nature of emergent Caboverdean identity, it is instructive to consider the curious double relationship between the crypto-Jewish elements of

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<sup>406</sup> Thus the complaint at the Córtes of 1481-2 complained that the Jews “*se terem-feito senhores onde naturalmente são servos*”. A. Herculano (1854), Vol. 1, 98. Whereas in Spain, the Moors were perhaps seen as the natural slaves, the earlier completion of the *reconquistain* Portugal and the thorough assimilation of the Moors by the late 15<sup>th</sup> century means that this may not be the case here (A.H. de Oliveira Marques (1972: Vol. 1, 80)).

<sup>407</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 303.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*.

Caboverdean society and cultural practice on the African coast, for here there was both active proselytizing of Africans towards Judaism and growing absorption of crypto-Jews into African life. Jews were in fact accused of proselytizing Africans<sup>409</sup>, of circumcizing Africans<sup>410</sup>, and some Africans were even accused of circumcizing themselves which appears to have led some to suspect Judaizing activity<sup>411</sup>. On the other hand, the descendants of some of the most active crypto-Jews – such as Alvaro Gonçalves Frances – happily married into the communities of the coast and adopted African practices, and we know from São Tomé that members of the crypto-Jewish communities there also happily adopted autochthonous cultural practices of the region<sup>412</sup>.

The willingness of Africans to “convert” may illustrate more a misunderstanding on the part of Portuguese authors of the nature of religious practice in the region than any actual “conversion” to Judaism<sup>413</sup>. Yet even if this were the case it would illustrate the similarities in perception of crypto-Judaism and African religions – a similarity which must stem from the perceived similarity in structural roles which we have examined in Parts I and II - and imply that there was a growing fusion of the crypto-Jews into African life. There were, in fact, numerous points of contact between Judaism and cultural practice on the coast, such as that in Senegambia and in Kaabu, biological heredity was matrilineal<sup>414</sup>; in Lusoafican families women achieved a pre-eminent position, something that reflected both the role of the matrilineal clan in marriages

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<sup>409</sup> BL, Egerton 344, folios 98r-v.

<sup>410</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 23.

<sup>411</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folio 475r: “*os tres moços q sendo chrisãtos se circumcidarão forão pretos e a serẽ negrinhos não souberão o q fazião*”: tr. “the three Christian boys who circumcised themselves were blacks and being so they did not know what they were doing”.

<sup>412</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 209, folio 689r: the *crisãtos novos* “*fazem mil gentilidades, e couzas contra nossa fee, como he offerecer prezentees dadas aos diozes dos Negros, q são os Demonios, com quem elles de ordinaria falão e sorteão; e sem isso não fazem Resgate*”: tr. “practice thousands of gentilic rites in opposition to our faith, like offering gifts to the Gods of the blacks, which are demons with whom they deal and talk quite naturally; without doing this they are unable to trade”.

<sup>413</sup> See above, page 115 n.47 on the importance of circumcision to cultural practice on the coast.

<sup>414</sup> Bouabacar Barry (1998), 28-9.

on the coast<sup>415</sup> and the matrilinearity of Judaism: such matrilinearity also made it difficult to recognize the Jewishness of children born to Jewish men and African women, and thus facilitated Africanization.

Thus the apparent “conversion” of some Africans to Judaism probably masks a more thorough integration of crypto-Jews into African society. Probably what was involved in these cultural mixtures was not the overwhelming influence of either one on the other, but rather a cross-fertilization of cultural practice. While it remains difficult to disentangle the ways in which each culture may have influenced the other, what we can say is that, from the European perspective, the development of a shared cultural practice – creolization – probably was a residue of Jewish rather than of Christian culture, since Judaism was the quintessentially adaptive element of Iberian culture.

Of course, in spite of all these trends, residues of the peninsula mentality remained in Caboverdean space. On Santiago, rigid caste segregation could more easily be imposed; all slaveholders on Santiago knew the ethnicities of their slaves<sup>416</sup> and there were segregated neighbourhoods for each ethnicity from Guiné in Ribeira Grande<sup>417</sup>: moreover, the white residents claimed that as “pure” whites they should not be known as *cristãos novos*, an epithet which should be given to those who had any admixture of African blood<sup>418</sup>. Yet in the long run

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<sup>415</sup> Malyn Newitt (1992), 49-50.

<sup>416</sup> A good instance of this is the will of Catarina Fernandes, dating from 1623, where she assigns certain goods to various slaves, citing all of them by their racial group: see IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 37, doc. 18.

<sup>417</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 2, doc. 37: refers to the “*aldeia do Sapes em q se agavalhao a metade da gente pobre desta cidade [da Ribeira Grande]*”: tr. “the settlement of the Sapes in which half the poor people of this city [of Ribeira Grande] are found”..

<sup>418</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 198-9: “*por ende os que nascem de brancos limpios não parece que podem chamar Neophytos, que quer dizer novos christãos, nem descendentes de tais, senão os que de algū modo procedem de gente preta*” (199): tr. “and so those who are born of clean whites cannot be called Neophytes, which means *cristãos novos*, nor descendants of such, but only those who in some sense descend from black people should be given this name”. This document is dated 1627.

these attempts to transfer *limpeça* from Portugal to racial segregation in Cabo Verde would break down in the second third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; in order to creolize it was necessary to adapt, and ideas of rigid separation were ill-equipped for such a task.

## **Conclusion**

When one considers the history of Cabo Verde between 1600 and 1640, it is apparent that radical changes occurred in economy and society. Whereas, as we saw in I:5, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century Cabo Verde witnessed a concatenation of the economic and social forces that led to the development of a modernized form of racism first in Iberia and then in Cabo Verde, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century these forces were repositioned, remaining important in Guiné but increasingly tangential to Cabo Verde. Moreover, the ongoing acceleration of these forces elsewhere in the Atlantic depended increasingly upon the development of plantation slavery<sup>419</sup>, something that was absent from Cabo Verde; thus when the overconsumption of the extractive processes in the region led to the decline of the extractive trade post-1640, the forces that engendered modern racism in the Atlantic world began to slip away: the lack of plantations in Cabo Verde and the growing economic marginality of the place meant that it was increasingly outside evolving discourses of the wider Atlantic.

There were attempts in some quarters of Caboverdean society to minimize the ideological effects of this growing marginality. The slave trade did increase in the years through to 1640 before the sharp decline thereafter, and the importance of slaving to the Portuguese expatriate community found its expression in the attempts to maintain the rigid caste separations

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<sup>419</sup> See e.g. Robin Blackburn (1997: 15) who talks of the “racial theory which became peculiarly associated with plantation slavery”.



that had been inherited from Portugal and the hopeless fantasy of eradicating the mulatto “race” by importing white convicts from Portugal.

Yet these were desperate rearguard actions by an outnumbered and outmanoeuvred minority. The settlers of the 7 inhabited islands of Cabo Verde all lived within their means by mid century, except for Santiago, where reliance on imported luxuries and fantasies of the “settler lifestyle” created salary expectations and vast debts for the crown in maintaining the functionaries of the urban bureaucracy where the peninsula ideology was strongest<sup>420</sup>. Meanwhile the Jesuit soldiers of Christ used their wealth to buy up whole neighbourhoods, farms and orchards<sup>421</sup>; their ostentation and dependency on imported goods is revealed by their purchase of cod and sardines to be brought to Santiago in 1635<sup>422</sup> - as if unaware of the fact that they were surrounded by the sea - and the constant import of perceived necessities such as wine, sugar, vinegar, wheat, barley and chestnuts<sup>423</sup>.

The reality as revealed by these documents is of a mentality seeking to maintain a Portuguese lifestyle and Portuguese values, but only able to do so in this region of increasing economic marginality through fiscal bankruptcy. It was no wonder that the Jesuit mission was shortlived. This dependence on Europe and European values could not last, and it had to be redressed by a new form of identity which stepped outside these imposed boundaries. The ideology which had imposed the boundaries had pushed the system to its limits, ensuring that it would be irreparably damaged in Cabo Verde.

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<sup>420</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 2, doc. 75. This document lists the outgoings (*despeza*) and receipts (*receita*) of the 7 islands as follows: Santiago, *receita* 3,025,000 reis, *despeza* 11,965,566 reis; Maio, *receita* 140,000 reis, *despeza* 68,000 reis; Boa Vista, *receita* 171,200 reis, *despeza* 98,800 reis; Santo Antão, *receita* 580,000 reis, *despeza* 184,480 reis; São Nicolaū, *receita* 449,550 reis, *despeza* 122,070 reis; Brava, *receita* 280,000 reis, *despeza* 135,500 reis; Fogo, *receita* 389,066 reis, *despeza*, 275,000 reis.

<sup>421</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 2, doc. 37.

<sup>422</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 36, no. 59.

<sup>423</sup> IAN/TT, Cartório dos Jesuitas, Maço 36, no. 60.

In this context, crypto-Judaism was an important middle ground. Other to both Africa and the dominant European culture, it was also by definition adaptive and protean. The facility to interact strengthened the crypto-Jewish integration into Caboverdean space to such a degree that people with no Jewish ancestry adopted Jewish practices. Moreover, it was here that people first arriving from Europe were often converted<sup>424</sup>, a place which, as the Jesuit visitor Pero Rodrigues had said in 1593, “invites freedom of words and customs”<sup>425</sup>. It was the adaptive and not the dominant cultural tropes which triumphed in Cabo Verde during the formation of Creole society.

Yet the paradox was that this very stepping outside of the traditional boundaries could only occur within a framework whose terms of engagement had been set by Europe and the new materialist, double mentality which accompanied the development of modern Atlantic commerce. Just as seditious ideologies such as crypto-Judaism depended on the success of the ideologies against which they reacted, the dialectic of oppression and resistance would lead to a new Creole identity in Cabo Verde only *because* there had already been oppression. Just as the excesses of the dominating culture led to its own subversion, the successes of subversion required earlier domination. If oppression was thus in some sense a condition of freedom, this was something that Jews themselves recognized, from the experiences told annually during Passover of slavery and redemption in Egypt.

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<sup>424</sup> Crypto-Jews often first converted in Guiné, as we have seen in this part through the case of Sebastian Duarte. See also Tobias Green (2006b).

<sup>425</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 129, folio 201r: Rodrigues compaliend that Guiné “*convida a liberdade de palavras e costumes*”.

## **PART FOUR**

### **CONSTRUCTING A CREOLE IDENTITY**

**Assimilation and Assertion in Caboverdean Space, 1640-1672**

## INTRODUCTION

In this final part of the thesis the two aspects of the subtitle – creolization and the Jewish presence – coalesce within Caboverdean space. We see how the decline of the externally-oriented economy prefigured the rise of a cultural space in which there was a decrease of the alienation and objectification which accompanied the rise of the modern Atlantic, paving the way for the emergence of the society which emerged in Caboverdean space by the end of the period under examination in this thesis. In this process the adaptive element of the *cristão novo* population played an important part.

In Chapter 1, we see how the decline of Portuguese power in both the Atlantic world and Caboverdean space facilitated the emergence of a newly dominant Creole identity in this period. This decline in power was itself the correlate of the excesses of the extractive economic cycle visited on the region in the preceding century and a half; thus the autonomy of the emergent Creole identity was itself in part dependent on the preceding oppressive cycle.

In Chapter 2 we follow two different networks which reveal that many of the American crypto-Jews persecuted by the Inquisition in the 1630s and 1640s returned to Cabo Verde to seek refuge. One of these networks – that of Manoel Henriques and Adão Dias Solis – reveals previously unknown connections between Cabo Verde and the Jews of Amsterdam. The escape of fugitives from the Inquisition implies a place of escape, and bolsters the idea of Chapter 1 that Portuguese hegemony was now attenuated in Cabo Verde, the companion to which was growing Creole autonomy.

In Chapter 3 I analyze two different networks of *cristãos novos* – one from Cabo Verde and one from Guiné – which imply that people of Jewish origin were assimilating into their host cultures by 1670, and no longer maintaining their distinctive crypto-Jewish identity. This

assimilation tended to be with powerful social groups, which supports the notion that the ambiguous and hybrid position of *cristãos novos* in Iberian culture facilitated their assimilation into the cultures of Caboverdean space.

In Chapter 4, we see how the cultural space which had developed in Cabo Verde by 1672 was fundamentally different to that in most of the rest of the Atlantic, owing to the absence of plantations or a large-scale slave trade. This, it is argued, allowed the rise of a less hierarchical and objectified society, and consolidated the rise of Creole culture. Yet this was only within a paradigm where there was a supervenience of the wider culture of expansion and domination in the Atlantic world.

**TABLE 4: KNOWN *CRISTÃOS NOVOS* IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE, 1640-1672**

<b>NAME</b>	<b>DATES ACTIVE</b>	<b>PLACE OF BIRTH</b>	<b>OTHER LOCALES OF ACTIVITY</b>	<b>RESIDENCE IN CABOVERDEAN SPACE</b>
Manoel Henriques	1630-50?	?	Cartagena, Panamá	Ribeira Grande
Adão Dias de Solis	1635-50	Lisbon?	Antwerp, Cartagena, Guatemala, Seville	Cacheu, Ribeira Grande
Manoel Rodrigues Salgado	1635-60?	?	Cartagena	Cacheu, Geba
João Rodrigues Duarte	1635-60?	Montemor- o-Novo	Cartagena, Lima	Cacheu
Vicente Rodrigues Duarte	1635-60?	Montemor- o-Novo	?	Cacheu
Manoel de Mattos	1633-61?	?	Lima	Geba, Ribeira Grande
João Rodrigues Freire	1629-64?	?	Pernambuco, Portugal	Ribeira Grande

Duarte Mendes	1629-51?	?	?	Ribeira Grande
Antonio Mendes	1629-?	?	?	Ribeira Grande
Domingos de Figueroa Relvado	1657?-71	Elvas	?	Ribeira Grande

## CHAPTER ONE

### Detachment From the Wider Atlantic and Accelerated Creolization, 1640-1672

#### 1.1 The Political Context of Cabo Verde *circa* 1640

In December 1640, Portugal rebelled against Spain and declared the Duke of Bragança King João IV<sup>1</sup>. Iberia was plunged into 28 years of war between the two nations, and Portugal faced a struggle to survive; in the Low Countries, the States-General recognized Portugal and declared a Truce for 10 years, although not before seizing Angola and São Tomé in 1641<sup>2</sup>.

The choice of 1640 as a dividing year for the history of Cabo Verde would seem therefore automatically to imply a European perspective. Yet one of the key arguments in Part 3 was that subaltern groups have often asserted their own independence and response to oppression within a continuum which is circumscribed by the wider framework of that oppression. As the development of the Caboverdean economy meant that the parameters of Caboverdean space were originally defined by Portuguese navigational and economic activity, it is not illogical to seek the assertion of Caboverdean identity within this dynamic.

In fact, events in Cabo Verde cannot entirely be separated from events in Iberia. The year 1640 would definitively mark the end of Cabo Verde's pre-eminence in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Thereafter the major activity of this trade moved elsewhere, partly because as Cabo Verde was a Portuguese colony the Spanish did not want to add to its profits, and partly because the travails of Portugal and Spain allowed the British, the Dutch and the French to move in on

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<sup>1</sup> The Duke was an illegitimate descendant of the royal line; for the Portuguese nobility, the final straw had been the demand of a levee of troops to be sent to fight the insurrection of Cataluña against Spain that had begun in the same year (L.M.E. Shaw (1989: 11)).

<sup>2</sup> A good account of these machinations is C.R. Boxer (1952), 168-77.



the trade, who moved their attentions further south to Allada and Calabar<sup>3</sup>. This process of change culminated in 1662 when the Dutch were awarded the *asiento* for exporting slaves to Spanish America.

What we will see in the final part of this thesis is that the displacement of the most intense extractive activity enabled the Portuguese dynamic to be subverted in Cabo Verde and permitted the formulation of a Creole lexicon of ideas and identity. Throughout these years, Cabo Verde remained a place of escape for Judaizers escaping the Inquisition, just as it had been for the Leão/Carvajal nexus in the 1550s and the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network of the 1620s. This emphasized the otherness of the region, a condition which was associated with the development of this Creole identity.

Moreover, the Caboverdean crypto-Jews accommodated this identity in part because they were isolated from the wider currents of Atlantic Sephardic identity. The crypto-Jewish pan-Atlantic trading networks were severed by the depredations of the Inquisition on the Portuguese communities of Lima, Cartagena and Mexico (1636-1649), events which had helped to further the sense of divide between the two Iberian nations. Meanwhile, the collapse of Dutch Brazil in 1654 following attacks from Portugal led to the dispersal of Recife's large Jewish community throughout the Caribbean, and the isolation of some crypto-Jewish communities in Brazil<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> AGI, Indiferente 2796, includes mention of a proposal by two British sailors to bring 2000 slaves a year from Allada and Calabar to Cartagena; Robin Law (1991: 121) places the Dutch search for slaves in the region of Allada to 1636.

<sup>4</sup> The best account of the Sephardim in Recife is José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello (1996); Egon and Frieda Wolff (1989) contains a useful dictionary of many of the settlers in Brazil at this time. See also Malcolm H. Stern (1971), E. M. Shilstone (1956: vii), and especially Mordechai Arbell (2002) on the role of Jews from Brazil in the Caribbean. Nathan Wachtel (2001a: 340ff) argues that the remnants of the crypto-Jews in north-eastern Brazil were descendants of those dispersed following the Portuguese recapture of Recife in 1654.

The isolation of Caboverdean crypto-Jews was mirrored by communities elsewhere in the Americas, especially in Antioquia (Nuevo Reino de Granada)<sup>5</sup>. There was thus an isolation of crypto-Jewish communities throughout the Atlantic world. As Caboverdean space had previously been integrated into this world, this meant that these events in the Americas inevitably affected the communities in the African Atlantic. However, although isolation would lead eventually to assimilation, the long crypto-Jewish history of the Caboverdean region would have a distinctive role in the formation of the identity which now came to challenge Portuguese hegemony in Caboverdean space.

## **1.2 External Decline and Internal Recovery**

By 1640 the process of external decline was longstanding in Cabo Verde. However, paradoxically, the rupture of 1640 ameliorated conditions somewhat, at least in the short term, as far as external trade was concerned. Spanish trade was allowed to restart in the region in 1646, ships were now obliged to sail from Cacheu via Santiago, meaning that in the 1650s and 1660s there was a trickle of ships from Cartagena to Santiago<sup>6</sup>. However, this ruling applied only to slaves destined for Spanish America, since the slaves for Brazil were allowed to sail direct from Cacheu<sup>7</sup>, and the decree for Spanish ships alone could not arrest the long-term decline of Santiago since Cabo Verde's pre-eminence was being displaced as Iberia itself declined vis-à-vis the northern powers.

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<sup>5</sup> Seymour B. Liebman (1992: 70) argues that the crypto-Jewish community of Antioquia arose after the inquisitorial persecution of Judaizers began in Cartagena in 1636; on the Jewish residue in Antioquia, see also Daniel MesaBernal (1996: 163-225).

<sup>6</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 134-5. But this was very much a trickle; a letter of 1665 bemoaned the lack of registered ships arriving for slaves from the Indies (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 11).

<sup>7</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 28: dated February 10<sup>th</sup> 1648.

Any recovery in the islands based on external trade was therefore piecemeal. The Jesuits finally gave up their mission in 1646, unable to continue with the externally-oriented lifestyle which was to their taste<sup>8</sup>. In 1648 the *sargento mor* Bernardo Botelho, despairing at never being paid, abandoned Santiago for Brazil<sup>9</sup>. In 1651, the island was such a dead-end for imperial ambition that there were no *letrados* (qualified people) to be found to occupy official posts<sup>10</sup>. Santiago remained outside the growing Atlantic economy to such an extent that cloths were being used as currency in 1653<sup>11</sup> and a new mint had to be founded in 1654 to try to redress the situation<sup>12</sup>. But even this was of little avail, and the *camara* of Cabo Verde, asked for a contribution towards Catherine of Bragança's dowry in her marriage to England's Charles II, wrote in 1663 that the richest man on Santiago had only 4 slaves and that the island had reached such a state that the rich had exhausted all their capital; things were so dire that even local forms of exchange – cloths and cotton – had failed<sup>13</sup>.

This externally-oriented decline – prevalent in Cabo Verde since the late 16<sup>th</sup> century - was for the first time mirrored by events in Guiné. The reorientation of European slavers towards the Bight of Benin was a significant check on the ability of the Lusoafrikan communities to maintain their important position in the Atlantic world. Even in the Lusophone world, the recapture of Angola and São Tomé from the Dutch in 1648 meant that Cacheu

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<sup>8</sup> Nuno da Silva Gonçalves (1996) provides the most complete account of the Jesuit mission on the islands.

<sup>9</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 2, dated November 15<sup>th</sup> 1648.

<sup>10</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, caixa 4, doc. 13, dated March 10<sup>th</sup> 1651: “*por se não aver letrado algum...*”.

<sup>11</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Álvaro Lerenó (1942), 20.

<sup>13</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 138. The *camara* did, however, manage to scrape together 200 horses for the dowry.

remained of transitory importance as the external trade of the West African coast was repositioned<sup>14</sup>.

Yet as with Cabo Verde in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, one of the biggest causes of the external decline of Guiné was ecological. A famine struck the entire region between the *petite côte* and Cacheu between 1639 and 1641, severely restricting external Atlantic trade in these years<sup>15</sup>. There were widespread ecological crises across West Africa, as crop failure in the Niger Valley from 1639 to 1643 led to the sacking of Jenne's storehouses and presaged two centuries of great aridity, with major crises to follow in the 1680s and the 1740s<sup>16</sup>. In 1641, the situation was such that the *moradores* of Cacheu suggested that they would have to go to live on Santiago<sup>17</sup>.

These internal factors must have been of comparable importance to the external geopolitical factors in the decline of slaving in Guiné. Though Palmer rightly sees the increased competition of other European nations in the region as driving slave prices up and the slavers elsewhere, this ecological factor is surely of equal significance<sup>18</sup>. Similarly, the stress placed by some – such as Fage – on the decline stemming from the lower density of population to be found in Guiné when compared to elsewhere places perhaps too much emphasis on the role of external demand<sup>19</sup>. Certainly a high density of population would be required as the trans-Atlantic slave trade reached industrial proportions in the later 17<sup>th</sup> century, but since, as this thesis has shown, the slave trade from Guiné was much higher in the years prior to 1640 than

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<sup>14</sup> George E. Brooks (2003), 117; J.D. Fage (2002), 248. For a full account of these troubles in the South Atlantic, see C.R. Boxer (1952).

<sup>15</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (1974). The *moradores* of Cacheu wrote on December 5<sup>th</sup> 1641 that the famine had been lasting for three years throughout the region and making it impossible for them to feed their slaves and live in Cacheu: see AHU, Guiné, doc. 23, Anexos 1 and 2.

<sup>16</sup> John Iliffe (1995), 68.

<sup>17</sup> AHU, Guiné, doc. 23, Anexo 1.

<sup>18</sup> Colin A. Palmer (1976), 21.

<sup>19</sup> J.D. Fage (2002), 264-5.

official figures would suggest, this lower density of population might itself stem to some degree from the earlier intensity of the extractive trade<sup>20</sup>.

Thus by the time that the Companhia de Cacheu was founded in 1676 in an attempt to revitalize the externally-oriented trade of the region, the focus of the trade had shifted decisively<sup>21</sup>. The very concentration of the earlier slave trade in Caboverdean space created a complex of conditions which meant that the later trade by-passed the region. The very intensity of the earlier oppression meant that Cabo Verde was able to escape the worst excesses of the later extractive forces, when these forces had their most concentrated effects; further, the decline of the externally-oriented economy in the years 1640-1672 was in fact accompanied by a process of internal recovery.

In Cabo Verde, this recovery formed a part of the process identified by Correia e Silva for Caboverdean history, whereby the decline of trading ports was often accompanied by an increase in the internal economy of the islands<sup>22</sup>. The 17<sup>th</sup> century, while witnessing the decline of Ribeira Grande, saw a notable growth in the subsistence trading economy of Santiago. By 1654 residents of Ribeira Grande were petitioning the Crown to be appointed to administrative posts in the interior, because of the profits to be had there<sup>23</sup>. The independence of the interior was emphasized by the fact that people fled thither from Ribeira Grande in the face of tyrannical

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<sup>20</sup> I do not intend to enter into the polemics caused by the use of population models to estimate the demographic effects of the slave trade (see Patrick Manning (1990)). Suffice it to say that there are no ecological reasons for the population of the Rivers region to be less dense than that of the region further south and east in the Bight of Benin, and thus that one potential explanation of a lower population density here might be the earlier intensity of the extractive trade.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Thomas (1997), 218.

<sup>22</sup> António Leão de Aguiar Cardoso Correia e Silva (1990), 12-3.

<sup>23</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 19, dated May 21<sup>st</sup> 1654: Manoel Barbosa de Almada, a tailor, seeks the post of “bailiff (*meirinho*) of the hills” [*meirinho da serra*].

governors<sup>24</sup>; by 1669, the term “*lançado*” was being applied to the people in the interior of Cabo Verde as well as to people in Guiné<sup>25</sup>.

Such information suggests that Ribeira Grande had lost most of the control that it might once have had over the interior of Santiago by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The evidence emphasises that it was in the interior of Santiago that the most powerful social forces were to be found, and that Ribeira Grande was in constant fear of attack. In 1652 a rumour spread that the “natives” [*habitantes naturaes*] were rebelling and planning to kill all the whites, which was the cause of great panic<sup>26</sup>; by 1664 there were no more than 55 white residents of Santiago<sup>27</sup>, and the Creole Domingos Rodrigues Viegas and his brother led a band of assorted “white and black insolent criminals”, parading through the streets of Ribeira Grande with armed militias, utterly beyond the reach of Portuguese law<sup>28</sup>: Rodrigues Viegas was said to be fomenting an armed uprising, press-ganging people in the villages to join his force<sup>29</sup>.

This rise to dominance in Santiago of the Creole population presented an insuperable obstacle to the rigid ideologies that lay behind the slave trade and imperial expansion. The decline in external trade meant that there was neither the incentive nor the will to face down the rise of Creole power in Cabo Verde, meaning that, as the English mariner George Roberts put it some time later, “the Blacks grew to be so much superior in Number, that they insisted to be put on an equal footing with the Whites, who, rather than submit to this, retired to *St. Jago* or

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<sup>24</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 114, dated August 18<sup>th</sup> 1661.

<sup>25</sup> AHNCV, SGG/A1.1/Livro 0001, folio 160r: “*nas dittas Ilhas e Rios andaó inquietos os homens lançados...*”: tr. “in the said islands and rivers the *lançados* are rebellious”.

<sup>26</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 30, dated June 8<sup>th</sup> 1655.

<sup>27</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 182, dated September 24<sup>th</sup> 1664.

<sup>28</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 186, dated November 20<sup>th</sup> 1664.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*.

*Portugal*, leaving but a few poor People behind, who were glad to join with the Blacks on their own terms”<sup>30</sup>.

Roberts suggested that this rise to power of the Creoles stemmed mainly from competition provided by other European trading nations<sup>31</sup>. Yet again, this is to lend too much emphasis to external factors in the formation of Caboverdean society. At least as important was the development of a strong internal economy, as evidenced by the fact that by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Santiago’s external trade, such as it was, depended on provisioning passing ships for the Atlantic trade, which required a sizeable and efficient local agricultural economy<sup>32</sup>.

Moreover, an additional internal factor in the rise to dominance of the Creoles on Santiago can be discerned. For these developments on the islands were not unconnected to events in Guiné. On the official level, large numbers of men from Ribeira Grande were often sent to Cacheu to serve there<sup>33</sup>; on the unofficial level, famines in either region led people to migrate from the islands to the coast or vice versa<sup>34</sup>. This constant interchange between Cabo Verde and Guiné meant that the residents of Santiago were well aware of the lack of control which Portugal exercised over the potentates of Guiné. By 1670, for instance, whenever the local population wished the residents of Cacheu to act in a particular way, they simply took over

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<sup>30</sup> NGC, Vol. 1, 651; Roberts’ account is dated 1725.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: “the Portugueze Trade in these Parts declining, by Means of other Nations finding-out the Way to *Guinea* and the *East Indies*”.

<sup>32</sup> This is apparent from Dampier’s two accounts of the islands, from 1683 and 1699 (NGC, Vol. 1, 76 and Vol. 3, 22-3).

<sup>33</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 30, dated April 3<sup>rd</sup> 1644: “*estando la [em Cacheu] mais de cem homēs desta cidade cō os soldados e capitães q mandei de socorro passageiros e dous pilotos...*”: tr. “there were there [in Cacheu] more than 100 men from this city [of Ribeira Grande] with the soldiers and captains that I sent to help, and also the passengers and two pilots”.

<sup>34</sup> See above, page 274 for people wanting to move from Cacheu to Santiago in 1641; see AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 1, for evidence of people from Santiago moving to Cacheu during the famines of Santiago in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (“*sou informado que no tempo da fome se forão muitas mulheres cristãs a viver nessas partes...*”: tr. “I am informed that in the time of the famine many Christian women went to live in those parts...”).

the spring and prevented the Europeans from gaining access to fresh water<sup>35</sup>. Thus the exchanges of the islands and the coast shifted the balance on Santiago, helping the Creole population assert themselves over the Portuguese hegemony just as the kings did on the African coast.

### 1.3 Internal Recovery and the Reformation of Language and Society

The evidence considered thus far in this chapter points to the reorientation of Caboverdean society in these years and the emergence of a dominant Creole class. Though it must be born in mind that Portugal retained its military presence in Ribeira Grande<sup>36</sup>, and that therefore this dominant Creole class – benefiting from a renewed subsistence economy – emerged in a society where Portuguese influence was impossible to escape entirely, it was the Portuguese power which lived in the shadow of Creole society, rather than vice versa.

In such a situation, it was evident that the society which emerged would be ever more divergent from what was considered ideal in Portugal. The rise to power of the Creoles themselves is one example of this, but of equal importance was the fact that this was not an overbearingly patriarchal society. By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century practically all the shops in Ribeira

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<sup>35</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 48: “*todas as vezes que os Negros querem obrigar ao Capitão e moradores de Cacheu fação o que está bem aos mesmos negros, ocupão os dos lugares da agoa cõ tanta multidão que não he possivel serem desalojados delles, cõ q a Praça perece â sede, ou o Capitão obedece â ordem do Rey Negro. E ultimamente são ameaçados aquelles moradores plos mesmos negros, para lhes serem queimadas suas Casas, o que póde ser facilmente*”: tr. “every time that the blacks want to make the Captain and residents of Cacheu do something that suits the said blacks, they occupy the springs with so many people that it is not possible to dislodge them from them, which means that either the town will perish from thirst or the Captain has to obey the order of the Black King. And recently the residents have been threatened by the said blacks, that their houses will be burnt down, which could happen very easily”.

<sup>36</sup> The first effective task which all new governors had in Ribeira Grande, for instance, was to take charge of the fort and update the munitions and artillery – see AHNCV, SGG/A1.1/ Livro 0001, folio 24r, the royal instructions to João Cardozo Pizarro, replacing Manoel Pacheco de Mello in 1676.



Grande were run by women<sup>37</sup>, and the commercial importance of women in Caboverdean space as a whole was emphasized by the role played by women in Lusoafrikan families of Guiné, such as Crispina Peres and Bibiana Vaz, both of whom were important agents in the commercial and cultural brokerage in this period, and both of whom emphasized the rebellion of Guiné against imposed external norms<sup>38</sup>. Matriarchy, not patriarchy, characterized the society of which Lusoafrikan were a part<sup>39</sup>.

Of course, this feature was not unique to Caboverdean space. As long ago as 1975, Boxer noted how women rose to positions of unusual importance in the Portuguese *Ultramar* in comparison to the peninsula, partly owing to a demographic surplus and partly because the absence of European women led to liaisons of local women with European men and their consequent privileging within the emergent Creole class<sup>40</sup>. Although Boxer drew on no examples from Cabo Verde and Guiné, it is apparent from the above evidence that an analogous process was at work here, and was of a piece with the emergence of a society outside Portuguese hegemony; moreover, this position of comparative social strength for women was subsequently replicated in Creole societies in Gorée and St. Louis in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>.

In Caboverdean space, this process was complemented by the development of a fully-fledged autonomous language in this period, *Kriolu*. The development of an Africanized version

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<sup>37</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 31: dated August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1651. In a dispute between Manoel Henriques and the Governor Jorge de Mesquita de Castelbranco over the sale of a shipment of wine from Madeira, all the shop owners called to give evidence were female.

<sup>38</sup> On Crispina Peres, see Philip J. Havik (2004b), 149-62; on Bibiana Vaz, see *ibid.* (162-72) and *idem.*, (2001: 13-34), and also Walter Rodney (1970:210). Peres was in fact the wife of Jorge Gonçalves Frances, the son of Alvaro, and was arrested and tried by the Inquisition in Lisbon during the 1660s for witchcraft and idol worship (see below, pages 314-315); Vaz led a revolt against the authorities in Cacheu in 1684, seizing the governor José Gonçalves d'Oliveira and imprisoning him in Farim for 18 months.

<sup>39</sup> Malyn Newitt (1992), 38, 49.

<sup>40</sup> C.R. Boxer (1975), especially 30-61. Boxer also is especially good on showing how this picture was different from that of Iberia, which he characterizes as a fundamentally misogynistic society (98-9).

<sup>41</sup> Amanda Sackur (1999), 2, 283-4.

of Portuguese had already occurred among Caboverdean slaves in Portugal<sup>42</sup>, and the process was now reconfigured among the communities of Cabo Verde. By the time of Donelha's account of 1625, there appears to have been a creolized Portuguese<sup>43</sup>, something confirmed by a document of 1647 speaking of "half Portuguese"<sup>44</sup>. This process unwound throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and by 1685 the people of the *petite côte* were described as "still speaking a sort of jargon which bears a very small degree of resemblance to Portuguese"<sup>45</sup>.

While a form of creolized Portuguese may have emerged earlier as a trading language, this appears on the islands to have become something of a vernacular form of expression at this time in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>46</sup>, something which was pivotal in the emergence of nascent identity in Cabo Verde. In classical theories of creolization, the moment when the hybrid language becomes a vernacular is a crucial one in the formation of cultural identities<sup>47</sup>, and it is clear that something of this process was occurring at this time in Caboverdean space.

What we see from these cultural and linguistic considerations is that an autonomous identity was emerging in Cabo Verde from the period of c. 1630 onwards, in which linguistic and cultural practice were crucial<sup>48</sup>. Where cultural practice is concerned, the pervasiveness of African hybrids in Lusoafrikan society is revealed by Jorge Gonçalves Frances in his appeal to

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<sup>42</sup> A.C. de C.M. Saunders (1982), 2, 99-100.

<sup>43</sup> André Donelha (1977), 290 n228; see also Diogo Ramada Curto (1998: 528-9). Boulègue places the development of *kriolu* at later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Jean Boulègue (1972: 49), citing Alexis de Saint Lô's assertion in 1637 that the Africans of the coast spoke Portuguese; one wonders, however, how well Saint Lô spoke Portuguese, particularly since Boulègue admits that Bellefond speaks of a corrupt version of Portuguese in 1666 (ibid.), and 30 years is a short length of time in which a language can evolve.

<sup>44</sup> MMA, Vol. 5, 492: a document of June 6<sup>th</sup> 1647 states that near Portudal people speak "*en medio portugues*".

<sup>45</sup> P. Cultru (ed.) (1913), 192: M. de la Courbe described how "*ces gens la...parlent encore un certain jargon qui n'a que tres peu de resemblance a la langue portugaise*": tr. "these people there...still speak a jargon which has very little resemblance to the Portuguese language".

<sup>46</sup> Nicolas Quint (2000: 19) places the full emergence of the Creole language to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>47</sup> Megan Vaughan (2005), 208.

<sup>48</sup> This conclusion, moreover, is consonant with developments in Spanish America, for which Jorge Cañizares Esguerra (1999:49) ascribes a date of c. 1630 for the beginnings of the emergence of Creole consciousness.

the inquisitors of Lisbon against his wife Crispina Peres's incarceration, where he wrote that of the 1500 inhabitants of Cacheu only 4 perfectly observed Catholic rites without participating in any pagan rituals<sup>49</sup>. The predominance of such hybrid rites and the importance of women in society were constitutive of an identity that was fundamentally other to that of the metropole.

I would suggest that this cultural distinctiveness was codified conceptually through the emergent *kriolu* language. The role of the development of an autonomous vernacular language in the formation of national identity was persuasively championed by Anderson<sup>50</sup>, and the evidence considered here supports his thesis. That language itself was seen by Iberian contemporaries as a fulcrum of identity was revealed by Barreira 1606, when he wrote of the Gambia that "this nation of the Mandingas which borders with the Berbecins [Serers] has multiple kingdoms, where all speak the same language and have the same law and customs"<sup>51</sup>. The unity of language is the first attribute of what today we might call nationhood referred to here, which stresses its perceived import<sup>52</sup>.

Thus it can be seen that the process of external decline which overtook the Caboverdean region in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century was accompanied by a process of internal recovery and redefinition<sup>53</sup>. The internal strength of Creole groups drove this process every bit as much as the vagaries of external demand, and the emergent society radically undermined the imperial and commercial doctrines of the Atlantic powers; the very strength of the domination from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century to the late 16<sup>th</sup> centuries had contributed towards the creation of a powerful reactive

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<sup>49</sup> Philip J. Havik (2004a), 108-9.

<sup>50</sup> Benedict Anderson (1991), 12-8.

<sup>51</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (1972), 29: "*Desta nação de Mandingas que confina com os Berbecins ha mtos Reinos tem todos a mesma lingua, ley e Custumes...*".

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of the role of language in the formation of nationalist ideologies in Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see below Appendix B, The Jews of Spain, pages 407-411.

<sup>53</sup> This would be to confirm José Lingna Nafafé's dictum in the context of Guiné that "the imposition of cultural values on the Other...occurs, at the point when the Other is not the master of his own destiny" (2001: 18).

group which, when the dominant Iberian powers began to weaken, were able to take advantage of that weakness and create a strong and autochthonous culture to engage with the latter decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## CHAPTER TWO

### FROM CARTAGENA AND LIMA TO CABO VERDE: THE RETURN OF THE AMERICAN *CRISTÃOS NOVOS* TO CABOVERDEAN SPACE

#### 2.1 The Returnees (I): The Henriques/Diaz Soliz Connection (Cartagena)

In Part 3, we saw how the late 1630s saw a wave of interrogations by the inquisitorial tribunals of Cartagena and Lima against people held to be crypto-Jews, many of whom had connections with communities in Cabo Verde. Moreover, we saw how many of those with these connections died as a result of these investigations. The evidence of Part 3 made it clear that the traditional historiographical interpretations of these witch-hunts fail to do justice to the pan-Atlantic qualities of the communities to which these people belonged, and in particular fail to assess the importance of their Caboverdean connections. What we shall now see in this chapter is that the importance of these pan-Atlantic qualities continued in the years after the inquisitorial persecutions, and that many members of this community sought refuge in Cabo Verde; the manner of this escape back to Cabo Verde will confirm that this was a region outside the effective control and hegemony of Iberian institutions, bolstering the case of IV:1 as to Cabo Verde being constitutive of a distinct space of discourse with distinct categories and variants of identity evolving in this period.

The first connected group to fall into this category is one which has barely been referenced by historians, of which Manoel Henriques and Adão Dias de Solis were the cornerstones<sup>54</sup>. The earliest evidence we have for Henriques' presence in the region dates from

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<sup>54</sup> Though Brooks refers to a Manoel Henriques living at Geba in 1641 accused of Judaizing, he assumes that this is the same individual as “Jacob Peregrino”, which he incorrectly states as the pseudonym of a Manoel Henriques

evidence taken in Cacheu in 1630<sup>55</sup>. By 1635, he appears to have joined forces with Adão Dias de Solis in contraband slaving operations to Cartagena operating out of Guiné. On July 31<sup>st</sup> 1635 both men arrived in Cartagena on the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* from Cacheu which was carrying 650-700 slaves, 510-560 of which were contraband<sup>56</sup>. The ship captain claimed to be called Luis Gomez da Silva<sup>57</sup>, yet in fact this was a pseudonym for the alleged crypto-Jew of Guiné Manoel Rodrigues Salgado, as was revealed by a commission of investigation into frauds on slave ships<sup>58</sup>.

On this voyage, both Henriques and Solis brought slaves. It is possible to estimate the numbers each took to sell in Cartagena from the *Livro do Morto*, which reveals that 15 of the 107 slaves to die on the voyage belonged to Solis, or roughly 1 in 7, which might suggest Solis to have “owned” approximately 100 of those slaves brought across the Atlantic on this voyage<sup>59</sup>. Only two of the 107 slaves to die belonged to Henriques, however, suggesting a small financial interest in the voyage and lesser capital<sup>60</sup>; as will be seen, this conclusion is consonant with the subsequent careers of both men.

This evidence would suggest that both Henriques and Solis had strong connections in both Cabo Verde and America. Just as Henriques had been living in Cacheu in 1630, Solis was

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living on the coast and seen as the sage of the Jews there (George E. Brooks (2003: 91-2). In fact the Manoel Henriques living at Geba in 1641 had been born circa 1609 eliminating any possibility of his having been the same individual as Jacob Peregrino (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 222, folio 232v: in a deposition to an *auto* taken on April 4<sup>th</sup> 1630 in Cacheu, “*o Licenciado Manoel Enriques*” – whom, as we shall see, is the person of interest to us here - declared himself to be 21 years old).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid..

<sup>56</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folio 75r has the lower number, but Manoel Henriques stated that there were over 700 slaves on the ship, of whom only 140 came legally registered (ibid., folio 83r).

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., folio 73v.

<sup>58</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Pieza 5, deals with the ship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, captained by Manoel Rodrigues Salgado and arriving in Cartagena in 1635. See also above, pages 258 n349, 270.

<sup>59</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Pieza 5, *livro do morto*.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid..

frequently to be found there, giving evidence in an *auto* on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1637<sup>61</sup> after sailing as a ship captain from Seville the previous year<sup>62</sup>. And while Solis's extensive financial interest in the 1635 slaving voyage required reliable commercial contacts in Cartagena, Henriques was by this time married in Panamá<sup>63</sup>.

Henriques's marriage in Panamá would suggest that his accent of emphasis was gravitating more towards America, away from Cabo Verde. And yet, as we have seen, by 1641 he was back residing in Guiné. He was listed as a *morador* of Ribeira Grande in January 1641<sup>64</sup>. Later that year, in May, he was sent from Ribeira Grande by the Captain to confiscate all Spanish ships in Cacheu following the Portuguese secession of December 1640<sup>65</sup>; this was after having toured some of the towns of Guiné to declare the acclamation of João IV to the Portuguese citizenry to be found there<sup>66</sup>. Such evidence would suggest that by this time Henriques had an important administrative role in Cabo Verde, on both Santiago and in Guiné, and this is confirmed by evidence throughout the 1640s. In 1642 he acted as the notary in Ribeira Grande for an *auto* which had been made for a ship that had come from Puerto Rico<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1609, Expediente 7, folio 36r; here Solis states that he was 24 years old (i.e. born circa 1613) ("*Adam Diaz de Soliz Capitan de registros de Su Magestad y aora estante en la poblacion de Cacheo rios de Guinea de hedad dice que ser de veinte y quatro años poco mas o menos*": tr. "Adam Dias de Soliz captain of a ship registered by His Majesty and now present in the settlement of Cacheo in the rivers of Guiné who says that he is approximately twenty-four years old...").

<sup>62</sup> Huguette and Pierre Chaunu (1956), Vol. 5, 288-9.

<sup>63</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folio 83r: "*el Licenciado Manuel henriques cassado en la ciudad de Panama...*": tr. "the Licenciado Manuel Henriques married in the city of Panama".

<sup>64</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 3: "*Manoell Emriques*"; this was in an *auto* brought against João de Brito.

<sup>65</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 7: "*o Licenciado Manoel hemrriques procurador da Coroa...Cidadão da Cidade da Ribeira Grande da Ilha de Santiago de cabo verde pelo ditto Capitão Provido e Ouvidor Geral...que elle viera da ilha de Santiago aesta ditto povoação por ordem e mandado de Sua magestade el rey de Portugal Dom João Quarto a embargar as naos de registo que este ditto Anno estavam neste Rio para hirem come scravos as Yndias de Castela*": tr. "the Licenciado Manoel Hemrriques attorney for the Crown...citizen of the city of Ribeira Grande of the Island of Santiago, Cabo Verde ...was sent from the Island of Santiago to this settlement on the order of the king of Portugal João IV to confiscate the registered ships which in this year were present in this river to go with slaves to the Indies of Castile".

<sup>66</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 23, Anexo 7.

<sup>67</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 15.

In 1645 he was the *escrivão* for a petition of the cantor of the Caboverdean see for ecclesiastical posts<sup>68</sup>, and by 1647 he was the *escrivão do almoxarifado*, signing off the duties to be paid in the customs house for all ships crossing the Atlantic<sup>69</sup>.

While the sudden appearance of Manoel Henriques in Cabo Verde circa 1640 may be considered somewhat surprising when we know that he was married 5 years earlier in Panamá, it of course constitutes no evidence for membership of the Atlantic crypto-Jewish network. Thus far, indeed, all we have considered is evidence that Henriques was involved in trans-Atlantic contraband up to at least 1635 and that he subsequently had important administrative positions in Cabo Verde. None of this would suggest that his appearance in Cabo Verde was related to flight from the Inquisition; however, if we look more carefully at the evidence, a pattern begins to emerge.

There is, in the first place, circumstantial evidence linking Henriques to crypto-Jewish activity in the Atlantic. As we have seen, the captain of the ship on which he and Dias Solis crossed to Cartagena in 1635 was Manoel Rodrigues Salgado. Rodrigues Salgado had a long career in Guiné and was subsequently accused in 1657 of being a “*cristão novo* with no redeeming feature, and an atrocious criminal...who has been excommunicated from the Church”<sup>70</sup>; moreover, Rodrigues Salgado’s main contact in Cartagena was none other than the crypto-Jew Manuel Alvarez Prieto<sup>71</sup>. It is not unreasonable to surmise that Henriques and Dias Solis would have shared in this contact with Alvarez Prieto, and thus also been engaged in the pan-Atlantic network identified in Part III; such involvement with Alvarez Prieto might

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<sup>68</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 43.

<sup>69</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 80.

<sup>70</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 8, dated June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1657, “*homem da nação sem nenhús services, e criminozo, em cazos atrozés, q a seu tempo mostrará, alem de incorrer em excomunhão da Bulla...*”: published MMA, Vol. 6, 108.

<sup>71</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folio 88v: on arriving in Cartagena, Rodrigues Salgado asked Alvarez Prieto to arrange the concealment of slaves from the royal officials.



constitute circumstantial evidence to support the idea that Henriques returned to Cabo Verde in part because the Inquisition had made significant inroads into the American network.

Supplementing the circumstantial evidence, however, are two pieces of direct evidence linking Henriques to crypto-Judaism. The first is an extraordinary denunciation by the new Governor of Cabo Verde, Jorge Mesquita de Castelbranco, dated August 9<sup>th</sup> 1652. Castelbranco declared that, on arriving, “I was treated with much repugnance by the Spaniards on the advice of Pedro de Bairros who served here as *Sargento Maior* and Manoel henriques (sic), *cristãos novos* who came here warned by the Church, who with other men have made a conspiracy against the service of God and Your Majesty”<sup>72</sup>. Castelbranco accused this “conspiracy” of attempting to poison him, and claimed that Bairros was its leader “against the islanders”, having led a militia of 100 men in refusing to accept the orders of the preceding governor Pedro Semedo<sup>73</sup>. However, while accusing Bairros of leading the conspiracy, Castelbranco claimed that the “synagogue” was run in the house of Manoel Henriques<sup>74</sup>, and declared “as a son of the Church I had to give this account to Your Majesty and the Holy Inquisition because there is here a public Judaism which scandalizes the *cristãos velhos*, and on the basis of which I have received numerous complaints as to the public Judaism and the adoration of calves and other such sorcery”<sup>75</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 47: “*Ouve tanta repugnancia da parte dos castelhanos aconselhados de Pedro de Bairros que aqui servio de Sargento Maior, Manoel henriques homens de nação que aqui vierão amoestados da Igreja, que com outros homens tem feito hũa concuração contra o serviço de Deus e de V. Magde...*”. The “conspiracy” against the Crown was said by Castelbranco to involve collusion with the Spanish to lessen the royal receipts.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.: “*contra os naturaes da terra...*”.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.: “*este homem me parece Manoel henriques que V Magde deve demandar levar neste reino por duas culpas, serem de nação com cazas de sinagoga nesta cidade, e vacallos desleaes...*”: tr. “it seems to me that your Majesty should order that this man Manoel Henriques be brought to the kingdom for two faults, being a [*cristão novo*] with a synagogue in this city, and being a disobedient vassal”.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.: “*Eu como filho da Igreja me pareceo dar esta conta a Vossa Magde e a Santa Inquisição pois esta aqui hum Judaismo publico escandaloso aos homens Christãos Velhos de que se me tem feito grandes queixas de*

To this denunciation, Castelbranco appended various letters which he had seized from the “conspirators” as evidence of their plots to defraud the Crown and of their links with Spanish America (Spain still then being at war with Portugal). Leaving aside the Judaic element of his general denunciation for the time being, these letters certainly confirm his accusations with regard to the connections of Henriques and Spanish America, since here are to be found two letters addressed to Henriques from Cartagena<sup>76</sup>; moreover, one of these informs Henriques of the death of Bartolomeo de Medina<sup>77</sup>, a ship captain who had previously undertaken slaving voyages from Cartagena to Santiago and who must, given that this information was deemed of relevance to Henriques, therefore have been a trading partner of his<sup>78</sup>, while one of the letters to Pedro de Bairros mentions 650 slaves having been sent from Santiago<sup>79</sup>, which would confirm that this network was involved in contraband.

One can say at the very least, therefore, that Castelbranco’s denunciation is evidence that Manoel Henriques maintained the pan-Atlantic sphere of his operations even after settling in Cabo Verde circa 1640. However, the issue of the Judaic denunciation is more questionable. Castelbranco was soon himself accused of tyrannical behaviour. It was said that during his first 6 months as Governor he did nothing except transact business on his own behalf whilst impeding other islanders and forcing them to sell their goods to him for less than they were

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*publicamente estarem Judaizando e adorando beserras e fazendo muitas feiticieiras...*”. Unfortunately the deposition to the Inquisition is not to be found among the *denuncias* to the *promotor* for these years.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid..

<sup>77</sup> Ibid..

<sup>78</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 17: refers to the arrival of a ship captained by Medina from Cartagena in 1651, claiming that it loaded 700 contraband slaves in Ribeira Grande with the complicity of royal officials.

<sup>79</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 47; this was probably the ship captained by Dom Felix which accompanied that of Bartolomeo de Medina from Cartagena in 1651 and was said at the time to have loaded 650 slaves (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 17).

worth<sup>80</sup>. He was said to prevent the *moradores* of Ribeira Grande from going to Guiné to trade, so that only he could send goods to the coast<sup>81</sup>. He was accused of seizing the goods of the contractors to Spanish America, claiming that they had been lost and despatching them on his own account<sup>82</sup>; of arresting people on a whim and demanding extortionate ransoms for their release<sup>83</sup>; and of insisting that only he could trade with ships arriving to sell goods as varied as fish, clothes and sugar, which he then sold on with extortionate mark-ups<sup>84</sup>.

Castelbranco's accusations against the "conspirators" must therefore be put in the context of someone trying to distract attention from their own excesses. The charges laid at his door were, moreover, taken seriously, since by November 1652 he had been stripped of his office and was a prisoner in the jail of Ribeira Grande<sup>85</sup>. In spite of providing affidavits sworn in his favour by various *moradores* of the city<sup>86</sup>, he was still protesting his cause in August 1654<sup>87</sup>, and 7 years later, in 1661, he was being cited by the inhabitants of the island as emblematic of "the vexations and molestation of the Governors"<sup>88</sup>. The charges against Bairros were, moreover, ignored by the *Conselho Ultramarino*, as he was subsequently appointed to other important administrative posts in Ribeira Grande<sup>89</sup>.

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<sup>80</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 7: dated April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1653.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid..

<sup>82</sup> Ibid..

<sup>83</sup> Ibid..

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.: the ships came from France with the fish and clothes, and from Madeira with sugar.

<sup>85</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 12: dated November 5<sup>th</sup> 1653.

<sup>86</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 51.

<sup>87</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 23: dated August 7<sup>th</sup> 1654.

<sup>88</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 114: "*sufrimento de todos os moradores q de muitos annos aesta parte estão padecendo vexaçõins e molestias dos governadores com q pudesse ser exemplo Jorge de misquita Castellobranco, aquem Sua Magestade q Deus aya mandou desprover no primeiro anno de seu governo, pelas tiranias cõ q principiou a governar este povo...*": tr. "suffering of all the residents who for many years have been vexed and molested by the Governors, a prime example being Jorge de Misquita Castellobranco, who the late King sacked during his first year of office because of the tyranny with which he began to govern this people".

<sup>89</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 97: on March 24<sup>th</sup> 1661 he was appointed *provedor da fazenda* by the *Conselho Ultramarino* on the advice of Governor Pedro Ferraz Barreto.

Castelbranco's denunciation of a "Jewish conspiracy" might, then, be thought more to fit into the familiar trope of the scapegoat. Yet, on closer examination, more complex factors are at work. What is of particular interest is his lumping together of the "public Judaizing" of Ribeira Grande with "sorcery" and the "worship of calves"<sup>90</sup>. While the worship of calves was perceived as typical of Judaic activity<sup>91</sup>, the mention of sorcery implies a mentality which fails to differentiate between types of otherness, seeing the Judaizing activity and the sorcery as one and the same. It is in fact the same mentality which divides the world into the clean (*cristãos velhos*) and the unclean (everyone else), and has difficulty in assimilating ambiguous or hybrid groups such as *cristãos novos*, or Creoles.

Thus what we in fact see through the conflation of categories evident in the Castelbranco denunciation is a clear picture of how the emergent Creole society in Cabo Verde was perceived by some Portuguese as ambiguous and, somehow, "Jewish". For Castelbranco, the archetype of otherness remained Judaizing, which is why this took the lead in his denunciation, but in fact Bairos's involvement is much more likely to have involved hybridity with African belief systems, as is confirmed by the fact that he ran a militia of 100 Creole soldiers<sup>92</sup>. My suggestion is that, seeing something "other" Castelbranco saw Judaizing; Cabo Verde was "other", and increasingly defined by Creole power which some outsiders unconsciously associated with that other hybrid group, the *cristãos novos*.

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<sup>90</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 47; see above page 298 n73 for the full text.

<sup>91</sup> See e.g. IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 232, folios 143r-152r, and the denunciation of contents of a box opened in Mozambique from a ship making for Goa – the box contained "silver calves which seem to have come from Portugal en route for India, of those which the *cristãos novos* who observe the Mosaic law tend to worship" ("*bezerras de prata, que parece vinhão do Reino pera a India, das que costumão adorer a gente de nação em observancia da lei de Mosses*").

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.: "*se fez forte em sua casa com cem negros...*": tr. "he has a stronghold in his house with 100 blacks"..

Of course, this point shows the generalized nature of Castelbranco's denunciations of Judaizing. However, a second piece of direct evidence would suggest that his specific denunciation of Henriques, at least – who is the only person mentioned in connection to the “synagogue” - had more substance to it. This relates to Henriques' connections to Dias Solis. Though, as noted above, these had begun in the mid-1630s, they remained active as late as 1649-50, as is shown by an *auto* taken by the Caboverdean Governor Pedro Semmedo Cardozo on October 9<sup>th</sup> 1651, which reveals that in November 1649 Dias Solis brought a ship from Seville which sank off Santiago. According to the *auto* Dias Solis returned to Lisbon only to come back again the following year [1650] to pick up the merchandise that had been lost, exchange this for slaves and sail to the Spanish Indies<sup>93</sup>. The witnesses noted that Dias Solis was a “very close friend” of the royal officials on Cabo Verde, including Manoel Henriques<sup>94</sup>.

Henriques's long-standing friendship with Dias Solis is highly significant since the balance of probabilities would suggest that this must be the same Adão Dias Solis who was a commercial agent for the Spanish Crown in Antwerp and was a member of the synagogue in Amsterdam. Historians of the Low Countries have mentioned the role of Dias Solis there in passing<sup>95</sup>, and he was said to be an open Jew in Amsterdam by 1655<sup>96</sup>. His commercial dealings extended to Sephardim across the region in towns such as Middelburg, and these appear to have

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<sup>93</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 43.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*: “*tive a amizade muita apertada o dito provedor da fazenda e o almoxarife Bernardo rodrigues pereira e o escrivão do almoxarifado o licenciado Manoel Enriques...*”: tr. “[Solis] had very close friendships with the *provedor da fazenda* and the *almoxarife* Bernardo Rodrigues Pereira and the *escrivão do almoxarifado* Licenciado Manoel Enriques”.

<sup>95</sup> James C. Boyajian (1983), 131; Jonathan I. Israel (1990), 398 and 398 n194.

<sup>96</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1655, page 6: “*Il y a encore trois autres Juifs à Anvers, Romano Garcia et deux frères qui vendent du tabac, David et Jacob Mendez. Ce Garcia est l'oncle d'un autre riche Juif d'Amsterdam nommé Adam Dias Solis*”: tr. “There are three other Jews at Antwerp, Romano Garcia and two brothers who sell tobacco, David and Jacob Mendez. This Garcia is the uncle of another rich Jew from Amsterdam called Adam Dias Solis”.

been conducted at least in part under the auspices of the Amsterdam congregation, as records of these dealings were kept among the synagogal papers<sup>97</sup>.

Dias Solis's sojourn in Antwerp was by no means easy. He was resident in Antwerp by 1646, acting as the factor of Francisco Fernández Solís, a major Sevillano contractor in the 1640s where he was the treasurer of the *almojarifado*<sup>98</sup>. Here Dias Solis acted as a conduit for funds from contracts in Seville to be paid by the Spanish crown according to the needs of the Paymaster General of the Low Countries, Thomas Lopez de Ulloa<sup>99</sup>. But the problem resided in the fact that the Spanish war in the Low Countries was unwinnable, and the Spanish Crown, bogged down with conflicts in Portugal and Flanders, was in rapid decline. Lopez de Ulloa's outgoings vastly exceeded the receipts of Dias Solis, and by 1649 Dias Solis was owed 19,853,981 *maravedís* in silver and 24,508,648 *maravedís* in addition, debts which were still unpaid in 1652 when Francisco Fernández Solís confirmed the debt in Seville<sup>100</sup>. Moreover, this debt greatly outweighed the debts to virtually everyone else except that of the widow of the other main royal agent in Antwerp, Simon Diaz Vaez, who was owed 23,770,082 *maravedís* in 1650<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>97</sup> GAA, Portuguese Jewish Archives, Book 854: an agreement from Antwerp dated October 11<sup>th</sup> 1657 regarding an agreement between Dias Solis and Moshe Perez of Middelburg regarding a debt owed by Dias Solis to Perez.

<sup>98</sup> Jonathan I. Israel (1990), 348, n194. The earliest recorded date for Dias Solis's presence in Antwerp is late February 1646, when he paid 15,775 escudos to Manuel Mendez de Vasconcellos, the representative of Thomas Lopez de Ulloa, the Paymaster General for the Spanish crown in the Low Countries: see AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Tercera Época, Legajo 937.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid..

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.: "*A relación que doy de los Acreedores que toca a la factoria de 432,666 escudos del año de 649... a Adam Diaz Solis vecino de la villa de Amberes y mi correspondiente en aquella plaça se esta deviendo 19,853,981 maravedis de plata de principal de resto 24,508,648 maravedis de dicha moneda procedidos de diferentes letras...*": tr. "This is the account I give concerning the creditors of the factory amounting to 432,666 *escudos* in the year 1649... Adam Dias Solis resident of the town of Antwerp and my correspondent in that place is owed 19,853,981 *maravedís* of silver and in addition 24,508,648 *maravedís* of the same coinage proceeding from different letters of credit" - folio 11.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid..

The dating of this debt to 1649 is significant, as in 1648 Dias Solis – perhaps as a consequence of frustration as to the Spanish crown’s indebtedness to him – was arrested and charged with trading with Portugal since the 1640 uprising. The order for the arrest had been despatched in May 1648<sup>102</sup>. Royal officers were sent to arrest Dias Solis and his fellow accused Francisco Lopez Franco y Feo, but one of the two was absent<sup>103</sup>. The two men were incarcerated by August 1<sup>st</sup> 1648<sup>104</sup>, an event which caused unrest in Antwerp and Spain because of the influence of the financiers<sup>105</sup>. The fuss was such that the authorities in Antwerp wrote to the *Consejo de Estado* in Madrid suggesting that the case should be handled in Antwerp instead of by sending the prisoners to Spain<sup>106</sup>. On November 4<sup>th</sup> 1648, following advice from Felipe IV from Madrid, the authorities decided to release Dias Solis on receipt of a fine of 10,000 florins<sup>107</sup>.

At the time of his release late in 1648, therefore, Dias Solis was both owed money by the Crown, but yet forced to pay a fine of 10,000 florins to secure his release. The situation had not improved by 1652, as is demonstrated by the fact that the vast debt of 1649 had still to be

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<sup>102</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, extracts from the *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, page 1.

<sup>103</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, extracts from the *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, page 2.

<sup>104</sup> AGS, Estado, Legajo 2256, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1648.

<sup>105</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, extracts from the *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, page 2, dated August 30<sup>th</sup> 1648; see also the representation of Phelipe Denis Pacheco, a major *asentista*, to the *Consejo de Estado* – AGS, Estado, Legajo 2256, September 30<sup>th</sup> 1648.

<sup>106</sup> AGS, Estado, Legajo 2256, October 1<sup>st</sup> 1648.

<sup>107</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, extracts from the *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, pages 4-5: “*Consulte rendu au [Gouverneur Général Archiduc Léopold Guillaume], le 30 Octobre 1648: Les Conseillers déclarent avoir examine la lettre envoyée par le roi Philippe IV à l’Archiduc Léopold Guillaume prescrivant de relacher Adam Dias Solis moyennant une bonne caution. Le Conseil propose de faire examiner juridiquement à combien il faudra fixer le montant de la caution:- le 4 novembre 1648, le conseil propose de la fixer à 10 000 florins*”: tr. “Discussion paper sent to [the Governor General Archduke Leopold William], October 30th 1648. The Councillors declare to have examined the letter sent by King Philip IV to Archduke Leopold William ordering him not to release Adam Dias Solis without a good bail. The Council proposes juridically to examine at what level the sum should be fixed.- On November 4<sup>th</sup> 1648, the Council proposes to fix it at 10,000 florins”. Though James C. Boyajian (1983: 131) suggested that Dias Solis had not been released until after 1650, this document shows this assertion to be false.

paid<sup>108</sup>. As a result, Dias Solis himself became indebted to various members of the Sephardic community of the Low Countries. By 1656 he still owed an unpaid debt to Francisco del Monte dating from 1653<sup>109</sup>, and in 1657 he was indebted to Moshe Perez of Middelburg<sup>110</sup>. Dias Solis's role as a broker for the Spanish crown in the Low Countries had led to his own commercial undoing; it is within this context, I would argue, that we should understand my identification of him as the same individual as the Adão Dias Solis of Cabo Verde.

Such an identification is, however, more a balance of probabilities than a certainty. There is no mention of any connection to Africa or America of the Dias Solis active in Antwerp, or vice versa. Moreover, his consistent signing of letters of credit in Antwerp during a period stretching from 1646 through to 1651<sup>111</sup> would seem to preclude his presence in Cabo Verde in 1649 and 1650 in the ships mentioned by the document affirming Manoel Henriques's friendship with the Dias Solis active in Cabo Verde.

However, a close examination of the letters of credit signed off in Dias Solis's name in this period reveal significant patterns from Antwerp. On October 18<sup>th</sup> 1649, a month before his stated arrival in Cabo Verde on the ship which sank, he drew a sum on the basis of his credit to be paid to a certain "Manuel Rodriguez Henriquez"<sup>112</sup>. This would seem to be of great significance, since, with the second family name being the principal surname in the Portuguese

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<sup>108</sup> See above, page 292 n.100.

<sup>109</sup> GAA, NA 979, folio 350.

<sup>110</sup> GAA, Portuguese Jewish Archives, Book 854.

<sup>111</sup> AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Tercera Época, Legajo 937.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., folio 60: "*trescientas y ochenta y seis libras 16 sueldos y 10 dineros por el valor de 793 escudos 10 sueldos y cinco dineros de a 117 gruesos que me saco el dicho Diaz por su letra de 18 de Octubre de 1649 a pagar...a Manuel Rodriguez Henrriquez...*": tr. "386 pounds 16 sueldos d 10 dineros to the value of 793 escudos 10 sueldos and 5 dineros which Diaz charged to me in his letter of October 18<sup>th</sup> 1649 to pay to...Manuel Rodriguez Henriquez".



language, this constitutes a payment to Manoel Henriques, prepared just prior to Dias Solis's arrival in Cabo Verde the following month.

Moreover, if we proceed on the assumption that the two Dias Solises are one and the same, and that consequently Dias Solis, after the foundering of his ship, was forced to return to Europe before taking ship again to Cabo Verde in 1650, this could explain, firstly, why Dias Solis ceased to act as a royal correspondent in 1651 and also why he was absent from Antwerp in November 1650 when Phelipe Denis Pacheco tried to draw a letter on Solis to be paid to Isavel Tinoco<sup>113</sup>. This absence would fit with Dias Solis's having left Antwerp in order to undertake a slaving expedition to Cabo Verde and Cartagena, as implied by the document from Cabo Verde.

It must be confessed that this is a tortuous and confusing train of evidence, and that Antwerp and Cabo Verde might seem to be mutually exclusive spaces of activity. Yet Adão is a very rare Christian name and it is stretching the bounds of credibility to believe that there were two Adão Dias Solises in this period. It is known that Dias Solis was often absent from Antwerp, not only from his absence in 1650 but also because he may well have been absent when the authorities tried to arrest him and Lopez Franco y Feo in 1648<sup>114</sup>. Moreover, the document referring to his shipwreck in Cabo Verde refer to Dias Solis's connections in Seville, and, as has already been noted, in Antwerp he was a correspondent for Francisco Fernández Solís of Seville.

As I have said, ultimately what is at issue here is a balance of probabilities. But reconstructing his career from the pieces of evidence from Africa, America and the Low

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., folio 100r: "*a pagar a dos Usos a Da Isavel tinoco ausente al mismo Adan Diaz por la valor de la dicha, y por no la aver aceptado dicho Adan Diaz dicha letra bolvió protestada...*" : tr. "to pay in two payments to Isavel Tinoco with Adan Diaz being absent..".

<sup>114</sup> ML, Lucien Wolf Papers, Netherlands XI, extracts from the *Archives Générales du Royaume à Bruxelles*, page 2.

Countries builds a persuasive narrative. It is obvious that by 1649 Dias Solis was in serious financial difficulties in Antwerp, which would explain why he attempted a slaving voyage to Cabo Verde in the November of that year, seeking to rebuild his fortunes in precisely the way that he had started out in the 1630s. The shipwreck worsened his position, requiring him to make a subsequent expedition in 1650. Though he obviously retained his connections in the Low Countries, the accent of his career was swinging back again, to the Atlantic.

To round off the true internationalism of his career, Adão Dias Solis died on June 12<sup>th</sup> 1659 in Guatemala City<sup>115</sup>. He had set sail from Cartagena in November 1658, but the ship sank just before Christmas Day 1658. Dias Solis escaped with 13 boxes of silver but fell ill from a urinary infection, and died in the house of a certain Lorenzo Andres Gramaxo<sup>116</sup>.

Leaving aside the question of the Low Countries for the moment, it is certain that this is the friend of Manoel Henriques from Ribeira Grande, since he had been entrusted with goods from residents in Cartagena with which to return to Europe, thereupon sailing for Guiné or Calabar to buy slaves to ship to Cartagena<sup>117</sup>. Moreover his death in the house of a Gramaxo shows that this Dias Solis – and, therefore, his friend Manoel Henriques - was certainly tied to the trans-Atlantic *cristão novo* groups whose identity has emerged in this thesis; although his will included the Catholic bequests that were *de rigueur* in Iberian lands, its first words constituted the very Jewish sentiment “in the name of God, Amen”<sup>118</sup>, with no mention of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary: thus, like so many of the Atlantic *cristão novo* trading diaspora of the

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<sup>115</sup> AGI, Escribanía 335B, No. 9, folio 18r.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., folios 5r-7v. The above details emerge from the case taken by the state prosecutor against Gramaxo, as executor of Dias Solis’s will, on behalf of numerous residents of Cartagena who had entrusted business to Dias Solis for the Europe-bound voyage. Although the summary of the case refers to “Adán Diaz”, several of the creditors refer to him by his full name (e.g. folios 212r, 216r).

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 212v.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 18v: “*en el nombre de Dios, Amen*”.

17<sup>th</sup> century, Dias Solis was at home expressing his faith as both a Jew and a Christian: it was the capacity for differentiation that was a hallmark of the emergent modernity of this group.

Thus when one considers the career of Dias Solis, one cannot help but see a person emblematic of the doubleness of identity which has been one of the main themes in this thesis. Here was someone with utterly distinct spheres of operation in Europe and the Atlantic. He had rich contacts in Seville, Antwerp, Cabo Verde, Cartagena and Guatemala. His identity was always one of fluidity, as revealed by the fact that in 1635, arriving in Cartagena, he claimed to be from Lisbon, whereas in 1659, dying in Guatemala, he claimed to be from Elvas<sup>119</sup>.

Such doubleness means that precision and certainty regarding whether or not he was the same individual as the Dias Solis in Antwerp is impossible. But the balance of probability makes it most likely. In 1649 his associate Phelipe Denis Pacheco also had dealings with a Jorge Gramaxo in Seville, who must have been related to the Gramaxo in whose house Dias Solis died in Guatemala<sup>120</sup>. The last document referencing Dias Solis from Amsterdam dates from 1661<sup>121</sup>, and this does not bear his signature but merely refers to debts which were held in his name, something which would be consonant with his death in 1659. Thus although in the Low Countries documents his father was said to be Francisco Fernández Solís from Seville<sup>122</sup> and in his will in Guatemala he gave different antecedents<sup>123</sup>, this is all a part of the enigma of doubleness which the Atlantic crypto-Jews of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were involved in creating; moreover, it is not implausible to suggest that, weighed down by debt as we know Dias Solis

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<sup>119</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 4816, Expediente 22, folio 82r for Lisbon; AGI, Escribanía 335B, No. 9, folio 18v, for his statement on Elvas.

<sup>120</sup> AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Tercera Época, folios 54-5.

<sup>121</sup> GAA, NA, 2261B, folio 839.

<sup>122</sup> AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Tercera Época, folio 11.

<sup>123</sup> AGI, Escribanía 335B, No. 9, folio 18v.

was in 1659, he sought to disguise his identity in Guatemala so as to escape the attentions of his creditors.

Ultimately, we can be certain through the Gramaxo connection and the language of the will that Dias Solis and Henriques were involved in crypto-Jewish networks in Cabo Verde, and fairly sure that Dias Solis himself was a point of connection between Cabo Verde and Jewry in the Low Countries, with Dias Solis using Henriques as an intermediary during his visits to the region.

It would appear, then, that Jorge Mesquita de Castelbranco's denunciation of Henriques was, in fact, broadly accurate. In the light of the links between Cartagena and Cabo Verde in this period, the evidence of Manoel Henriques's connection to Jewish circles in Europe through Dias Solis, and the evidence we have as to the date of Manoel Henriques's definitive settlement in Cabo Verde circa 1640, it would seem reasonable to suggest that this settlement was caused by flight from the inquisitors in America. Cabo Verde was still a place of escape, outside the control of Iberian ideologies: and this was, furthermore, a conclusion that other crypto-Jewish fugitives from the American Inquisitions had also reached.

## **2.2 The Returnees (II): João Rodriguez Duarte and Manoel de Mattos (Lima)**

In III:3 we considered evidence of the American-centred network of crypto-Jews involving Sebastián Duarte. Duarte claimed to have been converted to Judaism whilst in Guiné, and retained his contacts to the Caboverdean region whilst in Lima. Also mentioned briefly in the Limeñan context was João [Juan] Rodrigues Duarte, who was tortured and confessed to crypto-Judaism during the investigations into the *gran complicidad*.

João Rodrigues Duarte was the nephew of Sebastián Duarte<sup>124</sup>, and, like his uncle he had contacts in Guiné prior to his arrest in Lima. In 1635, he had travelled on the ship San Vicente to Cartagena with slaves for sale<sup>125</sup>. Also with a financial interest in the voyage was Alvaro Gonçalves Frances, to whom several of the slaves to die on the voyage “belonged”<sup>126</sup>, and this is of more than passing interest since João Rodrigues Duarte later claimed to have been converted to Judaism by Gonçalves Frances among others<sup>127</sup>; this case might, then, be suggestive of how the intersection between religion and diasporic trading actually operated in practice: adopting facets of Judaism was a way of opening doors and making trading partnerships in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century Atlantic.

Arrested in Lima, Rodrigues Duarte folded under torture. Like his uncle Sebastián, he claimed to have been converted in Guiné, and cited numerous accomplices in the act of Judaizing there, including Baltasar Gomez, Alvaro Gonçalves Frances and Francisco Rodrigues de Acosta<sup>128</sup>. His brother Vicente was also denounced for Judaizing by Pedro Duarte, brother of Sebastián<sup>129</sup>. While Vicente was still in Guiné. João Rodrigues Duarte was eventually reconciled in the *auto* of 1639 and thereafter disappears from narratives of crypto-Judaism in the Americas.

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<sup>124</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1021, folio 78r: Pedro Duarte, the brother of Sebastián, on being tortured in Cartagena in 1642, denounced João’s brother Vicente for Judaizing, and mentioned that Vicente was his nephew, which means that João must likewise have been Sebastián’s nephew.

<sup>125</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Pieza 4: this is apparent from the evidence of the *livro do morto*, which refers (folios 58v-59r) to a slave dying belonging to “João Roiz” [Rodrigues], and elsewhere cites João Roiz as a witness of the deaths of slaves; in his testimony to the inquisitors in Lima, Rodrigues Duarte stated that he was a “*mercader de negros*” (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 222r).

<sup>126</sup> AGI, Escribanía 591A, Pieza 4, folios 58v, 60r.

<sup>127</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 222v; see above, pages 198 n.161 and 218.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 224r.

<sup>129</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1021, folio 78r; cit. Anna María Splendiani (1997: Vol. 3, 115).

Yet the Rodrigues Duarte clan soon re-emerged in the Caboverdean region. In 1641, Vicente Rodrigues Duarte was living in Geba at the acclamation of João IV<sup>130</sup>, and his brother appears to have joined him shortly afterwards since on September 20<sup>th</sup> 1657 he petitioned the king to be allowed to return to his home town of Montemor-o-Novo, noting that he had been in the region of Cacheu “for many years suffering great illnesses, as a result of which [he] spends most of the time in bed”<sup>131</sup>. Yet although the *Conselho Ultramarino* appeared amenable to the petition, João and his brother Vicente were still living in Cacheu in 1660<sup>132</sup>.

In fact, Rodrigues Duarte’s petition to return to Portugal had an ulterior motive. At the same time as he wrote to the Crown petitioning to be allowed to return to Montemor-o-Novo, his relative on Santiago, the priest Luis Rodrigues, was being investigated prior to being returned to the Inquisition in Lisbon charged with scandalous behaviour whilst living in Farim<sup>133</sup>: Rodrigues was said to have confessed women in his own home, to have arranged lewd dances and of saying mass when drunk both in Guiné and in Ribeira Grande<sup>134</sup>.

Moreover the witnesses relating to Luis Rodrigues cited his family connection to Rodrigues Duarte. On November 5<sup>th</sup> 1657 João de Valdeveso stated that the two men had lived together and that João Rodrigues Duarte was a “*cristão novo* made to do penance by the Holy

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<sup>130</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 23, Anexo 7.

<sup>131</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 10, dated September 20<sup>th</sup> 1657: “*João Roiz Duarte, morador na capitania de Cacheu fez petição a V. Mgde neste Conselho [Ultramarino] em que diz, que elle assiste naquella praça ha muitos annos padecendo grandes enfermidades, por cuja causa esta o mais do tempo de cama, e porque tem neste reyno na Villa de Montemor o Novo sua May veuva e tres Irmãas donzellas para lhe dar estado, por serem muito pobres – Pede a V Mgde lhe faça merce de lhe conceder licença para se poder vir a este Reyno...*”: tr. “João Rodrigues Duarte, resident in the Captaincy of Cacheu, makes a petition to your majesty in this Conselho [Ultramarino] in which he says that he has lived in this place for many years suffering grave illnesses which mean that he spends most of the time in bed, and as his widowed mother and three unmarried sisters live in great poverty in this kingdom [of Portugal] in Montemor o Novo he asks Your Majesty to give him permission to come to this kingdom”.

<sup>132</sup> MMA, Vol. 6, 147: dated February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1660.

<sup>133</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Proceso 8626.

<sup>134</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 239, folios 96r-98r; *ibid.*, folios 169r, 173r.

Office of the Inquisition in Cartagena”<sup>135</sup>, something that was repeated by the witness Manoel Dias de Moura<sup>136</sup>. João Rodrigues Duarte’s crypto-Jewish past was obviously well-known, and an exchange that he was said to have had with the *cristão novo* João Rodrigues da Costa confirmed that this was still a strong part of his identity<sup>137</sup>. Moreover, the presence of his relative Luis on the island of Cabo Verde, and the fact that one of the witnesses in the *Auto* of Luis taken in Ribeira Grande claimed, because of the comments of his own ancestors, that both Luis’s mother and grandmother had been *cristãos novos*<sup>138</sup>, makes it clear that the Rodrigues Duarte clan was very strong in Cabo Verde and had been active for many decades. This might explain both the initial arrival of men such as Phelipe Rodrigues and Sebastián Duarte, and also the endurance of the Rodrigues Duartes in spite of their known Judaic provenance and sympathy: this was the obvious region of escape for João Rodrigues Duarte after his reconciliation in Lima.

This consideration of the evidence on the Rodrigues Duartes also supplements our understanding of the importance of family connections to the *cristão novo* presence in Cabo Verde. For it is of great interest that the Rodrigues Duarte family had, by 1657, been in in Cabo

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., folio 176v; the substitution of Cartagena for Lima, where Rodrigues Duarte was actually made to do penance, is revealing of the intensive links between Cabo Verde and Cartagena: it was clearly assumed that anyone with dealings in the Americas would transact them in Cartagena.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., folio 178v.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., folio 176v: “*tendo ambos [Luis Rodrigues e João Rodrigues Duarte] palavras cō hum João Rodrigues da Costa de nação hebraea dissera o dito João Rodrigues da Costa ao Conego Luis Rodrigues que era hum judeu muito baixo e o dito seu parente João Rodrigues Duarte virandose para o ditto Conego lhe disse vos que direis que sois honrado comigo vos honrais mais a verdade de que sois de Tribu de Zabulon*”: tr. “when both [Luis Rodrigues and João Rodrigues Duarte] had words with one João Rodrigues da Costa of the Hebrew nation Rodrigues da Costa said to the Canon Luis Rodrigues that he was a very dishonourable Jew and the said relative João Rodrigues Duarte turned round to the said Canon and said “What will you say, that you are honoured with me, and honour the truth more as a member of the tribe of Zabulon (sic)”. This moreover is especially interesting as it reveals the Jewish connection between the two men in a context where Rodrigues Duarte confessed in Lima that it had been Rodrigues da Costa who had been one of those to convert him to Judaism in Africa (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1647, Expediente 13, folio 222v).

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., folio 178v: “*e sabe mais elle testemunha por ouvir dos seus antepassados que sua Avo elena Rodriguez e sua may Maria Rodriguez erão da nação hebraea*”. This is an interesting corroboration, moreover, of the evidence on Joana de Coelha and her great-grandmother’s knowledge of who was or was not a *cristão novo* (see above, page 155), confirming that these were active boundaries among the settlers of Ribeira Grande around the turn of 1600.

Verde for at least 3 generations – given the knowledge of the ancestry of Luis Rodrigues’s mother and grandmother – and that they all came from the small Alentejano town of Montemor-o-Novo. This was the home town of João Rodrigues Duarte<sup>139</sup> and also of Sebastián Duarte<sup>140</sup>, and hence certainly of Vicente Rodrigues Duarte and Pedro Duarte, and probably of Phelipe Rodrigues.

It will be recalled that the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa clan also hailed from small Alentejano towns. This apparent predominance of Alentejanos among the *cristão novo* families who settled in Cabo Verde is striking. One recalls that in 1546, when the *camara* deposed against *cristãos novos* they wrote to the Inquisition in Évora<sup>141</sup>; this was before the tribunal of Lisbon was given responsibility for the Atlantic colonies, and implies that many of the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde were from Évora’s jurisdiction, encompassing the Alentejo.

This predominance of the Alentejo is perhaps to be explained by Alentejo’s proximity to Andalucía and Extremadura - making this an obvious place for the Jews escaping Spain in 1492 to settle, prior to their forced conversion – and the fact that the region over the border (Extremadura) was the home of many of the adventurers to go to America; such trends must have been known in the Alentejo, and have contributed to people’s desire to see something of the new discoveries for themselves. One might also cite Alentejo’s comparative poverty, meaning that *cristãos novos* from this region were more likely to settle somewhere like Cabo Verde which, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, fell increasingly outside the orbit of Europe’s economic

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<sup>139</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 10.

<sup>140</sup> See James C. Boyajian (1983), Appendix A6.

<sup>141</sup> See above, page 81; Philip J. Havik (2004b: 152 n.36) also remarks on the numbers of Portuguese in Guiné who originally hailed from the Alentejo.



“progress”<sup>142</sup>. It was this condition of marginality which must explain why João Rodrigues Duarte chose to settle here after being reconciled in Lima: Cabo Verde was recognized as a place of escape, by men such as Rodrigues Duarte, Manoel Henriques, and also Manoel de Mattos.

Mattos, it will be recalled, had been reconciled in Lima in 1639, like Rodrigues Duarte, and prior to his reconciliation had had contacts with Tomás Rodrigues Barassa in Cacheu and thus to the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network<sup>143</sup>. In Lima, he was sentenced to perpetual exile from the Indies<sup>144</sup>, and, like João Rodrigues Duarte, he made use of his existing Caboverdean contacts. By 1641, Mattos was in Geba<sup>145</sup>. He remained on the coast in the period through to 1655, signing documents in 1646<sup>146</sup> and 1655<sup>147</sup>, but by 1661 was a resident of Ribeira Grande on Santiago<sup>148</sup>. Mattos’s brother-in-law was called Pero Rodrigues, and Rodrigues’s wife lived in the Indies<sup>149</sup>. It is clear that his return to Cabo Verde after the events in Lima was part of a pattern of events in which this space was perceived as being beyond the effective reach of Iberian institutions such as the Inquisition.

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<sup>142</sup> In the specific case of Montemor-o-Novo, however, it is interesting to note that the town had a disproportionately large African slave population in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which may have facilitated the ease with which people from the town entered Caboverdean space: see A.C. de C.M. Saunders (1982), 57 – whereas in Alentejano towns such as Borba and Elvas, slaves constituted only 2-4% of entries in the parish register in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Saunders found that in Montemor-o-Novo they constituted 7-10%. In this context it is also interesting to note that one of the mulatto Jews of the *petite côte* in 1614 was said to be from Cabeça de Vide, the home town of Alvaro Gonçalves Frances (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 59, folio 154v).

<sup>143</sup> See above, pages 226-227.

<sup>144</sup> AHN, Inquisición, Libro 1030, folio 583v.

<sup>145</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 23, Anexo 7.

<sup>146</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 49, Anexo 1.

<sup>147</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 71.

<sup>148</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 114: a list of those contributing towards Catherine of Braganza’s dowry in her marriage to Charles II includes “o Capitão Manoel de Matos”, who contributed 8000 *reais*.

<sup>149</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 45: “a geba morreu Pero rodrigues e tem a sua molher nas Indias, ficou por seu erdeiro em confiança hum cunhado seu por nome Manoel de Matos”: tr. “Pero Rodrigues has died in Geba and his wife lives in the Indies; the beneficiary of his will is a brother-in-law of his called Manoel de Matos”.

Such, then, was the situation from 1640 onwards. Fugitives from the American Inquisitions joined the earlier fugitives from the Iberian Inquisitions and contributed to the crypto-Jewish cultural atmosphere of Cabo Verde both on the islands and on the coast. In 1644, most of those living on the coast were said to “have their hearts in the Indies, Seville and the Canaries”<sup>150</sup>; one can deduce that they were living in Cabo Verde out of force of circumstance. By 1647, the Captain of Cacheu Gonçalo Gamboa de Ayala accused Fernão Lopes da Mesquitta - the leader of the “rebels” to his authority there - along with many others of being unable to return to the peninsula because of “great faults”<sup>151</sup>. By 1657 people with the sentence of *rellajados* (sic) were said to be living in Cacheu<sup>152</sup>: Cabo Verde was, definitively, a place of escape.

Several important conclusions can be drawn from this picture. In the first place, we see that the pan-Atlantic identity of crypto-Jewry which was traced in III:3, associated with the doubleness of modernizing economic patterns, was ruptured by the inquisitorial activity in the Americas of the 1630s and 1640s. Hereafter, though crypto-Jewish activity continued in both Africa and America, it became limited to the local environment. This had the important correlate that Cabo Verde diverged from the tropes of identity emerging in America, where, with the development of the plantation-oriented economy, modern forms of racialized identities were being formed. This separation meant that distinct forms of identity could be worked through in

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<sup>150</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 3, doc. 30: “*Creia V. Mgde q a maior parte dos q Residem em guine e cacheu tem o coracao e as esperanças nas mesmas Indias, sevilla e canarias...*”.

<sup>151</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 52.

<sup>152</sup> BA, Códice 51-IX-7, folio 155v: the Governor of Cabo Verde, Pedro Ferraz Barreto, accused the factor of Cacheu, João Carreiro, of using as his allies “*homens condenados por faltas e tirando os Providos por este governo prendendos e azen escandalos como he notorio tendo sentença de Rellajados*”: tr. “men condemned for faults and throing out those provided by this government and they commit scandalous acts as is notirous since thet have the sentence of *rellajados*...”.

Cabo Verde, beyond the boundaries of the rigid stereotypes becoming codified through the plantation complex.

The second important consideration is that, as a perceived place of refuge, Cabo Verde was beyond the sphere of Portuguese force and institutions. Thus the Jewish return from America to Cabo Verde in this specific period bolsters my argument in IV:1 that Cabo Verde was experiencing a process of internal recovery at this time, since the strength of the assertion of Caboverdean identity was a companion to the waning of Portuguese influence here, meaning that these fugitives felt able to settle here<sup>153</sup>.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that the principal geopolitical context of these developments was Portugal's 28-year independence war with Spain. In this context, Portuguese power waned in general across the world, meaning that the Crown had to prioritize its overseas commitments to areas such as Brazil, which were essential to the survival of an independent Portugal. In this context, Cabo Verde, as somewhere which was becoming marginalized by the developments of the Atlantic economy as a whole, was an expendable sphere of influence. The autonomous identity and atypical gender roles developed in Cabo Verde in this period (and discussed in IV:1) in fact required the localization of the economy, and benefited decisively from the waning interest of the outside world in Cabo Verde during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>153</sup> It is important to grasp that this was not a uniform process. There were cases in this period where people were taken back to be tried by the Inquisition in Lisbon, revealing that the power of Portuguese institutions was sporadically reinvigorated (Luis Rodrigues himself was tried (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processo 8626), as was Crispina Peres in 1664 (ibid., Processo 2079)). However this sporadic influence itself emphasized that the power of Lisbon to exert its will in perpetuity had gone.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ACCOMMODATING THE OTHER:

#### How the Jewish Presence Found its Space in Cabo Verde

##### 3.1 Integration into the Caboverdean World (I): The Rodrigues Freires

The evidence of IV:2, while demonstrating beyond doubt that an active *cristão novo* presence remained in Cabo Verde through the middle third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, might also suggest a paradox: that although external interest in Caboverdean space waned in this period, the Jewish presence – as evidenced through the fugitives’ connections to the Americas – remained externally oriented. Yet in fact, as we shall see in this chapter, the Jewish presence in these years ranged from people like Manoel Henriques who retained their contacts with the New World to people in Cabo Verde and Guiné who became full participants in Cabo Verde’s Creole culture.

What in fact emerged was a difference between generations: the elder crypto-Jews sought to maintain their international outlook and crypto-Jewish identity, while their descendants sought integration. This is revealed perhaps most persuasively of all by the case of João Rodrigues Freire: Rodrigues Freire’s career in Cabo Verde lasted for almost 40 years, during which time his Judaic practice was open knowledge.

João Rodrigues Freire arrived on Cabo Verde in the mid-1620s. At first he worked as a goldsmith<sup>154</sup>, something which in itself probably attracted immediate suspicion, since this was a typical Jewish craft throughout Iberia and the Arab world<sup>155</sup>. On July 30<sup>th</sup> 1629 the Governor of

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<sup>154</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 214, folio 11r: “*João Roiz Freire ourives do ouro...*”.

<sup>155</sup> Jane S. Gerber (1980), 146-7.

Cabo Verde, João Pereira Corte Real, arrested Rodrigues Freire on suspicion of Judaizing and held a trial<sup>156</sup>. It was in this same year that Corte Real led an expedition to attack the Jewish settlements on the *petite côte*<sup>157</sup>; in this context, a letter of Rodrigues Freire addressed to his brother-in-law Francisco Nunez Barbossa in Brazil which bemoaned the conditions on Santiago and said that “we are worse off than the baby Moses”<sup>158</sup> was highly suspect, and evidence for crypto-Judaism if ever there was some.

During the trial held by Corte Real, numerous witnesses attested to the Judaism of both Rodrigues Freire and his relatives. Rodrigues Freire was accused of never working on Saturdays (the Jewish Sabbath)<sup>159</sup>. He had launched into a tirade against the author of a book against the Jews<sup>160</sup>. He was said to keep the Sabbath together with Antonio Mendes and Duarte Mendes, relatives by marriage<sup>161</sup>, and when Antonio Mendes, who was married to the aunt of Rodrigues Freire’s wife, came to give evidence he was so shaken that he could not recall the name of his wife’s niece<sup>162</sup>.

In spite of this quite considerable evidence of crypto-Jewish activity, Rodrigues Freire remained in Ribeira Grande. In 1633, the Bishop of Cabo Verde wrote to the inquisitors in

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<sup>156</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 214, folio 13r.

<sup>157</sup> See above, page 253.

<sup>158</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 214, folio 11r: “*somos piores que o menino Moyses*”; see above, page 1.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 14r, 14v.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 14r: João Rodrigues Calado, his neighbour, said that “*estando hū dia em casa de gaspar gonçalvez lendo por hū livro de hū autor q escreveo cōtra os Judeos cujo titulo disse se intitulava Judaismo entrava o dito João Roiz*” (tr. “one day when he was in the house of Gaspar Gonçalvez reading a book by an author who wrote against the Jews, the title of which was “*Judaismo*”, the said João Roiz came in”); Rodrigues Freire became furious at the book, saying that “*conhecia o livro q o autor era hu tal e qual palavras roins, e q hu cabra fera asentado dormir cō sūa irmā*” (tr. “he knew the book and that the author was a so-and-so, swearing vigorously, and that a goat had slept with [the author’s] sister”).

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, folios 13v, 14v.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, folio 14r: “*E Logo o ditto governador me disse a mi q desse fé em como o dito Antonio Mendes assima asinado estava tão perturbado q não sabia asinar ao nome de sua comadre e sobrinha de sua molher*”: tr. “and then the said Governor asked me to swear that the said aforementioned Antonio Mendes was so disturbed that he did not know the name of his fellow godparent the niece of his wife”.

Lisbon and mentioned the evidence taken by Corte Real, requesting advice as to how to proceed<sup>163</sup>. Then in 1641 Manoel Fragozo denounced various Jews in the Caboverdean region, including Rodrigues Freire who, he said, would never set sail from Ribeira Grande on a Saturday and was said to whip a crucifix in his home<sup>164</sup>.

In spite of all this, however, Rodrigues Freire was appointed to important administrative posts on Santiago. He was made the *escrivão* of the new mint which was instituted in Ribeira Grande in 1654<sup>165</sup>, and in 1655 he applied for the vacant post of *escrivão de correição*<sup>166</sup>. Asked for his opinion on the applicants by the *Conselho Ultramarino*, Governor Pedro Ferraz Barreto responded that Rodrigues Freire was “publicly known to be of Jewish stock”<sup>167</sup>; meanwhile, Christovão de Melo e Silva, the official charged with investigating the suitability of the applicants, discovered that Rodrigues Freire’s sister had been punished in the Auto in Lisbon of 1655<sup>168</sup>. Yet in spite of all of this, by 1663 Rodrigues Freire was *escrivão do almoxarifado*, one of the most important financial posts in Cabo Verde<sup>169</sup>.

Rodrigues Freire’s career in Cabo Verde appears, then, to be analogous to that of his near contemporary Manoel Henriques. Both men appear to have had reasons to be fearful of the Inquisition – Henriques in America, Rodrigues Freire in Portugal – both men were roundly denounced as *cristãos novos* in Ribeira Grande, yet both became *escrivãos* of the *almoxarifado*.

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<sup>163</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folios 479r-v

<sup>164</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 220, folio 352v.

<sup>165</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 84: “*João Roíz Freire, morador na mesma Ilha, que consta haver servido nella de Escrivão do Cunho da Moeda...*” (tr. “João Roíz Freire, resident of the [island of Santiago] states that he has served as the *escrivão* of the royal mint...”); on the foundation of the mint, see above, page 283.

<sup>166</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 36.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., dated April 20<sup>th</sup> 1656: this is the first of three documents in this document folder: “*Me dis V. Mgde q informed a pessoa de João Roíz Freire o qual he publico ser de nação*”..

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., from the third of the three documents in this document folder: “*Achei que João Roíz Freire era da nação hebraica e que hũa irmã sua saio o anno pasado no auto-da-fee*” (tr. “I found that João Roíz Freire was of the Hebrew nation and that one of his sisters was a penitent in the Auto of last year”).

<sup>169</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 155: “*eu João Rodrigues freire escrivão dos contos da almoxarifado...*” (tr. “I João Rodrigues Freire the *escrivão* of the accounts of the Almoxarifado”).

Such a post was widely associated with routine contraband activity<sup>170</sup>, activity which required the sort of contacts which Henriques had in Cartagena and Rodrigues Freire had in Brazil. Both men, might, therefore, be thought of as emblematic of the extractive economic cycle in which the pan-Atlantic crypto-Jewish networks played such an important role in the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Yet closer examination of the evidence on Rodrigues Freire suggests a difference which is related to the development of his family. We know from the evidence of the trial taken by Governor Corte Real that Rodrigues Freire had significant family contacts in Ribeira Grande<sup>171</sup>, where there is no such evidence for Henriques. But while Rodrigues Freire was an active crypto-Jew, we will see that his children appear to have adopted a different kind of identity.

As to Rodrigues Freire's crypto-Jewish tendencies, there can be no doubt. These are evident from the reference to "baby Moses" in the letter to his brother-in-law, and the repeated accusation that he kept the Sabbath. It may, indeed, be no coincidence that his family names were the same as those of Jacob Peregrino, whose Christian name was Jerónimo Rodrigues Freire<sup>172</sup>. The crypto-Jewish posture endured, to judge from the language of his letter of 1663 when, as *escrivão do almoxarifado*, he referred to the petition of the clergy regarding the

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<sup>170</sup> This reputation went back as far as 1520, when the *escrivão do almoxarifado* Alvaro Rodrigues was accused of numerous acts of fraud (see HGCV: CD, Vol. 1, 321). Henriques was the subject of various *autos* which accused him of complicity in the sending of hundreds of unregistered slaves in ships to Cartagena (see e.g. AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 17, which accuses all the royal officials of accepting bribes to turn a blind eye to the smuggling of slaves), while the clergy of Santiago suspected Rodrigues Freire of fraud, as is revealed by their demand that he open up the books of the *almoxarifado* clearly, so that everyone could see what the true situation was, since they had not been paid for two years (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 155); moreover, the *Conselho Ultramarino* recommended suspending Rodrigues Freire in 1664 following the widespread frauds carried out in the *almoxarifado* (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 1).

<sup>171</sup> See above, page 307.

<sup>172</sup> See above, page 176.

payment of their salary; this statement is stripped of the usual qualifications of Iberian scribes: the years are stated without the prefix “the year of our Lord Jesus Christ”<sup>173</sup>.

Rodrigues Freire was married in Ribeira Grande and his wife had extensive family ties there to judge from the denunciations of 1629/30. By 1641, the couple had two sons who were attending the school in Ribeira Grande; this was almost certainly the Jesuit school, which appears to have influenced these sons – who are unnamed by the source – to feel unhappy about their parents’ religious orientation, since they reported that Rodrigues Freire had an image of Jesus that both he and his wife whipped on certain days<sup>174</sup>.

Following Rodrigues Freire’s sons’ religious education, it appears that they became priests on Santiago. In the 1660s a series of scandals broke out in Ribeira Grande centred on a power struggle involving different factions in the island hierarchy. Central to the disputes were two priests, Estevão and Ignacio Freire. On May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1665, Estevão Freire wrote to the Inquisition in Lisbon accusing the Governor Antonio Galvão and the *Ouvidor* Manoel da Costa Palma of giving protection to a gang led by Luis de Sancta Maria which was going about saying that to “precipitate my fall they are going to get me imprisoned by [the Inquisition], which I infer they will do, because of the little respect which people have here for the Holy Tribunal”<sup>175</sup>.

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<sup>173</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 155: “*eu provi o livro dos pagamentos que se fazem ao Rdo Cabido da Santa See...de vinte e tres dias do mes do julho de mil quinhentos digo mil seiscentos sincoenta quatro annos ate oje que são vinte e tres dias do mes de julho do anno de mil seiscentos sesenta e tres...*”: tr. “I furnished the book of payments which are made to the Reverend Chapter of the Cathedral...on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1654 till today July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1663”.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.: “*este tem dous filhos q assiste na escola q dizē q seu pai tem uma imagē de Christo Nosso Redemptor a qual sua Mai em sertos dias e seu pai azoute, este tal diz hū conego chamado Bartolome Vieira q saiu do Algarve...*”: tr. “this man has two children who go to school and they say that their father has an image of Christ our Saviour that the mother and father whip on certain days, which is said by a canon called Bartolome Vieira who came from the Algarve”.

<sup>175</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 243: “*Luis de Santca Maria iunto com suas sequazes, Anto Mascarenhas, Mel Barboza presbitero, Luis da Çilva, Nicolao Mascarenhas da Cruz, Andre Goncalvez e outros semelhantes, cuidados de Anto galvão gdor desta Ilha, e de Mel da Costa Palma, ouvidor, dizem a bandeiras despregados q por me precipitarē hão de dar commigo prezo nessa Sancta Caza o q daqui infiro he q sim o forão, por q o pouco Respeito q aqui ho Sancto Tribunal tem...*”.



The enmities came to a head with the murder of the Dean of the Cathedral, Manoel Dinis Ribeiro, on Tuesday January 16<sup>th</sup> 1669, stabbed to death by a slave<sup>176</sup>. Although some witnesses claimed that this slave belonged to the Captain-General Antonio de Barros Bezerra, the Cathedral Chapter tried to prove that the murder had come from a conspiracy led by Estevão and Ignacio Freire and the Cathedral Cantor Thome Vaz Mascarenhas. They claimed that the Chapter had issued an order to arrest Estevão on matters relating to the Inquisition, but that the secular authorities had done nothing to achieve this and that Ignacio, meanwhile, had obtained knives laced with poison in Guiné with which a slave of Estevão's had executed the murder<sup>177</sup>.

The trial reveals the enormous polarities in Ribeira Grande at this time. The witnesses called by the Chapter to substantiate their version of events in fact did not do so to a great extent – certainly with regard to the identity of the assassin - although some agreed that Ignacio Freire had said a few days before the dean's death that the dean had better be careful, as a few knife wounds could put an end to the rush of ordinances<sup>178</sup>. The Chapter claimed that the charges against Estevão Freire had subsequently been proven, but that the secular council had done nothing to arrest him and he had secured their protection<sup>179</sup>. Further denunciations accused Estevão Freire of having killed a slave of the Captain General of Praia, Antonio de Barros Bezerra, and of facilitating an abortion<sup>180</sup>; yet it subsequently emerged that Barros Bezerra was an enemy of Estevão Freire's, owing to the latter's officiation at the marriage of Bezerra to the daughter of João de Barros, Captain of Infantry in Praia, which subsequently turned sour; slaves

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<sup>176</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 34.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid..

<sup>178</sup> Ibid..

<sup>179</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 39: dated September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1670.

<sup>180</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 42.

had been sent to threaten Freire, his mother and sister, and it was clear that the charges made concerning Estevão Freire and the slave of Barros Bezerra could not as a result be believed<sup>181</sup>.

None of this proves directly that the Freire brothers were the sons of João Rodrigues Freire, but the circumstantial evidence is significant. In the first place, the unstated charges relating Estevão to the Inquisition, and the delight his enemies took in taunting him, could be related to the fact that a known Judaic provenance would make false accusations harder to disprove. Secondly, it is significant that the Freires were said to be allies of Thome Vaz Mascarenhas, since Vaz Mascarenhas had been accused in 1652 by Governor Jorge Mesquita de Castelbranco – albeit at the time of his general denunciation of the “Jewish conspiracy” - of dealing with suspicious *cristãos novos*<sup>182</sup>. Corroborating evidence of Vaz Mascarenhas’s alliance with *cristãos novos* emerges in his commercial missions to Guiné in the late 1630s, where he dealt with figures including Tomás Rodrigues Barassa<sup>183</sup> and João Rodrigues da Costa<sup>184</sup>, and thus, given this subsequent alliance of the 1660s with the two Freire brothers, and the fact that we know that João Rodrigues Freire had two sons, it must be highly likely that these sons were Estevão and Ignacio. It might seem anomalous for such an open crypto-Jew to have two sons who became priests, but the existence of *cristão novo* priests was widespread in

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<sup>181</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 44.

<sup>182</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 48: *Vive hum Clerigo Negro Conego da See Thome Vaz Mascarenhas mui disoluto e escandaloso e publicamente nesta cidade con vicios e torpessas odiosas sendo pessoa ecclesiastica, tendo parcialidade e concuração com homens de nação que nesta cidade ha que a ella vierão amoestados polla Igreja*: tr. “A black cleric who is canon of the Cathedral, called Thome Vaz Mascarenhas, lives in a very dissolute and scandalous manner in this city, with vices and hateful actions for an ecclesiastical person, having partiality and dealings with the *cristãos novos* who are here in this city and who came here under threat from the Church”.

<sup>183</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 217, folios 481r-482r.

<sup>184</sup> Guy Thilmans and Nize Izabel de Moraes (1974), 97.

Cabo Verde at the time<sup>185</sup>, and with the Freire brothers appears to have facilitated integration into Caboverdean society.

For also denounced as part of the conspiracy in the murder of the Dean of the Cathedral in 1669, as an ally of the Freires, was Domingos Rodrigues Viegas, the leader of the Creole power block on Santiago in the 1660s<sup>186</sup>. The *cristão novo* Freire brothers had therefore allied themselves with the Creole powerbrokers against the more peninsula-oriented groups on the island. Catholicism may have been the religious glue which bound this alliance together, but it was a fluid and hybrid form of Catholicism which the Freires' enemies saw as making Estevão a "sacrilegious priest"<sup>187</sup> who should be denounced to the Inquisition. Ultimately, the otherness and ambiguous social position which the Freire brothers had assimilated from their father's sense of identity may have facilitated their merging with the perceived otherness of the emergent Creole identity, helping to forge the sort of hybrid which was such anathema to their enemies.

### **3.2 Integration into the Caboverdean World (II): the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa Network in the Second Generation**

Just as with the Rodrigues Freire family in Cabo Verde, the second generation of the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa clan in Guiné appears to have departed from the distinctive crypto-Jewish identity and assimilated thoroughly into the cultures of Guiné. Alvaro Gonçalves

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<sup>185</sup> This has emerged in this thesis through the cases of Luis Rodrigues, the relative of João Rodrigues Duarte, and of Filipe Tavares Metello. See also the denunciation of Manoel Alvares Prieto in Cartagena of "*un fulano frade que esta en guinea...*" (AHN, Inquisición, Legajo 1620, Expediente 15, folio 39r).

<sup>186</sup> See above, page 276.

<sup>187</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 42: "*clerigo sacriligo*".

Frances's son Jorge had been born in Cacheu and had served there as a Captain of Infantry; in 1645 he had sailed north to Gorée and Arrecife [Rufisque] to put an end to Spanish trading there, and had subsequently captured many Spanish ships trading illegally in Caboverdean waters. In 1664 he made a petition to become a member of the Order of Christ, and this petition was recommended for approval by the *Conselho Ultramarino*<sup>188</sup>.

It is significant that Jorge made this request when desiring the funds to move to Geba for 6 years<sup>189</sup>, since Geba was at the heart of the trade linking the Rivers of Guiné with Sierra Leone rather than to the Atlantic<sup>190</sup>. He was therefore at home with intra-African trade and no longer to be dependent on external trading transactions. Since trade, as we have seen, is a key aspect of emergent creolization, with commercial intermediaries the principle agents of this process<sup>191</sup>, this is important evidence to bolster my claim of the *cristão novo* role in this process; if creolization required traders, and many Atlantic and intra-African traders were of Jewish stock, then clearly the Jewish role in this process is significant.

In fact, this petition of Jorge Gonçalves Frances was probably related to the murmurings against his wife, Crispina Peres, which resulted in her being arrested and shipped to the inquisitorial authorities in Lisbon later in 1664<sup>192</sup>. Peres was accused of sorcery and worshipping fetishes, of organizing pagan ceremonies on one of Jorge Gonçalves Frances's boats which involved a libation with cow's blood, of using local healers when her daughter fell ill in an attempt to discover who had poisoned her, and of keeping a bewitched snake<sup>193</sup>. Such

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<sup>188</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 30: dated May 5<sup>th</sup> 1664.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid..

<sup>190</sup> BA, Códice 51-VI-21, folio 277r.

<sup>191</sup> Wilson Trajano Filho (2003), 15; see above, page 200 n.169.

<sup>192</sup> See above, page 279 n.38.

<sup>193</sup> Philip Havik (2004a), 107-8.

cultural practice would suggest a thorough assimilation by Gonçalves Frances into the society of Guiné<sup>194</sup>.

Moreover Alvaro Gonçalves Frances's son was not the only member of this network to assimilate in this way. On his death in 1656, Diogo Barassa Frances - a relation of both Alvaro, Jorge, and possibly the son of the elder Diogo Barassa - left many goods, most of which were brought from Sierra Leone<sup>195</sup>. Thus like Jorge, Barassa Frances was heavily involved in the trading networks linking Cacheu with Sierra Leone, and not on the external Atlantic trade. Like Jorge, he was heavily involved in the trading practices which fostered the creolizing process.

In general the evidence suggests that this second generation was one of transition. There were some *cristãos novos* who assimilated, but Jorge Gonçalves Frances's brother, Diogo, was resident in Cartagena in 1651, and maintained close ties with Cacheu, which would suggest that the communities retained some element of the trans-Atlantic connections which had characterized them prior to 1640<sup>196</sup>. Yet by 1658 Diogo was back in Guiné and living in Farim with Jorge<sup>197</sup>, suggesting by the end of the 1650s these external connections had slackened.

Some of the ideas which have arisen during the course of this thesis imply that this process of integration was assisted by cultural attitudes, and in particular that the greater adaptability of *cristãos novos* to their host cultures and their status as an ambiguous social group

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<sup>194</sup> As he noted in a petition to the inquisitors of Lisbon, this was all customary practice in Cacheu and there were only four perfect Catholics among the town's 1500 inhabitants (ibid., 108-9).

<sup>195</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 1, folio 8r.

<sup>196</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 17, dated: July 6<sup>th</sup> 1651. This document refers to a trial on the alleged contraband of ships being despatched back to Cartagena from Ribeira Grande; one of the passengers on the ship who had come from Cartagena was "*Diogo Gonçalves Frances natural de cacheu Residente que foi da cidade de Cartagena ora estante nesta dita cidade de [Ribeira Grande]*" (tr. "Diogo Gonçalves Frances born in Cacheu and previously a resident in the city of Cartagena but now resident in this city [of Ribeira Grande]"); Diogo was 24 years old, so had been born circa 1627.

<sup>197</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 239, folio 90v: "*Jorge Gonsalvez Frances, seu irmão Diogo Gonsalvez...*": tr. "Jorge Gonsalvez Frances, his brother Diogo Gonsalvez...".

fomented Afro-Judaic rather than Afro-Christian syncretism in emerging Creole cultures. This idea is supported by the problems which the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa network had with the Captain of Cacheu, Gonçalo de Gamboa Ayala, who (circa 1647-50) repeatedly accused them – as well as their colleagues Manoel de Mattos and Fernão Lopes de Mesquita - of being seditious *cristãos novos*<sup>198</sup>; in their defence, the *cristãos novos* of Cacheu noted that Ayala “deals with the local people with too much violence of words and actions”<sup>199</sup>, and that as a result no one would enter Cacheu to trade with them<sup>200</sup>.

What emerges here is a conflict of perceptions. Ayala genuinely believed the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa grouping to be seditious and Judaizing, and polarization developed as a result, in which Ayala only dealt with people he deemed to be pure<sup>201</sup> and treated all those whom he deemed impure – the *cristãos novos* and the Africans – with asperity. This weakened his commercial position in Cacheu and therefore accentuated his sensitivity to the “Jewish conspiracy”, with the result that in 1650 he arrested the people he thought of as the ringleaders - in spite of their having been given a pardon in 1647 for any earlier dealings with Spanish ships - and despatched them to the jail at Ribeira Grande on Santiago, where they arrived on June 29<sup>th</sup><sup>202</sup>.

Ayala died on October 9<sup>th</sup> 1650<sup>203</sup>, and the residents of Cacheu were given bail in Ribeira Grande on February 19<sup>th</sup> 1651, with one of their sponsors being Duarte Mendes Ferreira,

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<sup>198</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, docs. 52, 58. In the latter document Ayala informs the Crown that “*esta praça he composta de judeus affectos a Portugal muito mal*”, and claims that they were related to *cristãos novos* who that year [1647] had brought ships from Seville and Cádiz to trade in Sierra Leone.

<sup>199</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 52, Anexo 4, folio 15v: “*uzando tambem cō demasiado Rigor e máu palavras com os gintios da terra...*”

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 15v-16r.

<sup>201</sup> AHU, Guiné, Caixa 1, doc. 58: Ayala derives his information on the links of the *cristãos novos* of Cacheu from “*hum cristão velho pobre e vasallo de V Mgde*” (tr. “a poor *cristão velho* who is a vassal of Your Majesty”).

<sup>202</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 31.

<sup>203</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 16.

the relative by marriage of João Rodrigues Freire<sup>204</sup>. The second generation of the Gonçalves Frances/Barassa clan were thus members of the *cristão novo* networks of both Cabo Verde and Guiné. But, as the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century progressed, the isolation of the crypto-Jewish communities of Cabo Verde from developments affecting other Sephardic communities, and the ties produced by marriage alliances and trading patterns emerging linking Cacheu and Sierra Leone, meant that the accent was placed more on integration than on differentiation: finding a space for their own culture within the creolizing world of Cabo Verde meant seeking accommodation with Caboverdean power blocks, not antagonism.

### **3.3 Recapitulation: The Emergence of the Creolized *Cristão Novo* Power Block**

In this chapter we have followed two cases which suggest that by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, members of *cristão novo* families in which there had been crypto-Judaizing tendencies were assimilating into the wider creolized dynamic of Caboverdean space. This consideration enables us to understand the process of creolization in an entirely different light: the *cristãos novos*, as the element of overseas Portuguese society with the best cultural equipment for integration<sup>205</sup>, represented the tranche of Portuguese society that trans-shipped elements of Portuguese culture into the emerging Creole identity of Cabo Verde, to which the emergence of Creole factions and the rise of a Creole vernacular attest in this period<sup>206</sup>.

This meant that *cristão novo* families were ideally placed to form powerful interest groups within Creole society. The *cristão novo* group controlled pivotal aspects of the

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<sup>204</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 31; see above, page 307.

<sup>205</sup> As illustrated by the dichotomy between Captain Ayala and the *moradores* of Cacheu – see above, pages 321.

<sup>206</sup> “Trans-shippers” being the apposite phrase of Jonathan Schorsch (2002: 69). Of course there were numerous other Creole cultures emerging at this time, but it is plausible that the peculiar mixture of the *cristão novo* presence and the lack of Portuguese strategic interest enabled the *cristãos novos* to play a particularly important role in Cabo Verde.

Caboverdean infrastructure; it was this control which had seen the emergence of crypto-Judaism as a diasporic trading religion in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and which protected people such as João Rodrigues Duarte, Jorge Gonçalves Frances and João Rodrigues Freire as the century unwound.

. This meant that arrivals from the peninsula were quickly integrated into the patterns which 150 years of *cristão novo* settlement had created. The lawyer Domingos de Figueroa Relvado, originally from Elvas<sup>207</sup> and a graduate of Coimbra<sup>208</sup>, rose to important posts such as *juiz ordinario*<sup>209</sup> and *provedor da fazenda*<sup>210</sup>, following his arrival in the region in the late 1650s<sup>211</sup>; he quickly became a leading figure in Caboverdean resistance against the tyrannies of their governors, as he was cited by the outgoing Governor in 1661 as having a major role in the “disobedience” shown to him<sup>212</sup>.

Figueroa Relvado was implicated in the power struggles which also affected the Freire brothers in Ribeira Grande. His enemies succeeded in having him arrested and returned to the inquisitors in Lisbon<sup>213</sup>, where he was reconciled in January 1671<sup>214</sup>. Although Figueroa Relvado confessed to Judaizing in Ribeira Grande, even the inquisitors doubted the value of this testimony<sup>215</sup>, and it is much more likely that the enmity of the rival power block led to his incarceration and false confession: by 1670, it was the Creole threat to take power that

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<sup>207</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 38, folio 366r.

<sup>208</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 175: dated June 28<sup>th</sup> 1664.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid..

<sup>210</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 6, doc. 52.

<sup>211</sup> Figueroa Relvado confessed to having witnessed Judaic practices in Elvas circa 1655 (IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 38, folio 366v-367r); by 1661 he was present in Cacheu (AHU, Guiné, Caixa 2, doc. 15), though resident in Ribeira Grande (AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 114).

<sup>212</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5A, doc. 116.

<sup>213</sup> Extracts of the trial can be read in IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 246, folios 114v-116r and 122r-v.

<sup>214</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 38, folio 366r.

<sup>215</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 246, folios 116r. 122r-v.



preoccupied both *cristãos novos* and *cristãos velhos*, and the issue of crypto-Judaism had been superseded by the issue of creolization.

Throughout this period little that could be done to stem the rise of the Creole power block, this fusion of the otherized European and the otherized African. By 1656 the Governor of Cabo Verde, Pedro Ferraz Barreto was deliberately appointing *cristãos novos* to official posts<sup>216</sup>. As late as 1672, the Inquisition in Lisbon arrested *cristãos novos* who had shipped thither from Cabo Verde<sup>217</sup>. Nothing was done to reverse the situation in Caboverdean space itself, however, since geopolitical and economic considerations meant that identity formation here could proceed without a supervenient categorization imposed from without.

Thus by 1670, the issues with which crypto-Judaism had previously been identified in Cabo Verde had blurred. Members of *cristão novo* families had identified themselves with Creole power-blocks which were seen as the most real threat in the minds of the Portuguese. The threat was real, and related to the usurpation of power by these “others”; for just as, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the alliance of Ganagoga with the Fulani showed an alliance of others at the expense of the dominant culture, so the same process reworked itself in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The adaptability of the *cristãos novos*, their isolation from mainstream Sephardic culture, and the cultural affinities between themselves and their host culture created the European threads of the mixed fabric from which sprang creolization. A space had been found for them in Cabo Verde because of the continuity of the cultural structures which had followed them from Iberia.

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<sup>216</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 42: “os cargos da malysia os tem posto em gente mercantile e de nação...”: tr. “the posts out of malice he has given to trading people and *cristãos novos*...”.

<sup>217</sup> ASV, Secretaria di Stato di Portogallo, Vol. 27, folios 174v-175r: “arrivata una nave dall’isola di Capo Verde in questo Porto per ordine del reverendo signor Inquisitor furono pigliato avanti che fossero potosi rendere in terra dui q la meda. capisne e transportati al So Offo”: tr. “when a ship arrived from the Island of Cabo Verde in this port two travellers were captured before they could set foot on land by the orders of the Chief Inquisitor, and transported to the Holy Office”.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CABOVERDEAN ATLANTIC: THE LEXICON OF IDENTITY IN 1672

#### 4.1 Racism in the Early Modern Atlantic

By the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, new approaches to identity and new vectors of differentiation had evolved in the western hemisphere. In the Iberian world – and the Hispanic world in particular – a central reflection of these new ideas was a growing obsession with lineage and honour. Honour was associated with pure *cristão velho*<sup>218</sup> ancestry, and was not a mere concept but a “dimension of life”<sup>219</sup>. In Spanish America, the *sistema da castas* – by which people were identified through the proportion of their mixture of Amerindian and Spanish ancestry – occurred as part of a society “obsessed with identifying and enforcing racial hierarchies”<sup>220</sup>, and as part of the elision of the concept of *limpeça* from religious to racial concerns.

The position of people of Jewish descent in this picture was a complex one. In essence it was one of a subaltern group attempting to shed its subalternity by integrating into the dominant social group. The process of Jews “becoming white folks”, which was a feature of post-war American society in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>221</sup>, was an ongoing process throughout the formation of

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<sup>218</sup> I use the Portuguese rather than the Spanish spelling to maintain consistency through the thesis; in Spanish, of course, these were *cristianos viejos*.

<sup>219</sup> Américo Castro (1972), 56, “*dimensión de vida*”.

<sup>220</sup> Jorge Cañizares Esguerra (1999), 34; on the *sistema de castas* see also Juan Gil (2001), Vol. 3, 37. Although the *sistema de castas* eventually unravelled in Latin America owing to the extent and variety of *mestizaje* (see George M. Fredrickson (2002: 40)), its implementation coincided with the period under study here.

<sup>221</sup> Karen Brodtkin (1998); see also above page 97.

colonial society in Latin America and the Caribbean; and this led to the paradoxical situation in which Jews and *cristãos novos* in the Atlantic were both subaltern and not subaltern<sup>222</sup>.

Such was the picture across Iberian America. In Bahía, social strata were primarily designated according to skin colour and the richer *cristãos novos* intermarried with the *cristãos velhos*<sup>223</sup>, while by the 18<sup>th</sup> century Brazil as a whole was riven by divides established largely according to colour<sup>224</sup>. The potential for integration in America came because, in spite of their despised origins, the *cristãos novos* were a “useful” white population in a continent where other races predominated<sup>225</sup>; their numerical additions to the *cristão velho* population helped to enshrine the racial oppositions which would codify colonial society. The presence of subordinated others – the slaves – helped Jews and *cristãos novos* towards emancipation<sup>226</sup>, displacing the hostility which had so often been directed towards them onto others.

These processes in the Americas and the Caribbean in the 17<sup>th</sup> century mirror those that we observed for the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Cabo Verde when this was the heart of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and the processes of otherization and extraction were at their most intense<sup>227</sup>. In both locales a process of transference was at work, in which Jews or *cristãos novos* elided into the white aristocracy, and were able to do so because of the presence of a group which in turn

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<sup>222</sup> The situation was of course somewhat different in those parts of America and the Caribbean where Jews were allowed to live freely, such as the English, French and Dutch-controlled islands, Suriname and French Guyana. Here the “whitening” was accompanied by the maintenance of religious differentiation by what was in many cases a substantial Jewish population. The process of emancipation was of crucial importance here, and facilitated Jewish emancipation in Europe (David Brion Davis (1994: 16)); it is difficult not to conclude that the presence of vast numbers of subordinate “others” must have helped in this initial process in the Caribbean.

<sup>223</sup> Anita Novinsky (1972), 59-61; René Renou (1991), 381.

<sup>224</sup> Thus an Amerindian chief who married an African woman in 1771 was degraded (C.R. Boxer (1963: 121)), and lay brotherhoods barred anyone who married “beneath” themselves in class or colour (ibid., 120).

<sup>225</sup> Itic Croitoru Rotbaum (1967), Vol. 1, 137.

<sup>226</sup> David Brion Davis (1994), 16: “Jews found the threshold of liberation from second-class status or worse, in a region dependent on black slavery”.

<sup>227</sup> See above, page 93.

could be otherized<sup>228</sup>; unconsciously, they recognized that, concomitant to the development of progress and the international economy was otherization which, in the Atlantic world, was no longer directed at them.

This somewhat theoretical exposition of this unfolding process has recently been clarified by Schorsch's excellent account of the unfolding relationship between Jews and Blacks in the early modern world. Schorsch argues that the Jewish possession of slaves was itself felt as empowering<sup>229</sup>, and ruptured the traditional relationship which Jews had had to their host cultures in Europe; thus Jewish participation in the Atlantic world inevitably ushered in a set of conditions which changed their condition into becoming an accepted part of the dominant culture vis-à-vis a new subaltern group, and ushered in the changing attitudes towards black Jews evident in Amsterdam in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>230</sup>.

Although of course different factors were at work with the *cristãos novos* to those which Schorsch analyzes for the Jews, the position of Jews and *cristãos novos* was analogous because of the perception which others had of them. The increasing racialization of discourse meant that those with Jewish ancestry were seen as Jews<sup>231</sup>, something which has percolated through to some modern historical discourse related to the activities of these groups<sup>232</sup>. The *cristãos novos*

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<sup>228</sup> That processes of transference were involved in the new racial discrimination of the Atlantic, and as a concomitant to this elision of Jews into the "white aristocracy", is argued by Juan Gil (2001), Vol. 3, 37. See also Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 201 and George M. Fredrickson (2002), 40: "Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain is critical to the history of Western racism because its attitudes and practices served as a kind of segue between the religious intolerance of the Middle Ages and the naturalistic racism of the modern era".

<sup>229</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 4.

<sup>230</sup> See above, page 114 n.46.

<sup>231</sup> IAN/TT, CGSO, Livro 184, folio 37r: when Agostinho Monteiro was appointed notary of the Inquisition in Goa circa 1632, the Archbishop declared "They could not find anyone else to be notary other than this Jew", because Monteiro had a small portion of *cristão novo* ancestry: "*Agostinho Monteiro, que serve de Notario neste Santo Officio, tem parte de Christão Novo, por quanto sendo eleito Notario o mesmo Agostinho Monteiro, disse que o Arcebispo Dom Frei Sebastião dissera as palavras seguintes: Não acharão outra pessoa pera Notario, senão este judeo*".

<sup>232</sup> A typical example of this process is José Gonçalves Salvador (1981).

were not Jews, but the external perception of them as Jewish meant that they were involved in the same dynamic of “whitening” as the Jews discussed in Schorsch’s book; perception, shaped by pre-existing conceptual structures, once again shaped the reality as experienced in the Atlantic.

The identification of this process of transference is an important aide in understanding the process of Jewish emancipation in both the Atlantic and western Europe and the development of Atlantic economies and categories in the early modern world. Moreover, it helps us to identify the ways in which the development of modern forms of racism adopted unique characteristics in the early modern Atlantic.

In saying this, it should be recognized that although much historiography sees these forms of racialized discourse as an invention of modernity under the influence of the European powers<sup>233</sup>, others have challenged this picture. Isaac, in particular, argues persuasively that much of what is today seen as definitive of racialized discourse was prevalent in Classical Antiquity<sup>234</sup>. Lupher, moreover, has recently argued persuasively that the Spanish were heavily influenced by the Roman prototype for Empire in their 16<sup>th</sup> century travails in the New World, and thus potentially by earlier doctrines concerning “race”<sup>235</sup>. The influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of natural slavery on debates concerning the legitimacy of the colonization of the Americas are well known, and Isaac shows convincingly that this doctrine was itself developed within an atmosphere of expansion in which the ownership of non-Greeks by Greeks needed to

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<sup>233</sup> E.g. George M. Fredrickson (2002), 40; Juan Comas (1951), 7.

<sup>234</sup> Benjamin Isaac (2004). Isaac cited authors such as Hippocrates, Strabo, Favorinus and Aristotle in order to argue that elements of racialized thought such as the influence of environment, heredity and natural attributes were prevalent in the Classical world and could be associated with the expansion of Empire, first by the Greeks and then by the Romans.

<sup>235</sup> David A. Lupher (2003).

be justified<sup>236</sup>. Thus one could suggest that the development of racialized discourse in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was nothing more than a reprise of earlier developments.

In my view, however, this would be to take things too far. For while the ideas of the classical and early modern eras bear important structural similarities, there were crucial differences involving the realities of the worlds in which the ideas were exercised. Most significantly, for the first time in the history of slavery, in the Atlantic world slaves were all of one colour<sup>237</sup>. In the Atlantic world, moreover, the development of the industrialized plantation agriculture system and of internationalization went with ideologies of expansion and continual progress absent in the Classical world, where instead it was believed that change could only be for the worse<sup>238</sup>. Thus the modern form of racism which developed in the Atlantic depended upon the exercise of these pre-existing classical concepts in a new space; the developments which I have traced with regard to the “whitening” of the Jews and *cristãos novos* were thus structurally different to anything that had gone before<sup>239</sup>.

Thus, in the Iberian Atlantic, colour, and not religion, came increasingly to define categories within the hierarchy. Yet just as the crypto-Jews of Cabo Verde became increasingly isolated from their American counterparts from 1640 onwards, so, as intimated in IV:1, we shall now see how the nature of the identity being worked through in Cabo Verde itself took a divergent path to that of much of the rest of the Atlantic world.

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<sup>236</sup> Benjamin Isaac (2004), 178.

<sup>237</sup> This was, moreover, a process which began in Cabo Verde (see above, page 94).

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>239</sup> This is not, however, to say, that the “blame” for modern racism lies here, in the early modern Atlantic, for to hold this position is to adopt a peculiarly twisted form of Eurocentrism, ignoring the abundant evidence that exists of the racialized discourses that have been developed by other imperial cultures, particularly in the Chinese and Islamic worlds.

#### **4.2 Conclusion: Categories and Identity in Cabo Verde in 1672**

To argue that the developing process of identity-formation in Cabo Verde was unique to the Atlantic world must seem frankly wrong-headed at first sight. We must always bear in mind that there was no unique process by which identity was formed in Cabo Verde, or anywhere else for that matter. Rather there were currents, atmospheres which helped to direct individuals into their choices, and tended to favour some choices over others according to time and locale.

With this in mind, we can discern two essential considerations which distinguished Cabo Verde from much of the rest of the Atlantic at this time, and which therefore deserve close attention in analyzing how identity was formed there. Firstly, there were no large-scale plantations for export either in Cabo Verde or Guiné, which meant that Caboverdean space was isolated from the currents of racism and economic rationalization for which these plantations were so pivotal in the early modern Atlantic. Secondly, moreover, as we have seen, Cabo Verde's role in the externally-oriented slave trade plummeted from circa 1640 onwards, and the slave trade, like the plantation system, is widely seen by historians as having been central to the formation of Atlantic racism.

Thus unlike both Angola and São Tomé, Portugal's other outposts on the west coast of Africa, by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Cabo Verde was involved neither in the large-scale export of slaves nor in the plantation industry. These central considerations seem to me to be enough ground to consider the evidence that, in the locale of Cabo Verde from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, modes of identity were being formed which were tangential to much of the Atlantic world. The evidence would seem to point towards two conflicting vectors of identity-formation within Caboverdean space at this time: one whose orientation stems from external trade, and one whose orientation reflects internal developments.

The ideation formed by those whose activities were oriented externally was analogous to ideological developments elsewhere in the Atlantic. Thus João Rodrigues Freire – who, as we have seen, eventually worked in the *almoxarifado* of Ribeira Grande – when cursing someone who had spoken against the Jews, said that “a mulatto slave of the author had got his sister pregnant”<sup>240</sup>. When one considers the import of this insult with care, one sees that the notion of black sexual dominance is perceived as a threat, and the invocation of the breaking of sexual taboos and associated ideas of pollution is something which, as noted in I:5, is a classic feature of a discourse of otherization<sup>241</sup>. Thus Rodrigues Freire’s participation in the slave trade – something which was required through work in the *almoxarifado* – appears to have gone with a discourse of otherization which was consonant with ideas elsewhere in the Atlantic world; moreover, the fact that most of the crypto-Jewish networks of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century were involved in this external trade would suggest that they probably participated in such ideas to a greater or lesser degree. One sees, then, that external orientation and participation in the extractive economic cycle in Cabo Verde tended to lead towards otherization<sup>242</sup>.

Visitors to Cabo Verde in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century held that a racialized hierarchy existed throughout the islands, which might be evidence of the universality of this otherizing discourse. Thus, visiting in September 1683, the English sailor William Dampier noted of São Nicolau how “they were all very swarthy; the Governor was the clearest of them, yet of a dark tawny complexion”<sup>243</sup>. Visiting on the same ship, William Cowley wrote that the Governor was

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<sup>240</sup> IAN/TT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 214, folio 14r: “*hū mulato do mesmo autor emprehava hūa sua irmā*”..

<sup>241</sup> See above, page 92.

<sup>242</sup> See also above, page 266 n.417, for an instance of how the externally-oriented Portuguese in Ribeira Grande sought to maintain a racial distinction between themselves and non-white Christians in Cabo Verde; this once again demonstrates how external orientation went with otherization.

<sup>243</sup> NGC, Vol. 1, 75.



“almost white but the rest of the Inhabitants black as Negroes”<sup>244</sup>. Yet I argue that these accounts are more reflections of external perception than internal dynamics, and that by contrast to the discourse of externally-oriented communities, internally-oriented communities had evolved a different and less racialized discourse by 1670.

Visitors often remarked of the absurdity of people claiming to be Portuguese when they were Creole or African<sup>245</sup>. Cowley’s 1683 description of São Nicolau added that the people were “not owning themselves to be Negroes but portugueses, a man being in danger of his life that calls them Negroes”<sup>246</sup>. This was clearly an attitude to be found across the Archipelago, as, writing in 1725, Roberts noted how the 5 inhabitants of Sal were “all black; but they scorned to be accounted any other than Portuguese; for if any man call them Negros, they will be very angry; saying, that they are white *Portugueze*”<sup>247</sup>. Puzzled by the Caboverdean insistence on a definition that seemed to outside eyes so wrong-headed, Roberts suggested that “their meaning could not be, that they were white, but that they were ancient *Portugueze*, or had the blood of the old *Portugueze* in them”<sup>248</sup>.

The problem with this interpretation is that it lays too much stall by external judgment. In the eyes of a racialized discourse, this Caboverdean claim to be “white” seemed absurd, but in local terms it was quite correct. For in the Caboverdean context, we know that one of the major sources of differentiation between groups at this time related not to colour, but to activity. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century people were calling themselves white on the islands and the coast because of

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<sup>244</sup> BL, Sloane 54, folio 3r.

<sup>245</sup> See e.g. the remarks of M. de la Courbe in P. Cultru (ed.) (1913), 192.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid..

<sup>247</sup> NGC, Vol. 1, 634.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 634 ne.

Portuguese cultural attributes, such as wearing shoes<sup>249</sup>, dressing in a European style and being literate<sup>250</sup>. That this was the dominant view of colour in the region among both whites and blacks is revealed by the fact that by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century white Portuguese often said of a man that he had “gone black” because of their disposition and behaviour<sup>251</sup>; cultural attributes, not physical ones, were becoming associated with race in Caboverdean space.

Thus the “ridiculousness” of blacks claiming to be whites merely reflects the ridiculousness of the racialized discourse. Creoles who traded with the Europeans or adopted some of their cultural attributes saw themselves as whites because of practice, not colour; and this was an autonomous Caboverdean trope of identity, since it had always been activity, not invented categories of “race”, which had created lines of cultural difference here<sup>252</sup>. Within the boundaries of emergent Caboverdean identity, the Lusoaficans on the coast and the Creoles on the islands *were* Portuguese, because their internal cultural categories declared them to be so; the racial stereotypes by which visitors imagined them were not universal, but dependent upon a particular perception, and the particular economic conditions associated with extraction and expansion.

These considerations may even bring us to doubt the veracity of the observations of Cowley and Dampier on São Nicolau as to the racialized hierarchy which saw the Governor as being whiter than the rest of the islanders. The emergent Atlantic ideation, requiring as it did a hierarchy of colour, would have created strong grounds for preconceiving such a reality, and the role of preconception in the perception of racial colour is demonstrated through the fact that

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<sup>249</sup> Zelinda Cohen (2002), 89.

<sup>250</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 204.

<sup>251</sup> This was the observation of John Newton in 1763 – cit. José Lingna Nafafé (2001), 67.

<sup>252</sup> Hence the conflicting perceptions of griots: segregated from the African perspective, as undertaking a different activity; and, because of their consequent segregation, perceived by European eyes as being of necessity “racially” different and therefore “Jews”.

Jews were perceived as being black in England until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>253</sup>. Thus the accounts of Cowley and Dampier might reflect evolving English categories of definition, which since the 1620s had revolved very much around colour<sup>254</sup>, rather than the Caboverdean reality.

In Cabo Verde, therefore, attitudes evolved within the Creole consciousness that were marginal to the racialized discourse emerging elsewhere in the Atlantic. These were predicated upon the increasing economic and geopolitical marginality of the region that permitted the subversion of hegemonic categories from elsewhere in the Atlantic. Linguistic features, too may have been relevant to this process; as Vaughan notes, there is often an “apparent absence of the *I* in Creole languages”, and this conceptual fluidity between subject and object may have contributed to a cultural atmosphere in which objectification itself – such as may result, for instance, from the slave trade and other systems of extractive economics – was weakened<sup>255</sup>

The key point is that this subordination of traditional categories is not open to question in Caboverdean space. We have already seen an example of this through the examination of the role of women in Caboverdean society in IV:1. Moreover, we have seen how this was a space in which Creoles were fighting with whites for power on Santiago, and how African kings controlled white access to water supplies in their main trading post in Guiné, thus implying that the stereotypical colour hierarchy was also subverted in Caboverdean space, creating a region in which something atypical could develop. The crucial factor was that, as we saw in IV:1, both the coast and the islands constituted a space in which whites could be subordinate to Creoles<sup>256</sup>.

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<sup>253</sup> Jonathan Schorsch (2004), 180-1.

<sup>254</sup> See e.g. David P. Gamble and P.E.H. Hair (eds. (1999)), the account of Richard Jobson in the Gambia in the 1620s, which refers to “Blackmen alias Mandingos” (82), the Portuguese who live with “the countrey blackewomen” (97), the “blacke people” (97) and the “blacke kings” (98).

<sup>255</sup> Megan Vaughan (2005), 211.

<sup>256</sup> Daniel A. Pereira (1986), 23: here Pereira refers to the case I have referred to of Domingos Rodrigues Viegas

Thus this reappropriation of power by Creoles in a space colonized by whites led to the operation of fundamentally different categories compared to much of the rest of the Atlantic world. In Guiné, potentates had no sense of inferiority with regard to the metropole, as is revealed by Rodney's story of the king of Bissau writing to the king of Portugal in 1753 to demand the recall of a Portuguese captain-major who had treated one of the Bissau *fidalgos* with asperity<sup>257</sup>. On Cabo Verde, the growing poverty of the islands' external trade paradoxically created an identity whose characteristics appeared largely autonomous self-generated<sup>258</sup>.

It is important to stress, however, that, in spite of the significance of these developments, this autonomy of identity was qualified. It will be recalled how above we saw that the Freire brothers' alliance with the group led by Domingos Rodrigues Viegas was glued together by a form of hybrid Catholicism seen as sacrilegious by their opponents. That hybrid forms of faith and cultural practice were developing on the islands was also implied by Jorge de Mesquita Castelbranco's association of Judaizing activity with sorcery<sup>259</sup>. As far as Creole society was concerned, hybrid forms of Catholicism had, it would appear, become important parts of the complex of factors contributing towards their identity, and so Portuguese categories were not absent.

Thus, in his application for the post of *escrivão de correição* in 1656, Fernão Rodrigues da Silva stated that he was "a resident of the Island of Santiago de Cabo Verde and one of the most noble people on that island and an Old Christian without any trace of the infected

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<sup>257</sup> Walter Rodney (1970), 37; see also numerous examples from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in José Lingna Nafafé (2001: 47-9).

<sup>258</sup> This view could be compared to Semedo's argument that the growing poverty of the islands allowed Creoles and Africans to take control and shape a society in which racial prejudice was absent: José María Semedo (1998), 36.

<sup>259</sup> See above, pages 290.

nations”<sup>260</sup>, having been born on Santiago and having served in various official capacities, both in the administrative service and in times of war<sup>261</sup>.

Da Silva’s application was put in against the competition of João Rodrigues Freire<sup>262</sup>, which makes his choice of phrase revealing. The emphasis he placed on his *cristão velho* identity, his nobility and on his lack of *cristão novo* blood shows, firstly, that the binary opposition between *cristãos velhos* and *cristãos novos* remained of significance among the elites of Cabo Verde, and secondly that members of the elites were well aware of one another’s lineage.

But even more importantly, Da Silva’s understanding of what it meant to be a *cristão velho* shows an interesting understanding of the concept of *limpeça*, and, crucially, one that must have already been germinating for some time in Caboverdean society. For it clearly shows that Da Silva was aware of the orthodox essence of *limpeça* – as something involving the absence in one’s genealogy of ancestry from people of “impure” religions - even at a time when, as we have seen in this thesis, the concept was mutating in an ugly manner to embrace colour as well as faith.

This case reveals both that Caboverdean identity was reaching for autonomy and that that autonomy was circumscribed. As outside the large-scale economic cycles affecting other parts of the Atlantic, attitudes towards race evolved differently in Caboverdean space, and thus the use of the concept of *limpeça* retained its former religious connotation; yet as retaining the religious concept from a religion imposed by the colonizing culture, the autonomy of emergent

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<sup>260</sup> AHU, Cabo Verde, Caixa 5, doc. 35: “*morador na Ilha de Santiago de Cabo Verde [e] que elle he dos mais nobres daquella Ilha e christão velho sem rassa de Infecta nação*”.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> See above, page 308.

Creole culture was inevitably attenuated by the wider force of the imperial culture which had sought to conquer Caboverdean space. Thus resistance and creative reconstitution of Creole identity could only occur within a wider paradigm where oppression had to some degree asserted itself already.

This is perhaps particularly apparent in the persistence of barter within the functioning of the Caboverdean economy in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It will be noted that while the Bishop of Bahía saw Ribeira Grande as rich in money in 1552<sup>263</sup>, by the 1620s – as we saw in III:2 and III:3 – barter based on *barafulas* was integral to the Caboverdean economy. As Georg Simmel noted, an economy of barter is one in which objectification has not been fully realized, as the medium of money facilitates distance between subject and the object of value being exchanged, which facilitates objectification<sup>264</sup>. This lack of a fully objectified economy may, some readers might feel, be a correlate to the lack of racial and gender hierarchy which has been apparent in Caboverdean space in Part IV<sup>265</sup>. Yet at the same time even this element of Creole society was dependent on the excessiveness of the extractive force which led to the decline of Cabo Verde and the collapse of the money economy.

It will be seen that this pattern of emergent Creole identity is consonant with the pattern traced in Part III for the evolution of Sephardic identity and particularly the category of “men of the Nation”. The subaltern group’s asserted identity falls within a wider pattern which is predicated upon its subordination. Thus revolution and radicalism depend upon the coercive forces against which they rebel; while the relentless imposition of such coercion weakens the human and productive fabric of the space being exploited and inevitably provokes revolt.

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<sup>263</sup> See above, page 106.

<sup>264</sup> Georg Simmel (1990), 78.

<sup>265</sup> See also above, page 329, for the connection of linguistic practices and deobjectification.

For the Jewish presence, this dynamic required several different responses. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Jewish participation in Caboverdean space often revolved around international exchange which facilitated the extractive economy, and produced a sense of “whitening” in tune with the later experiences of Jews and *cristãos novos* in America and the Caribbean. But as Cabo Verde’s marginality increased in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, their adaptability saw *cristãos novos* “blacken” and integrate into the dominant cultures of Cabo Verde and Guiné, becoming part of emergent Creole power blocks. The *cristãos novos* were not masters of difference for nothing, and it was this adaptability which was their contribution to Creole culture: they brought with them a capacity to fuse and rebel against dominant European cultures of which Creole society took full advantage as, in Cabo Verde, it took centre stage.

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## CONCLUSION

### THE SECRET HISTORY OF CABO VERDE AND THE ATLANTIC

#### Cultural Legacies: Specific and General

The study of a period and a subject so temporally distant and so archivally restricted presents many challenges. Conclusions are in essence speculative interpretations; this means that they will be affected by the cultural atmosphere in which the historian is working and the historian's own ideological predilections.

Thus I do not claim that this is anything so grand as a definitive work. Nevertheless, my conclusions may, I hope, reflect something of the pattern of cycles and events which emerges through a careful reading of the documentation. Naturally, reading these patterns inevitably involves filtering the patina of assumption through which the documents themselves were written<sup>1</sup>. Many of the documents which I have used to build the substance of this thesis have emerged from inquisitorial texts, and there are some who would challenge the validity of these texts. Yet there are three features which would suggest that such a ready dismissal of this evidence is too facile a response.

In the first place, the evidence on Caboverdean crypto-Jews from the Inquisition has been subject to a "control", which is the internal evidence provided by the Jewish community of Amsterdam: here, in the case of the Gramaxos, the community on the *petite côte*, Alvaro Gonçalves Frances and Adão Dias Solis, we have crucial evidence that some of the people I have identified as Judaizers in Cabo Verde were connected to the synagogue in Amsterdam, and

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<sup>1</sup> See below, Appendix A: Methods of History.



therefore that there was certainly substance to some of the accusations made to the inquisitors regarding them.

Secondly, the inquisitorial evidence does not stem from just one tribunal, but from both American and Portuguese tribunals. These show a degree of internal coherence in their testimony which, if dismissed, raises important hermeneutic questions regarding the truth-conditions which are to be applied to *any* series of texts. Thus with Sebastián Duarte, for instance, we saw how the evidence he provided to the inquisitors in Lima as to his first method of immigration to the Indies could be substantially validated by other evidence, and that Diogo de Albuquerque, the individual he accused of proselytizing him in Guiné, was denounced as a crypto-Jew to the inquisition in Lisbon also; and with João Rodrigues da Costa, we saw how the one denunciation of João Rodrigues Duarte in Lima was corroborated by subsequent testimony in Cabo Verde. Thus a simple dismissal of inquisitorial evidence *per se* fails to take account of the way in which evidence from different tribunals is corroborative<sup>2</sup>.

Thirdly, to suggest that the picture which this thesis has built of the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde is tendentious is to ignore the evidence of a contemporary Judaic residue in Cabo Verde and Guiné. In Dakar, some families – known as the “Portuguese” - light candles on Friday night, and it has been suggested that this is a residue of the Jewish Sabbath<sup>3</sup>. On Santiago, some families touch the side of the door and then kiss their hand, perhaps in remembrance of the Jewish practice with the *mezuzah*<sup>4</sup>, and in 2003 the Caboverdean ambassador to Israel declared

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<sup>2</sup> This conclusion is of a piece with that of scholars such as Gitlitz (David Gitlitz (1996: 77-8)), who suggests that “most of what [the inquisitors] wrote is mostly accurate”, and notes the corroborative value of the testimony of several informants all to have seen the same reported activity.

<sup>3</sup> Maurice Dorès (1992), 164.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 164 n1.

that he came from a 17<sup>th</sup>-century *cristão novo* family<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, crypto-Jewish families from Cabo Verde have emerged in recent years and joined the international *marrano-anusim* community<sup>6</sup>.

Another factor which points to a potential Judaic legacy in contemporary Cabo Verde is the extraordinary linguistic parallel between the Creole spoken on Santiago and that spoken in Curaçao in the Caribbean (known as *Papiamentu*). According to one specialist, the two languages have “too many points in common for this to be due to mere chance”; such similarities include phonic, morphological, lexical, semantic and cultural aspects<sup>7</sup>. It may be no coincidence that Curaçao had one of the largest Jewish populations of the Caribbean<sup>8</sup>, and that it was almost directly on the sailing route between Cabo Verde and Cartagena, quite near to the latter’s harbour – a place so important, as we have seen in this thesis, to the Jewish networks. The fact that, unlike other white residents of the islands, the Jewish community of Curaçao spoke *Papiamentu* as a vernacular by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup> lends support to the hypothesis that they may have had some role in trans-shipping Caboverdean Creole to Curaçao.

It is, however, difficult to be exact about specific crypto-Jewish cultural legacies in Cabo Verde. This is why in this thesis I have argued that the most vital legacy of all was the role of Jewish cultural practice – in particular its innate adaptability, as a culture whose non-host status required openness to other cultures – in facilitating creolization. As an adaptive culture, Jews

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<sup>5</sup> Gloria Mound (2003), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Personal communication from Gloria Mound, Director, Casa Shalom, Centre for Marrano-Anusim Studies, Gad Yavneh, Israel.

<sup>7</sup> Nicolas Quint (2000), 166; for his general study of the similarities between the two dialects, see pp.119-196. The similarities between Caboverdean Creole and Papiamentu were confirmed to me in a conversation in Praia, Santiago, in November 2003; I was informed that the speakers of the two languages could understand one another.

<sup>8</sup> Isaac S. and Suzanne Z. Emmanuel (1970).

<sup>9</sup> Nicolas Quint (2000), 194.

were able to adapt; and crypto-Jews, possessing several different aspects of identity, were able to fuse this hybridity into a space where cultural attributes needed to be hybrid.

### **The Jewish Presence and Historical Interpretation: Specifics of the Past**

Using the Jewish presence as a prism to interpret the unfolding of almost two centuries of Caboverdean history has provided glimpses of unexpected terrain. It is difficult on a superficial level to see how this presence should be related to the development of racism, the modernization of consciousness and the vicissitudes of the slave trade, but these are all issues to have emerged from these pages.

Firstly, we have seen how the slave trade was a crucial element in the process of otherization that characterized the early modern Atlantic: racialized categories emerged in Cabo Verde during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the slave traffic was at its height, and declined in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the traffic had largely gone. We have seen, moreover, that where the process of otherizing and the Jewish presence were contemporaneous – both in Cabo Verde in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and in the Caribbean in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – the Jewish presence as a useful white population helped in the transference of prejudice from Jews or *cristãos novos* to others; yet where the otherizing process was less marked (for instance, in Cabo Verde in the 17<sup>th</sup> century), the process of transference largely evaporated, since otherizing categories were less noticeable.

This leads me to suggest that the Jewish or crypto-Jewish participation in the Atlantic world was not a necessary or sufficient condition for this transference. This transference was, rather, a function of the otherizing process itself and the racialized categories which its emergence required, something which was connected to the international Atlantic circuits that have been traced in this thesis and thus to the process of Atlantic expansion. It was these circuits

themselves that provided the catalyst for the displacement of prejudice from religion towards race, not the identity of those who participated in them; to blame Jews for active participation and indeed accentuation of this process is to retreat into scapegoating.

In the second place, we have seen how the formation of the Atlantic economy went with a sense of differentiation or doubleness, the doubleness of modernity to which Gilroy and others have referred. And this enables us to see why it was that the trading networks which spanned the Atlantic in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century were so often crypto-Jewish. This was not, as we have seen, merely a function of *cristão novo* control of commerce, since in Cabo Verde and America *cristãos velhos* converted to crypto-Judaism; it was, rather, a function of the hybrid mentality of crypto-Judaism, which was perfectly suited to the emerging mentality which the modernizing economy required<sup>10</sup>. It was this doubleness which made crypto-Judaism a perfect diasporic trading religion in the Atlantic in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and which provided the heavy accent of crypto-Judaism among the externally-oriented participants in the Caboverdean economy.

Moreover, in the third place, this seeking towards a new identity was itself a new process reflecting the modernization of consciousness. We have seen this modernization reflected most acutely in the evolution of a geography of spaces from a geography of places. While the sense of “place” was concrete and tended to be tied to land and thus to a feudal conception of economics, the abstract sense of “space” mirrored the growing mathematization of thought, and was linked thus to the monetarization of exchange and thus to the development of modern economies<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Thus Jonathan I. Israel (2002) refers to “a vast trans-Atlantic clandestine diaspora based on a shared experience of concealment, subterfuge and persecution” (97); this idea is largely restricted by Israel to America and Europe, whereas this thesis has shown this to apply also to Africa.

<sup>11</sup> Tzvetan Todorov (1982), 148: “*Cette homogénéisation des valeurs par l’argent est un fait nouveau et il annonce la mentalité moderne, égalitariste et économiste*”: tr. “this homogenization of values by money is a new fact and announces the modern mentality, egalitarian and economicist”.

Such considerations are relevant to the analysis of the Caboverdean past and the Jewish presence in it, for we have seen how the new mode of thought was associated with developing processes of otherization in both Iberia and Cabo Verde. It was the modernization of existence in Iberia through increasing urbanization and monetarization which precipitated the anti-Semitic crises of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the modernization of the Atlantic economy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century required the otherization of Africans; in both cases, the new mode of thought - and, in particular, the abstraction and alienation from the land required by it - precipitated the demonization of others. Thus the development of the scientific worldview that today is perceived as truth-bearing was predicated upon the tragedies of Iberia and the Atlantic: truth is indeed a dirty game.

In Cabo Verde, however, this process of modernization was reconfigured in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The ecological crises of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and of 1640 meant that the extractive economic cycle moved on from here to other parts of the west African coast, with the result that the race and gender categories which tended to characterize hierarchies elsewhere in the Atlantic were modified. Although this reconfiguration occurred within a wider paradigm of a degree of Iberian hegemony, Cabo Verde had essentially returned to the worldview of “places” rather than “spaces”. Thus the perceived universality of the emerging worldview was subverted in one of the first regions in which that worldview had been developed.

### **The Jewish Presence and Historical Interpretation: Theories for the Present**

“The memory of prehistoric impulses and deeds,” wrote Herbert Marcuse, “continues to haunt civilization: the repressed material returns, and the individual is still punished for

impulses long since undone”<sup>12</sup>. Such a view is somewhat akin to some Buddhist ideas on karma, or the cycle of cause and effect which can continue to unravel over millennia. The study of the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde is the study of a presence which time has eroded and history has, largely forgotten; but its theoretical connotations are of great power today.

In the first place, in this thesis I have argued that subaltern assertions of identity against a dominant culture require the very condition of subalternity in order to be successful. Moreover, this assertion of identity occurs within a wider paradigm of external hegemony which both helps to construct elements of this identity and reinforces subalternity. This is in no sense to justify conditions of dominance or oppression; rather, it is to suggest that the vitality of movements of resistance springs precisely from the force to which they are resistant, while the vicissitudes of all dominant forces stem from their creation of the very forces of resistance which help to undermine them: historical conditions of force and subalternity are of their nature impermanent, and history is the study of processes of change within this paradigm.

Secondly, we have studied a society – Cabo Verde in the 17<sup>th</sup> century - which saw the emergence of a less rigid form of race and gender hierarchy in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This occurred precisely when the trappings of modern economies, and the modernization of thought which accompanied them, were absent. This is a case study to suggest that male dominance and economic modernization are related phenomena, something which García de Cortázar’s study of medieval Spain corroborates<sup>13</sup>. Just as Caboverdean identity in the 17<sup>th</sup> century asserted itself within a wider paradigm of Iberian hegemony, so modern feminism exists within a space that is

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<sup>12</sup> Herbert Marcuse (1966), 60.

<sup>13</sup> José Angel García de Cortázar (1988), 53-4.

irredeemably male. Gender equality therefore requires a fundamental reappraisal of economic conditions; mere legal finery cannot unpick subtler forms of ideological coercion.

Thirdly, we have seen how the formation of an autonomous Creole Caboverdean identity which, though influenced by external hegemonies, had a very strong force all its own, occurred precisely in the period when dependence on export and external economic forces declined, and at a time when the internal economic processes of exchange and development were at their strongest. One can suggest, therefore, that economic movements which require external orientation - such as “free trade” and “globalization” – are irredeemably ideological; the case study examined here would suggest that such movements are unlikely to provide economic panaceas to postcolonial nations.

Considering the history of the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde and its wider implications for historical developments can seem melancholy. The pattern of oppression, transference and otherization seems to be an unbroken cycle. Yet within this apparently endless process the assertion of a substantially autonomous identity in Cabo Verde in the 17<sup>th</sup> century offers a symbol of hope. Conditions of oppression create their own destruction, and permit identities to emerge constructed afresh; even the worst forces do not last, and the cycles of rise and fall illustrate something of the mystery which, ultimately, is one of the defining qualities of existence. Such mystery has, until recently, been characteristic of the knowledge of the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde. Yet in reality the story has been shown to be very simple: it is one of people escaping persecution to a safe haven, and adapting themselves to their new environment after a struggle to maintain their distinctive identity.

My hope is that this study will assist in the de-polemization of the Jewish presence in West Africa. The failure of Jewish historians to enter into this realm betrays, more than anything,

a fear of giving ammunition to Farrakhan and other anti-Semites. Yet we have seen how, where crypto-Jews were involved in slaving their crypto-Jewish identity was more predicated upon the economic and psychological realities of their activity than their own religious identity. And although the Atlantic did, on a wider level, enable the emancipation of Sephardic Jewry after the horrors of 15<sup>th</sup> century Iberia, this was because the process of economic rationalization required new scapegoats, not because of the economic activities of the Sephardim.

Today, the western world appears to require new scapegoats in order to fuel oil-dependence. The oil is in the Middle East and the otherized group are Moslems, just as in the early modern era the “black ivory” fuelling modernization was in Africa, and the otherized group were Africans. A by-product of this condition is the support of the most oil-hungry groups for the State of Israel, and thus yet again, after conditions of genocide (this time in Auschwitz and Belsen, rather than Seville and Toledo), Jewry achieves emancipation through the transference of persecution to others. Yet in neither the early modern Atlantic nor contemporary Israel were or are “the Jews” to blame for oppression: nor, of course, were Africans or are Moslems worthy targets of demonization: rather, it is the extractive and destructive nature of modernized economies, and of the worldview which has created them, which has determined this situation of otherization and the seemingly perennial desire to scapegoat others rather than to own up to our own failures as human beings.

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## **APPENDIX A: METHODS OF HISTORY**

### **Objectivism or Postmodernism? Placing the Caboverdean Jewish Presence Within an Acceptable Theory of History**

If people are the actors in history, the documents which they leave behind are their lines. Without lines, actors become voiceless, impotent, ultimately unrecognizable characters; without documents, historical events become soundless explosions in the past, and so to undertake anything which might be included within the discipline of “history” it would seem that we must have documents. Thus it is that most members of the historical profession still share the view of R.W. Beachey, that “history cannot proceed by silences”, as he put it in his traditionalist and tendentious history of East Africa<sup>1</sup>.

This view places the historian of Africa for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in an unenviable position. Documentary silences retain the aura of insurmountable historical hurdles, and in order to advance any kind of interpretation they must be filled; and yet written documents relating to Africa for this period are – with the exceptions of Ethiopia and areas such as Timbuktu and the East African coast where there was a significant local Islamic population – written by unsympathetic outsiders. We find ourselves, in other words, in the realm of “subaltern history”, the form of history where the subjects under study do not speak for themselves.

Confronted by this situation, historians and theorists have taken radically different approaches. Historians such as Beachey suggest that, where there are no documents, the

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<sup>1</sup> R.W. Beachey (1996),.xxv.

historian must remain silent; making a fetish of the written word, they draw readily on the unsympathetic views of outsiders and tacitly condemn those who did not produce written records. Thus, on this approach, continents such as Africa which have privileged oral records are said to be incapable of providing their own grounds for serious historical study, and must always be studied through the prism of outsiders.

Meanwhile, theorists such as Spivak suggest by contrast that, for the student of a subaltern field of history, archives should be seen as “the construction of a fiction whose task was to produce a whole collection of “effects of the real””<sup>2</sup>. Archives, indeed, should be read as texts, and not as repositories of “facts”<sup>3</sup>, a view that requires the use of deconstructionist modes of thought<sup>4</sup>. The violence of the imperialist episteme means that any reading of documentary evidence relating to the subaltern must use a “radical textual practice of differences”<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, Spivak cites some cases of subaltern historical studies where no documents are used to expound the historical experience of the chosen subjects.

The corollary of Spivak’s theoretical discourse is clear: documents are by no means the be-all and end-all of historical analysis, and indeed over-reliance on them will inevitably lead the writer into a neocolonialist episteme and an analysis overshadowed by exploitative modes of thought. Historians must resist the temptation of what LaCapra calls the “objectivist” mould, which “takes what is in certain respects a necessary condition or a crucial dimension of

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<sup>2</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999), 203.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 202-3.

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, in his last published interview, Jacques Derrida suggested that deconstruction had always involved a fundamental critique of Europe’s imperial discourses: “Deconstruction is in general an enterprise which many have rightly considered to be like a gesture of distrust aimed at all forms of Eurocentrism” (Jacques Derrida (2004), 13; “*La déconstruction en général est une entreprise que beaucoup ont considérée, à juste titre, comme un geste de méfiance à l’égard de tout eurocentrisme*”).

<sup>5</sup> Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999), 271.

historiography and converts it into a virtually exhaustive definition”<sup>6</sup>; they must instead confront the limits of archives, and the assumption that archives relay unadulterated facts<sup>7</sup>, recognizing instead that “modes of critical reading premised on the conviction that documents are texts that supplement or rework “reality””<sup>8</sup> will add substantially to the historical method.

This is not (yet) the moment to launch into a discussion of the merit of such deconstructionist techniques for my chosen topic. Rather, before discussing my approach to the various archival sources which I have made use of, I wish to point towards certain methodological reasons for spending the majority of my period of research in archives rather than in the field.

The basis of this decision is the curious fact that historians of the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde finds themselves balancing the requirements of a group whose members both are and are not subaltern. This paradoxical position requires some explanation, for it is strange that any group could present this sort of double-headed situation. Yet a brief consideration of the nature of the Sephardim in Cabo Verde will elucidate the situation.

Jews have traditionally been guests in their countries of residence, and often they have been guests who have been disliked and stereotyped. There is no doubt, then, that most Jewish history depends upon “external sources...which are usually hostile”<sup>9</sup>. Though the flowering of Sephardic civilisation in Iberia during the High Middle Ages led to some wonderful literary creations and important *responsa* which give an enduring picture of Jewish life in the

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<sup>6</sup> Dominick LaCapra (1985), 19.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>9</sup> Solomon Freehof (1955), 193.

Peninsula<sup>10</sup>, by the time of the persecutions of Jews in Spain and Portugal in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, matters were much more fragile.

Where the activities of the *cristãos novos* are concerned, external evidence is crucial. The histories of the *cristãos novos* in the Americas, and in Portugal after 1497, have been written almost exclusively with the help of the records of various inquisitorial tribunals, all of which saw these people through the prism of less-than-flattering stereotypes; thus it is that some historians of the Sephardim themselves despise the objectivist mode of history, for, as Faur puts it, “a function of “objective” and “scientific” history is to suppress alternative perspectives, particularly the perspective of the victim”<sup>11</sup>.

Yet if the Sephardim – and more particularly, the sort of *cristãos novos* whom I am studying – can be paradigmatic of the subaltern mode of history, in Cabo Verde they also belonged to the exploiting class. As this thesis will attest, in this environment they often participated in slaving ventures. They had, in other words, feet in both camps: they were both exploiters and exploited.

Archival material, as well as revealing the written tropes of evidence as to the presence of this group on the islands, permits the participation of the historian in a multifaceted discourse with a group whose role was itself manifold. At times, the group’s members are otherised (as with the inquisitorial evidence), but at other times they reveal themselves through their own records (as with the evidence from the Amsterdam community), or appear as part of the otherising class (as with those who secured administrative posts in the *Ultramar*).

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<sup>10</sup> For a sense of the enormous range of the *responso* see Solomon Freehof (ibid.) and B. Netanyahu (1966).

<sup>11</sup> José Faur (1992), 183.

Thus to study the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde through the archives is to go beyond a unipolar vision of history in the objectivist mode. It is instead to examine the process of otherisation in Caboverdean space from the perspective of both persecutor and victim, working through how this process was transferred from one group (Sephardim) to another (Africans); it is to examine how a group of people may be related to the textual creations which arose regarding them as victims and “victors”; and it is to develop a synthetic view of the group because of the different textual perceptions which refer to it.

It is, in short, to have what is really a unique opportunity: the chance to “discover something new”, while being able to add substantially to debates concerning the developments of modern modes of thought and the validity of different types of historiographical approach: it is to show why the *cristãos novos* in Cabo Verde were “masters of difference”, and enemies of simplistic categories.

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Hayden White, the philosopher of history, has argued that “there can be no ‘proper history’ which is not at the same time ‘philosophy of history’”<sup>12</sup>. That is, every historian, whether or not they are conscious of it, operates with a philosophy of history that guides the nature of their research<sup>13</sup>. Implicit in this idea is the notion that all history has an irreducible

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<sup>12</sup> Hayden White (1975), xi.

<sup>13</sup> Hayden White (1990), 126-127.

ideological content<sup>14</sup>, and that therefore the traditional historical consciousness can be seen as “a specifically Western prejudice by which the presumed superiority of modern, industrialized society can be retroactively substantiated”<sup>15</sup>.

This kind of broadside at traditional history has become increasingly commonplace in recent years. While this study obviously does not have the scope to pursue an extended engagement with this debate, I will set out my own ideas here as to the nature of historical study, as this will explicate the stylistic and methodological approaches which are taken in this thesis. In essence, the argument followed is that White’s point is accurate, and that in choosing a subject, a reference frame, and an interpretative mode, deep-seated ideological needs are at work in the historian; the conclusion is that, while in recent years the overly theoretical modes that were popular in the 70s have ceded ground so that more traditional particularist approaches are again in vogue, these themselves are also reflections of ideological orientation.

White’s view that all historians are, *de facto*, philosophers of history, dissented from much of the previous work on the subject. As Berlin wrote, history, like science, purports to deal with facts, and thus there “has been a strong desire to regard history as a natural science”<sup>16</sup>. There is a widespread belief that history has a sort of objective pattern, and that this should be discernible through laws; and “the systematic interconnection of laws is the content of a natural science”<sup>17</sup>.

This paradigm of scientific history has held sway through a great deal of the past two centuries’ advances in the liberal arts, and certainly it is the most widely held popular view of

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 21; idem., (1975), 69.

<sup>15</sup> Hayden White (1990), 2.

<sup>16</sup> Isaiah Berlin (1966), 6

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 10.

the historical enterprise<sup>18</sup>. The idea that history is a science tallies with the effort to establish a “body of established truth, which holds without distinction of persons”<sup>19</sup>. While many professional historians now recognize that history can only be a science in the weak sense of the German term “Wissenschaft” – an organized body of knowledge acquired by researching according to generally agreed methods<sup>20</sup> - the growing body of “popular” history is testament to a widespread belief that, where so many certainties have been eradicated from the cultural pantheon, history, at least, can still fill the breach; certainty of past trajectories is essential in establishing the national mythologies which, with the demise of utopian ideologies in the past generation, are increasingly apparent<sup>21</sup>.

Moreover, the desire to establish the “objectivity” of the historical craft is not merely an adjunct of contemporary anxieties. It is something which has stylistic and methodological consequences, revealing that, consciously or unconsciously, many historians still seek out such an “objective” approach. The obsession with “objectivity” is, for instance, apparent in the increasing numbers of footnotes<sup>22</sup> with which historians feel obliged to adorn their work<sup>23</sup>, as if these notes will stand for time immemorial as testament to the truth<sup>24</sup> of what they have discovered<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> It should be noted, though, that there were many historians who did not take this line. Hayden White (1990: 52), notes that Hegel, Droysen, Nietzsche and Croce are all examples of influential thinkers who viewed interpretation as the soul of historiography.

<sup>19</sup> W.H. Walsh (1966), 60.

<sup>20</sup> Richard J. Evans (1997), 73.

<sup>21</sup> Toby Green (2004).

<sup>22</sup> Like this one.

<sup>23</sup> Often, these footnotes are mere reference-checks, though occasionally they can possess a darker, more insidious side.

<sup>24</sup> Yet of course notes are no guarantors of truth; they cannot show that a permanent body of truth can be established. Salvador, for instance, drew on his readings of the *Arquivo Geral da Alfândega de Lisboa* to make assertions about Manuel Caldeira, a *contratador* of slaves from Cabo Verde in the 1550s (José Gonçalves Salvador (1981: 19)), and yet all the documents from this archive have now vanished and none of this can be confirmed (see above, page 13 n52): we must either accept his word, or insert qualifying adverbs into the discussion of his

Beyond the substrata of the footnotes, the desire to preserve the objectivity of the production of history lurks from behind the ramparts of the increasingly angry defences made by historians against postmodern critiques during the last 15 years or so. Stone, for instance, initiated a debate in *Past and Present* with a very brief piece stating that history was now under threat from three main sources: linguistics, which saw documents as texts open to personal interpretation; cultural anthropology which saw that “the real is as imagined as the imaginary”; and the New Historicism which tends to turn into a semiotic view of culture<sup>26</sup>. Himmelfarb, meanwhile, argued that postmodernists could not escape the relativistic consequences of their ideas, which ultimately led to the grotesque denials of historical events such as the Holocaust<sup>27</sup>; postmodernist ideas, she argued, demean and dehumanize the subjects of historical study, trivializing history “by so fragmenting it that it lacks all coherence and focus, all sense of continuity, indeed, all meaning”<sup>28</sup>.

Himmelfarb’s entry into the fray is especially interesting because she is someone of whom it has recently been said that “there is room for disagreement about the quality of [her] work as a historian and room for concern about the extent to which it has been damaged by her political preoccupations”<sup>29</sup>. A political conservative mistrustful of the secularising trends of the contemporary world<sup>30</sup>, she is someone for whom White’s dictum as to the irreducible ideological content of history would seem especially appropriate; indeed, perhaps it is for

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evidence. The body of accepted historical truth is always shifting; new “facts” are “uncovered”, while old accepted truths become less verifiable.

<sup>25</sup> Notes, of course, do have their uses, such as in allowing the doctoral candidate to add bodies of text to their thesis without going over the arbitrary word limit which has been determined by some bureaucrat deep in the bowels of the Castle – or University.

<sup>26</sup> Lawrence Stone (1997).

<sup>27</sup> Gertrude Himmelfarb (1997), 164.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>29</sup> Alan Ryan (2004), 22.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*; Himmelfarb is often characterized as a neoconservative.



precisely this reason that she reacts with horror to ideas of the type put forward by White: mirrors can provide terrible shocks.

Though Himmelfarb does not refer specifically to the theoretical attacks on the use of archival material which I have discussed above, it is clear from her paper's title – "Telling it as you like it: postmodernist history and the flight from fact" - that this is one of her focal anxieties. The "facts" which are being flown from can only be established by archives; it is these, by default, which ensure that history is *not* trivialised and stripped of "all meaning".

Yet one must ask, *whose* meaning is at stake here? It is of course the meaning of those who retain documentary evidence of the past, who privilege such documentary evidence, and whose documents have not been destroyed. Therefore, implicit in Himmelfarb's argument is the realisation that it is the perceived historical "meaning" of those who are not subaltern that is being challenged; and this challenge, as she implies elsewhere, stems from those who are, or have been, subaltern<sup>31</sup>; therefore, implicit in Himmelfarb's argument is a reaction against subaltern history.

In order to hold this position, an astonishing level of hubris and myopia must be adopted. It is essentially to say, either that anyone who falls into the subaltern category is rightly denied their own historical meaning, or that the atrocities of history – such as, ahem, the Holocaust – should be interpreted mainly through the eyes of those who perpetrated them, since these are the people whose voices most often survive. One might ask, who needs historical fiction if this is to be our historical truth?

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<sup>31</sup> "Postmodernism, even more overtly than Marxism, makes of history – the writing of history rather than the "praxis" of history – an instrument in the struggle for power. The new historian, like the proletariat of old, is the lever of the race/class/gender "war"" – Gertrude Himmelfarb (1997), 169.

Thus in fact the view of history defended by Himmelfarb is incompatible with the concerns of subaltern studies, and, hence, with the scope of this thesis. It depends on a hubristic view of the historical record which is inconsistent with the historical and cultural artifacts of a space such as Cabo Verde. Faced with this disconcerting hubris, it is as if the historical digestion of the past has suddenly gone awry and released a stench of bad wind; an influential branch of humanity, one fears, still sees itself as God, or at the very least as King Cnut, believing in its power to stem the tide of its desolate future, and that *its* documents, *its* creations, *its* interpretations, will be different, and will endure.

Sadly, the hubris of this school stretches also to the “truths” which they purport to establish about the past. As White has noted, it is assumed that the only kind of knowledge worth aspiring to is that provided by the physical sciences<sup>32</sup>, whereas “truth” is a far more elusive and multifaceted creature than this approach allows for, and one whose qualities the proponents of a scientific view of history rarely actually consider. It has a more uncertain nature than a simplified objectivist vision of the historical record will permit - as any scientist will attest<sup>33</sup>. Indeed, as Kuhn’s work on the “Structure of Scientific Revolutions” showed, as soon as one set of scientific truths has been established, it is already on the wane, and set to be replaced by another; it is only necessary to look at the trajectory of Newtonian physics to confirm the potential of this observation.

In the light of this flawed historiographical approach, which is in reality still in hock to the dominant cultural atmosphere in which modern historiography developed, I argue instead

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<sup>32</sup> Hayden White (1990), 23.

<sup>33</sup> As White puts it (ibid., 43): “Many historians continue to treat their “facts” as though they were “given” and refuse to recognize, unlike most scientists, that they are not so much found as construed by the kinds of questions which the investigator asks of the phenomena before him.”

that, rather than seeking to establish “truth”, the historian should seek to establish understanding.

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There is an immediately apparent difference between the quest for historical “truth” and the quest for historical understanding. The quest for “truth” relies on a body of facts which exists independently of the search for it, while the quest for understanding presupposes a two-way relationship between the researcher and the subject of study: that is, it implicitly recognises the role of the researcher in shaping the debate.

There is something of this distinction in Berlin’s insight that causal historical explanations depend on human understanding instead of any measurable causal laws<sup>34</sup>; or, as Walsh puts it, that historians are not supposed simply to establish facts, for “history is not just description; it is description and assessment”<sup>35</sup>. This type of understanding is something that is very different to the provision of an objective narrative.

The possibility of such an objective narrative is of course thrown into question by the foregoing discussion. Historians must, as Lévi-Strauss wrote, select their facts, and thus the narrative is a sort of imposed outline, since “a truly total history would confront them with

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<sup>34</sup> Isaiah Berlin (1966), 32-35. Berlin argues that if, in a scientific case, we say that someone was cured of pneumonia *because* he was prescribed penicillin, this *because* carries the meaning of a cause that has been rationally proven by scientific experiment; in an historical case, if we say “X killed Y because he hated him”, this *because* ultimately means “our experience of others tells us this is a good explanation”.

<sup>35</sup> W.H. Walsh (1966), 71.

chaos”<sup>36</sup>. The historical narrative must be partial in both senses of the word, “biased even when it claims not to be, for it inevitably remains partial – that is incomplete – and this in itself is a form of partiality”<sup>37</sup>. Faced with the impossibility of conveying all the facts relating to any historical event, the historian must be selective; implicit in those factual selections will be any ideological presuppositions which they hold and the needs of the argument which they wish to make. The personality and motivations of the historian are present even when they have taken every effort to exclude them<sup>38</sup>, and this fits well with my assertion that it is understanding – dependent on an interaction between the investigator and their subject - not truth, to which the historian should aspire.

This comprehension of the role of the historian is in keeping with postmodernist criticisms of historical praxis. Jenkins has argued that the study of the past ‘for its own sake’, or what he calls “history construed in ‘academic’ and ‘particularist’”<sup>39</sup> modes, corresponds to a bourgeois ideology that may be correlated to the liberal ideal of progress – an ideal which is now untenable<sup>40</sup>. White, meanwhile, states that the world today is so radically different to past situations, that:

“anyone who studies the past as an end in itself must appear to be either an antiquarian, fleeing from the problems of the present into a purely personal past, or a kind of cultural necrophile, that is, one who finds in the dead and dying a value he can never find in the living”<sup>41</sup>;

Instead, the historian should study the past as a way of “providing perspectives on the present that contribute to the solution of problems peculiar to our own time”<sup>42</sup>. Or, as I have

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<sup>36</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966), 257.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>38</sup> Hayden White (1990), 127: “Most historians’ concern with language extends only to the effort to speak plainly, to avoid florid figures of speech, to assure that the persona of the author appears nowhere identifiable in the text”.

<sup>39</sup> Keith Jenkins (1995), 8.

<sup>40</sup> Keith Jenkins (1997b), 5-6; idem. (1995), 7.

<sup>41</sup> Hayden White (1990), 41.

said, the desire to seek out the sort of understanding that is the proper province of historical inquiry will inevitably involve some refraction onto the present perspectives which shape the investigator's research: the study of history becomes a two-way exchange between past and present, not a uni-directional mode of learning, with the past "dictating" its truths to the present.

There are of course many problems with this approach to history as well. Since the nature of the historical understanding that is developed will depend to a large extent on the presuppositions of the investigator who constitutes the present node of the two-way process, these forms of historical understanding may well be tendentious and betray a lack of rigour. The type of historical knowledge that is developed will thus only be as persuasive as its author's predilections.

Yet instead of seeing this approach as one which has clipped history's wings, and is inevitably less rich and satisfying than the historical paradigms of previous generations, we should take it as an opportunity. This is not the death of history, but a re-birth, so that, as Foucault wrote, history affirms that knowledge is perspective<sup>43</sup>. The richer the perspective, the richer the historical knowledge that is bequeathed; a knowledge that transcends a mock objectivity which in fact betrays the most prejudiced subjectivity of all.

Naturally, this position will not be to everyone's liking. Moreover, it is a serious drawback that this position is in itself dependent on a specific ideology, since postmodernism pushes "ideology masquerading as theory"<sup>44</sup>. Evans's sustained critique leaves little room for

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.; this is a very similar perspective to that provided by Correia e Silva for Cabo Verde: see above, page 6.

<sup>43</sup> Michel Foucault (1977): "The final trait of effective history is its affirmation of knowledge as perspective. Historians take unusual pains to erase the elements in their work which reveal their grounding in a particular time and place, their preferences in a controversy – the unavoidable obstacles of their passion", 156-157.

<sup>44</sup> Bryan Palmer (1997), 110.

doubt that postmodernism seeks to prioritise one way of reading texts<sup>45</sup> - that is, that it contains an irreconcilable internal contradiction between criticising a closed mode of reading texts and putting forward precisely a particular mode of reading texts. The cultural acceptance of some of the armoury of postmodernism is itself dependent on historical experience<sup>46</sup>, i.e., is contingent and not universal, and the dearly held beliefs of postmodernism will doubtless be overthrown by some other orthodoxy at some future point, which will likewise be replaced in its turn; as with Kuhn's scientific paradigms, so with theoretical paradigms: nothing is eternal<sup>47</sup>.

Nevertheless, to paraphrase a well-known saying, you can please all the people some of the time, and some of the people all the time, but you cannot please all the people all of the time. Moreover, since my goal is to seek understanding and not some universal "truth", the contingency of this methodological framework is not a hindrance; as I have said, historical understanding is a two-way process between the present and the past, and the present is one in which postmodern interpretations supplement understanding.

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<sup>45</sup> Richard J. Evans (1997), 237.

<sup>46</sup> The popularity of deconstruction in France, in particular, is surely not unrelated to the experience of the French nation during the two world wars, and the fact that here – in marked contrast to the ultimate experiences of the USA and the UK – the long-held ideologies of progress and superiority were revealed in all their deepest fragility.

<sup>47</sup> It is worth recalling Gramsci's insights into the contingency of all philosophies here: "If the philosophy of praxis affirms theoretically that every "truth" believed to be eternal and absolute has had practical origins and has represented a "provisional" value...it is still very difficult to make people grasp "practically" that such an interpretation is valid also for the philosophy of praxis itself". Antonio Gramsci (1971), 406.

These discussions on the theory of history may seem arcane to some readers. They were not anticipated by the experiences of the *crístãos novos* in Cabo Verde, and so some will ask if they are relevant to the matter in hand. Yet this debate has become so widespread today that any historian who fails to engage with it may rightly be criticised as obscurantist<sup>48</sup>. The debate forces historians to engage with their own inquiry from a different perspective, and to understand their own influence in the process of understanding more clearly. As Evans says, the more this happens, the better, as it leads to a greater understanding of the nature of any research project<sup>49</sup>.

I would argue that any serious thought on these issues reveals that different modes of historical analysis are required for different subjects. Where the recent history of lives, deaths and suffering are concerned – for instance, in a study of the events of the Holocaust or of Rwanda in 1994 – the sort of questions raised here might seem irrelevant at best, and lacking in basic humanity at worst<sup>50</sup>; that is, “postmodernist theory would seem to be more applicable to some areas of history than to others”<sup>51</sup>. Where survivors can be interviewed, accounts recorded, film footage sifted, the level of doubt that accrues as to the “facts” of the case must be considerably less than where the “facts” are constituted by spidery handwriting on fragmenting parchment that has survived, essentially, by accident.

In other words, one of the main problems in the application of theory here is linguistic. The same word – “fact” – is used to refer to radically different entities. The “facts” of the distant past relating to the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde between 1497 and 1672 are slippery and

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<sup>48</sup>Richard J. Evans (1997), 6: “By the late 1990s...there can be little doubt that the debate over history, truth and objectivity unleashed by postmodernism has become too widespread for all but the most obscurantist to ignore”.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 12.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 242-243.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 243.

dependent on contingent interpretations made by the investigator of texts which have survived only thanks to other contingencies: they can only be thus. So in the case of the subject studied here, postmodern strategies for the interpretation of documents – or texts – are required in a way that they might not be for a more contemporary field of inquiry.

Thus postmodernism has provided a two-pronged approach to questions of historical theory with regard to this thesis. On the one hand, we have seen how the postmodernist critique of historical praxis is needed to defend subjects of subaltern studies, into which category the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde partly falls; on the other, we have seen how some strategies of postmodernist interpretation become more relevant in more remote times, such as the period under study here.

### **Analysis, Deconstruction, Economism and Fear: Interpretative Strategies for the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde**

The attentive reader will have anticipated a problem in this study as it has now been set out. The research for this thesis has been archival, and I claim to have uncovered many “new” documents, or to have placed a different gloss on documents that have long been forgotten within the context of Cabo Verde; yet at the same time, it is argued that a history based on documents as proof of the “truth” of the past would not fit with the principal concerns of this study.



This dilemma should be resolved through the framework of interpretation. I have already made reference to the hope that this inquiry will affirm that knowledge is perspective, and that the richer the perspective, the richer the historical knowledge. A main aim of this extensive archival research is, then, to broaden the perspectives that can be shed on the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde. The documents, if read as texts whose meaning can be grasped through a contemporary prism of interpretation, can create a space for this Jewish presence to be interpreted; therefore, the more documents that are read, the wider and more complex the space.

Moreover, just as the scope of documentary references adds to the complexity of the historical understanding, so we should not be limited to any one particular theoretical framework. An interpretative model for an enriched understanding should not be limited to neo-Marxism, or psychoanalysis, or deconstruction, but should combine as many perspectives as possible. For ultimately, all interpretative frameworks reveal ideological bias; even the present trend of focusing on individual stories or micro-communities in a reassertion of the importance of individuals within the “great historical picture” is, I would argue, a reflection of the ideology of individualism which increasingly has come to dominate the Western world since the demise of Marxist governments.

Blending interpretative reference frames is therefore an effort to ensure that the different approaches will attenuate inevitable interpretative bias and provide internal scope for its modulation. Moreover, as the foregoing discussion showed, theoretical models are always incomplete and will always be supplanted. No model should therefore be used in exclusivity; indeed, the combination of a variety of different modes of explanation will usefully add to the richness of interpretations, and thus to the complexity and usefulness of historical understanding.

This should be the goal of any historical activity. The study of history is the study of complexity, and an object-lesson in the inadequacy of ideologies. An historical study which limits itself to any one explicative mode is likely therefore itself to be limited. Through the course of this study, therefore, I propose to make use of various different interpretative methods which will usefully add to our understanding of the subject-matter.

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The use of psychoanalytic frameworks in historical interpretations has excited controversy. Nevertheless, it is a valuable framework for this thesis, and will be used especially in the analysis of projection and the consequent development of prejudice; given the controversy surrounding it however, its use must be defended.

Part of the problem in discussing psychoanalytic theories revolves around the study of Sigmund Freud, who has become an increasingly controversial figure. Freud has been attacked for suppressing actual cases of sexual abuse<sup>52</sup>, for scientific laxity in the development of psychoanalytic theory<sup>53</sup>, for willfully mythologising his own role in the development of psychoanalytic ideas<sup>54</sup> and for the fact that the psychoanalytic process itself fails to demonstrate

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<sup>52</sup> See Jeffrey Masson (1990).

<sup>53</sup> Hans Eysenck (1985); see also Frederick Crews (1993).

<sup>54</sup> Hans Eysenck (1985).

any measurable success in its treatment of patients<sup>55</sup>. Thus in spite of the unquestioned influence Freud's ideas have had, psychoanalysis's critical strength has certainly been shaken<sup>56</sup>.

It must be conceded that Freud's own methodology does leave scope for attack. The reader of his most famous works will be struck by the almost total absence of any hard evidence for his assertions<sup>57</sup>: this is apparent in his writings on civilization's engagement with *eros* and *thanatos*<sup>58</sup>, regarding the development of the ego, id and superego<sup>59</sup>, or even relating to the unconscious itself<sup>60</sup>. Rather, Freud's arguments tend to involve the causal linkage of already posited concepts – repression, the ego, and so on – and thus are often irredeemably circular and self-fulfilling; herein, indeed, probably lies the power of Freudian theory to convince.

A few instances will suffice to prove the point. Seeking the origin of the religious experience, Freud simply asserts that it lies in “the infant's helplessness and the longing for the father aroused by it”<sup>61</sup>; equating happiness to pleasure (itself an unwarranted assumption – the question of “happiness” is still much debated by philosophers), he then derives the pleasure principle as the purpose of life<sup>62</sup>; and while, in an essay on repression, he writes that “the essence of repression lies simply in turning something away, and keeping it at a distance, from the conscious”<sup>63</sup>, in *The Ego and the Id* he tells us that “we obtain our concept of the unconscious from the theory of repression”<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> David Stannard (1980).

<sup>56</sup> Anthony Elliott (2000b), 2.

<sup>57</sup> cf. Erich Fromm (1980), 16: Freud “often made constructions using scraps of evidence that led to conclusions that were nothing short of absurd”.

<sup>58</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961a).

<sup>59</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961d).

<sup>60</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961f).

<sup>61</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961a), 72.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>63</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961c), 147.

<sup>64</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961d).

Given the circularity and contradictoriness of many of Freud's ideas, the origins of their enduring appeal probably lies in a resonance between them and the needs of society. Something of this resonance is revealed in a passage of *The Unconscious*, where he writes that some derivatives of unconscious and instinctual impulses

“are unconscious and are incapable of becoming conscious. Thus *qualitatively* they belong to the system *Pcs* [pre-consciousness], but *factually* to the *Ucs*. [Unconscious]. Their origin is what decides their fate. We may compare them with individuals of mixed race who, taken all round, resemble white men, but who betray their coloured descent by some striking feature or other, and on that account are excluded from society and enjoy none of the privileges of white people”<sup>65</sup>.

A close reading of this passage reveals that Freud equates “coloured” people – i.e., non-whites – with the unconscious. His choice of metaphor suggests that while *qualitatively* some people of mixed race may look white (and some derivatives of instincts may seem pre-conscious), *factually* they cannot escape their “coloured” origins (and such derivatives are irredeemably unconscious); that is, he equates non-white racial origins with unconscious phenomenal origins<sup>66</sup>.

The corollary of this as revelatory of Freud's own psychology is clear. The unconscious, as his theories in general suggest, is the repository of our deepest drives, of the taboo desires to kill our fathers and sleep with our mothers, the wellspring of primitivism which “civilization” represses<sup>67</sup>. Thus his equation of people of colour with the unconscious is in fact an equation of people of colour with primitivism and a lack of civilization. Thus in fact, Freud's theory of the unconscious is a subtle statement of racist and imperialist ideologies of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>65</sup> Sigmund Freud (1961f), 190-1.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Erich Fromm (1980), 26: “For [Freud], bourgeois society was identical with civilized society, and while he recognized the existence of peculiar cultures that were different from bourgeois society, they remained for him primitive, undeveloped”.

<sup>67</sup> E.g., Sigmund Freud (1961a), 87, where he refers to hostility to civilization as encompassing the desire to return to a “primitive” state.

This hypothesis is supported by the work of Deleuze and Guattari on Oedipal theory, where they argue that Oedipus is an imperialist conception<sup>68</sup>, because it creates a linearity of unconscious ideas rather than allowing for their free association. Furthermore, oedipalized subjects depend on the bourgeois family and its structures<sup>69</sup>, and yet the perceived universality of oedipal theory creates a disjunction from which only racist pathologies can benefit<sup>70</sup>; in fact, claim Deleuze and Guattari, “the link between psychoanalysis and capitalism is no less profound than that between political economy and capitalism”<sup>71</sup>.

Freud’s ideas on sexuality are certainly contingent to a particular social structure<sup>72</sup>. Societies which are not strictly monogamous, and do not isolate families in separate houses – such as many African societies, for instance – will not face the same type of repression as that described by Freud: that is, Freud failed to recognize that family structures are culturally determined<sup>73</sup>. Moreover, since the social structure of bourgeois society is that which has given rise to late capitalism, it is apparent that Freudian psychoanalysis does, as Deleuze and Guattari suggest, have an inescapable connection to capitalist ideologies.

This critique of Freud is in line with the arguments of writers who have severely criticized the use of psychoanalytic models in interpreting history. A major area for criticism is what is known as “psychohistory”, which is accused of filling in gaps in the historical record

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<sup>68</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1984), 51-4.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 96.

<sup>70</sup> “The syntheses of the unconscious *segregate*, bring about the feeling of “being one of us”, of being part of a superior race threatened by enemies from the outside. Thus the Little White Pioneers’ son, the Irish Protestant who commemorates the victory of his ancestors, the fascist who belongs to the master race. Oedipus depends on this sort of nationalistic, religious, racist sentiment.” – Ibid., 103-4.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 302.

<sup>72</sup> cf. Erich Fromm (1980), 25: “What [Freud] did was to identify the social structure of his class and its problems with the problems inherent in human existence”.

<sup>73</sup> Erich Fromm (1980), 61.

because of theoretical presuppositions and assuming the validity of psychoanalysis<sup>74</sup>. Some of those who have attacked psychoanalysis for its lack of a scientific basis have reserved their greatest opprobrium for psychohistory<sup>75</sup>, and a major problem is seen to be that psychohistory “attenuates responsibility in history”<sup>76</sup>, giving an aura of inevitability to highly complex events.

Certainly, where the lives of discrete individuals are concerned, these criticisms are extremely powerful. Yet psychoanalysis can in some form assist interpretative frameworks in this thesis. This is because its scope is not limited to the contingent boundaries which Freud attempted to place around it; indeed, where the analysis of groups and the displacement and projection of ideas is concerned, it has an interpretative potential of obvious significance for this thesis.

Even Stannard, one of the most severe critics of psychohistory and psychoanalysis, accepts that the concept of displacement has received a significant amount of support through empirical evidence<sup>77</sup>. He is less optimistic about the notion of “projection”, however, arguing that although common sense tells us that “something like it” exists, this is quite different from the specific psychoanalytic meaning of the term which derives from Freud’s linking of projection to paranoia<sup>78</sup>. However, just because Freud’s use of the concept of projection is questionable, this does not mean that the concept itself is invalid.

In this connection, it is useful to bear in mind Eysenck’s argument that Freud was by no means the “inventor” of the ideas of the unconscious and its associated conceptual apparatus. Eysenck cites authors who, for fifty years prior to Freud, had written of the importance of

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<sup>74</sup> David Stannard (1980), 24-27.

<sup>75</sup> Hans Eysenck (1985), 171.

<sup>76</sup> David Stannard (1980), xiii; or see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999) 106-7, who sees psychoanalytic theory as involving the “emptying out” of ethics.

<sup>77</sup> David Stannard (1980), 94.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

unconscious life and action<sup>79</sup>; as the German psychologist Ebbinghaus complained, “what is new in these theories is not true, and what is true is not new”<sup>80</sup>. Simply because Freud uses one of the corollaries of his theory of the unconscious to define projection does not mean that we must take the particularity of his theory as proof of the particularity – and invalidity - of the concept of “projection”.

This point matters because of the enormous explanatory power which the ideas of projection and displacement have had in theories of anti-Semitism<sup>81</sup>. While there are numerous other approaches to anti-Semitism<sup>82</sup>, the psychoanalytic approach is of particular importance to this thesis as it is not limited to the social perception of Jews, but can also be applied to other “out” groups. The study of the use of projection and displacement in the formation of anti-Semitism can be used as part of a general inquiry into the formation of religious and racial prejudice<sup>83</sup>.

This is of particular importance with regard to the topic of the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde. In general, historians of the *cristsãos novos* have failed to use the theoretical advances in the conceptualization of anti-Semitism through projection and displacement to elucidate the historical trajectory of their subjects<sup>84</sup>. Yet such ideas must surely broaden the interpretative framework of historians of the Sephardim; most importantly, since they can also be used to

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<sup>79</sup> Hans Eysenck (1985), 34.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 34-35.

<sup>81</sup> See above, pages 54-55.

<sup>82</sup> E.g. Poliakov’s view that anti-Semitism – and the preservation of Jewish culture in Europe - resulted in the need of Christianity to preserve in its heart the group of people from which their Law derived, and who could be blamed for the death of Christ. See Léon Poliakov (2003a); this is a more nuanced and carefully argued version of Jean-Paul Sartre (1985: 81-3).

<sup>83</sup> Bruce Mazlish (1987), 230.

<sup>84</sup> There are, however, some signs that this lamentable position may be changing – see Geraldo Pieroni (2003). Hitherto one of the only attempts to provide a thorough psychoanalytic perspective on inquisitorial activity was Amina Maggi Piccini (1992), and Piccini herself is an analyst, not an historian.

inquire into the development of prejudice more generally, they can be used to look at the development of racial categories and ideas in Cabo Verde. This will enable a crucial comparison to be made between the development of religious prejudice in Iberia during the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the development of racial prejudice in Cabo Verde. In particular, I wish to frame the question of whether a displacement of these attitudes took place: that is, whether their projection onto the Jews of Iberia was replaced by their projection onto the Africans of Cabo Verde; if this process can be identified, it will also be important to inquire as to whether the Jewish presence in Cabo Verde had any part to play in it.

However, this psychoanalytic mode of interpreting history will not exhaust the explanatory possibilities of this thesis. It can, indeed, only play a composite part. History is composed of events, causes and meaning; meaning is something that requires psychological insight, and that is where psychoanalytic interpretations may bear fruit. The psychoanalytic mode of historical inquiry is thus a means of adding to other interpretations of history, rather than acting as a substitute for them<sup>85</sup>. The hope is that it will allow the elucidation of Adorno's insight into the nature of the meetings between Europeans and "others" in a space such as Cabo Verde, where "the non-paranoiac trusting gaze reminds them of the spirit which has died within them because they see outside only the sheer means of self-preservation"<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>85</sup> Bruce Mazlish (1987), 232.

<sup>86</sup> Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1986), 191.



If I have spent a long time explicating my use of psychoanalysis as an interpretative approach for this thesis, I hope to deal with the issues of deconstruction, economism and fear more summarily.

Where deconstruction is concerned, it is the handmaiden of the postmodern movement. The mode of textual reading which postmodernism privileges is, as Evans says, that of deconstruction<sup>87</sup>. Derrida's concept of *différance* - the endlessly deferred meaning of a text<sup>88</sup> - is crucial to the nature of the deconstructionist textual analysis, which seeks to locate hierarchies within texts and then to undermine the basis of this hierarchy, thereby problematising the nature of hierarchies in general<sup>89</sup>.

The unravelling and undermining of conceptual hierarchies is a central task of this thesis. Grasping the nature of the displacement of ideas of prejudice from Sephardim to Africans will reveal that the conceptual hierarchies which underpinned this transfer are based on a mode of thought that was essentially itself being overhauled through the process of the formation of the cultural and trade brokerage of the early modern Atlantic. In other words, we shall see how this process of displacement was permitted by a worldview that was itself in the process of overhaul – that the displacement was, in essence, permitted by an anachronism.

Textual deconstruction will be central to this project, as the space of the Jewish presence in the texts – or documents – of Cabo Verde for the period in question reveal both the shifting

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<sup>87</sup> See above, page 355-356.

<sup>88</sup> This concept was developed in Jacques Derrida (1976); see also, *idem.* (1982b).

<sup>89</sup> So Jacques Derrida (1988) uses this approach to challenge the concept of the non-fiction standard discourse (134), arguing that “laws, constitutions, the declaration of the rights of man, grammar or the penal code...depend upon the same structural power that allows novels qua fictions or mendacious inventions and the like to take place”. This is in effect to challenge the hierarchies of fiction and non-fiction; the connection to postmodernism's attack on the “objectivity” of the historical discourse is apparent.

nature of the conceptual hierarchies and the role of the Jewish presence in shaping these changes. The dialogue of this thesis with a forgotten conceptual, textual and historical space thus enables us to fill in a lacuna in the deconstruction and reconstruction of ideas and meanings in the Atlantic past, and thereby to interrogate their referents in the present. It is a deconstruction of past and present modes of thought.

Turning to economism, I have argued above that such a framework is itself shaped by bourgeois assumptions about the historical process<sup>90</sup>. Most of all, however, unrestrained reliance on a materialist perspective ignores the role of other motivating factors in the unfolding of historical events. I refer particularly here to fear. Human society involves a permanent dialogue with its fears<sup>91</sup>, and mass fear and panic need to be invoked when considering the “waves of hysteria [that] sweep over nations”<sup>92</sup>, as with, for instance, the anti-Semitism that gripped Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Yet nevertheless much historical analysis skates over the issue of fear<sup>93</sup>. The reason for this is apparent; traditional history, as we have shown, depends on documents, and yet few people write about their fears in letters or legal documents which are intended for the eyes of others. As Godinho noted, the objectives which a person attributes to their behaviour “are not always, and hardly ever the real motivations of their conduct...which makes it extremely difficult if not hopeless to explicate a historical personality, as the sources generally present

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<sup>90</sup> See above, page 52.

<sup>91</sup> Jean Delumeau (1978), 2: “*Non seulement les individus pris isolément mais aussi les collectivités et les civilisations elles-mêmes sont engagées dans un dialogue permanent avec la peur*”.

<sup>92</sup> Paul Newman (2000), xviii.

<sup>93</sup> An exception is Tobias Green (2006a).

only their conscious motivations”<sup>94</sup>. The reliance on such sources means, inevitably, that a central source of human activity remains undiscussed, buried by the inability of people to be honest about their motives and sentiments.

These ideas – related to the importance of ideologies, instincts and material realities – form a solid core of the interpretative tropes which underpin this thesis. These various modes of interpretation will of course not reveal a pristine image in the waters of the past, and will themselves depend upon a particular interpretation and the orientation which develops from investigating this particular subject: but the hope is that they will represent a building block and a starting point from which other historians and traditions may – and of course, will – depart.

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<sup>94</sup>“*não são sempre, quase nunca, as motivações reais da sua conduta...o que torna extremamente difícil, senão desesperado o problema de explicar uma personagem histórica, pois as fontes só nos apresentam em geral os motivos conscientes*”. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1962), 92.

## APPENDIX B: THE JEWS OF SPAIN

### Introduction

For well over a thousand years until 1492, Jews resided in what was to become the modern nation of Spain<sup>1</sup>. During this period, more Jews lived in Spain than in all the other nations of Europe combined<sup>2</sup>, developing an influence in cultural, economic and social terms that was unparalleled anywhere else in the continent. The famous expulsion of the Jews in 1492 by the *Reyes Católicos* (hereafter RRCC), Fernando and Isabela, brought to an end the golden age of the Sephardim and ushered in a much more fragmented, disparate existence.

These events were intimately connected to the subsequent history of the *cristãos novos* of Portugal, and therefore to those *cristãos novos* who made their lives in Cabo Verde. In this section, I will therefore examine what sort of legacy this pre-history may have engendered among the Caboverdean *cristãos novos*. I shall argue that one of the main legacies of the events leading up to the installation of the Spanish Inquisition under Sixtus IV in 1478 – directed at the Spanish *cristãos novos*, or *conversos* – and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 was a peculiarly sharp awareness of new modes of social organization and thought; it was these new social components which lay behind both the unrest which led to the scapegoating of the Jews and the development of the Atlantic world. This in turn may have facilitated the alienation and doubleness which was such a defining feature of *cristãos novo* activity in Caboverdean space.

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<sup>1</sup> Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 1, 16: Spain's Jews are believed to be descended from the tribe of Judah, exiled to Spain after the destruction of the First Temple. There was certainly a definitive Jewish community in the region by 300 CE (Norman Roth (2002: 9)).

<sup>2</sup> Norman Roth (2002), 9.

## **From Convivencia to Pogrom: 711 to 1391**

The emancipated status of Jews in Spain throughout most of the period to 1492 stemmed largely from their role in the peninsula when it was under Islamic control. Spain's Jews helped the Moorish invaders in 711<sup>3</sup>, no doubt chiefly owing to the extensive anti-Semitic legislation which had been directed at them by the later Visigoth monarchs<sup>4</sup>; thus as towns were taken from the Visigoths by the Moors, they were, according to some historians, put in the hands of the Jews<sup>5</sup>.

This placed the Jews in a comparatively sound position under the Caliphate of Córdoba. Here they entered into all manner of activities. They were doctors, traders and intellectuals<sup>6</sup>; they were scientists, administrators and diplomats<sup>7</sup>; there were, even, Jewish military commanders of Islamic armies, such as Samuel ibn Nagrela, vizier to the Caliph of Córdoba<sup>8</sup>, who commanded the troops of Halbus in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. The Jews were schooled to administer the complex society of the Caliphate under a regime which operated with at least a modicum of tolerance<sup>10</sup>.

There is no question that the Sephardim assimilated greatly to the Caliphate's cultural atmosphere, and drew their own cultural strength from it. The Islamic architectural style of the great synagogue in Toledo is testimony to the cultural imprint of Islam on Sephardic Jewry, and

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<sup>3</sup> José Amador de los Ríos (1960), 68-70, 94 n3; Léon Poliakov (2003b), 85.

<sup>4</sup> Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 1, 17-22: this legislation included a decree of 638 that all non-Catholics must leave Spain, in anticipation of the 1492 decree of the RRCC; although the Church was not strong enough to enforce this decree, it symbolized the persecution which had been directed at Jews ever since the conversion of the Visigothic King Sisebut to Catholicism in 589.

<sup>5</sup> José Amador de los Ríos (1960), 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>7</sup> Américo Castro (1954), 447.

<sup>8</sup> Felipe Torroba Bernaldo de Quirós (1967), 211.

<sup>9</sup> Léon Poliakov (2003b), 93.

<sup>10</sup> The extent of this tolerance is still debated. For Américo Castro (1954: 219-20), tolerance was the norm until the arrival of the Almoravid invasions in the 11<sup>th</sup> century; Richard Fletcher (1992: 173) concludes that the degree of this tolerance has often been exaggerated.

Castro's view that the superior cultural level of Spain's Jews depended on the contact with Islam is probably not overstated<sup>11</sup>. These were such flourishing communities that Arab geographers of the 10<sup>th</sup> century referred to Granada and Tarragona as "Jewish cities"<sup>12</sup>, and by the 11<sup>th</sup> century there were important centres of Jewish culture at Zaragoza and Tudela as well as in Córdoba<sup>13</sup>. Yet though there were many influential Jewish courtiers during the heyday of the Caliphate – men such as Abu Yusuf Hasdai ibn Shaprut – the majority of the Jewish people were craftspeople and agriculturalists<sup>14</sup>.

The demise of the Caliphate following the civil wars of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century and the formation of the *taifas* weakened Islamic power considerably in the peninsula and paved the way for invasions from both north and south<sup>15</sup>. In 1085 the Christians retook Toledo, while the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century saw the arrival of the Almoravids from North Africa and the Sahara, who were themselves subsequently replaced by the Almohads, also from North Africa. These events had a significant effect on the lives of the Sephardim, pushing some of them north into Christian-held territory, and others south, to calmer locales in North Africa, whither Moses Maimonides escaped following his birth and childhood in Córdoba<sup>16</sup>.

So began a period of *convivencia* for the Jews under Christian rule in Spain. A sense of equality had pervaded Christian-Jewish relations even before this period, with the Count of Castilla, García Fernández, ordering in 974 that if the men of Castrojeriz killed a Jew they

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<sup>11</sup> Américo Castro (1954), 443.

<sup>12</sup> Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 1, 23.

<sup>13</sup> Léon Poliakov (2003b), 96.

<sup>14</sup> Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 1, 37.

<sup>15</sup> See Richard Fletcher (1992: 85-102) for an outline of this process.

<sup>16</sup> Felipe Bernaldo Torroba de Quirós (1967), 219; Maimonides born in 1135, and his family fled Córdoba in 1148 after the Almohad invasion, which destroyed many Jewish communities in Al-Andalus.

would suffer for it as if they had killed a Christian<sup>17</sup>. Thus both Jewish and Moslem scholars were happy to come to Toledo, fleeing from the violence of the Almoravid invasions further south, and establish the famous “school of translation”, there to render classical texts of the stature of Euclid and Aristotle into Romance for the first time<sup>18</sup>. The Almohad persecution of Jewish communities in Al-Andalus in the 1140s led to widespread Jewish migration, mainly to the Christian north, and by 1150 there were substantial Jewish communities established in important parts of Aragón, Castilla-León and Navarre<sup>19</sup>.

The advance of the Christian *reconquista*, however, would fundamentally alter the position of Jews in Spain. The capture of the Islamic cities of the south under Fernando III of Castilla, such as Córdoba (1236), Murcia (1241), Jaén (1246) and Seville (1248), was mirrored by the capture of important cities of the east under Jaime I of Aragón such as Valencia (1238) and Játiva (1244)<sup>20</sup>. The accent had tilted decisively towards Christian power in Spain, and in this context the centrality of the Jewish population in administration and intellectual life – where they had always played a role of brokerage between the three communities – came into question.

Thus it was in the 13<sup>th</sup> century that voices – particularly among the mendicant orders – began to articulate the thought that Jews should have no power under Christians<sup>21</sup>. A ghetto was created for the Jews of Murcia in 1272<sup>22</sup>. The Cortes of Valladolid banned Jews from inheriting property outside Jewish quarters in 1293<sup>23</sup>. Although under Alfonso X “*el sabio*” the Jews retained their communal autonomy and their important intellectual role, there were aspects of

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<sup>17</sup> Américo Castro (1972), xxix.

<sup>18</sup> Felipe Torroba Bernaldo de Quirós (1967), 58-61.

<sup>19</sup> Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 1, 76-9.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 111.

<sup>21</sup> Julio Valdeón Buruque (2000), 17-8.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>23</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández (1980), 140-2.

his legal code the *siete partidas* which intimated the dangers faced by the Jewish population of Christian Spain; Christians and Jews were barred from eating, drinking and bathing together, and Jews were barred from proselytizing, with any Christian who converted to Judaism being condemned to death<sup>24</sup>. The 1312 Synod of Zamora called for the total segregation of Christians and Jews and banned Jews from public posts other than those which required some knowledge of Arabic<sup>25</sup>: as the balance of power was eroded, the position of Jews became less secure, and the first hints of the tragedy to come appeared on the horizon.

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The real crisis began in the middle third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with the civil conflict between Pedro I and Enrique de Trastámara over control of the Castillian crown. Although Abner, the Rabbi of Burgos, had converted to Christianity in 1321<sup>26</sup>, seeming to imply a mood of oppression for Spanish Jews, in the period 1350-60 Pedro overturned some of the measures of the *siete partidas* which had limited Jewish activity – such as the measure denying them the right to build new synagogues – and it was in this period (1357-8) that the great synagogue at Toledo was built<sup>27</sup>. Enrique's response was to attack the Jews as part of his general campaign against Pedro, and troops under his command killed 1200 Jews in Toledo in 1355 and attacked

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<sup>24</sup> Alfonso Toro (1932), xv-xvii.

<sup>25</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández (1980), 147-56; see also H.C. Lea (1906-7), Vol. 1, 71-2..

<sup>26</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández (1980), 169.

<sup>27</sup> José Amador de los Ríos (1960), 382-96; Julio Valdeón Buruque (2000), 27-30.



Jewish communities subsequently in Ávila and Segovia<sup>28</sup>. The community was rehabilitated to a certain degree after Enrique's definitive victory in 1371, as Enrique realised that the help of Jewish administrators was essential for the smooth running of state affairs. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a dangerous precedent had been set, as Enrique had seen how the Jews could act as a suitable scapegoat, or "common enemy", to mobilize support. Thus, the 1370s saw a rise in anti-Semitism, and the ground prepared for the events of 1391.

There is no doubt that some aspects of Jewish behaviour sorely tried the Christian population. The extortionate rates charged by some Jewish usurers cannot be doubted<sup>29</sup>, and the universal association of Jews with profiteers – though stereotyped – did have its origins in a kernel of truth. Yet this kernel was not that Jews were unprincipled usurers, but that usurers were unprincipled: the rates of interest charged by Jewish moneylenders were in fact no higher than those elsewhere in Europe in the Middle Ages, and the 33% which was their usual rate of interest appears the height of decency when compared to the 240% charged by Christian loan sharks in Naples in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>30</sup>. Thus the resentment of moneylending was transferred into the resentment of Jews, and, the Castilian population, rather in the manner of Enrique de Trastámara, was finding that the Jews could be a most useful scapegoat.

The crisis came in 1391. Since 1378, the Archdeacon of Ecija, Ferrán Martínez, had been delivering public harangues against the Jews in Seville. Following the death of the Archbishop of Seville in 1390, Martínez became administrator of the diocese and called for

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<sup>28</sup> Julio Valdeón Buruque (2000), 34-42.

<sup>29</sup> H.C. Lea (1906-7), Vol. 1, 96-7: Lea quotes numerous sources to show the extent of Jewish moneylending in the Spain of this time.

<sup>30</sup> Américo Castro (1954), 448 and 448 n10. This detail of Castro's is an important counter-weight to his (usually Jewish) critics who accuse him of anti-Semitism owing to some of his other views on seeking the origins of the Inquisition and the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* in Jewish culture (I use the Spanish term here as Castro's argument was made in a specifically Spanish context).

Christians to demolish all the synagogues in their district. A pogrom began on June 4<sup>th</sup> 1391, with many Jews killed and others forcibly baptized. The pogrom soon spread throughout Andalucía, Aragón and Castilla, to places as distant as Segovia and Valencia. Up to 70 other towns saw massacres, and entire communities were destroyed - murdered, forcibly baptized or thrown into exile<sup>31</sup>.

1391 was a watershed in Christian-Jewish relations in Spain. The Jews of Portugal were so concerned as to the possibility of the disorder of 1391 spreading across the border from Andalucía that the Chief Rabbi of Portugal, Mosséh Aben Navarro, doctor to João I, presented two papal bulls to João which prohibited forcing Jews to accept baptism<sup>32</sup>. Beinart suggested that roughly 1/3 of the Jewish population was killed, 1/3 converted and that 1/3 endured<sup>33</sup>. An atmosphere had been created in which Judaism was under permanent attack, whether physical or religious. The firebrand preaching of San Vicente Ferrer between 1410-12 and the disputation at Tortosa in 1413-14 led to further waves of conversions, particularly among the Aragonese Jews, and struck a terminal blow at the vibrancy of Sephardic society in Spain.

In retrospect, the long agonies of Spain's Jewish and *converso*<sup>34</sup> population during the 15<sup>th</sup> century were, to some degree, rendered inevitable by the events of 1391. Yet although it is clear that 1391 represented some kind of watershed in Christian-Jewish relations, the precise

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31 For a good account of the pogrom of 1391, see e.g. Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 2, 95-131; Cecil Roth (1959), 13-7; Luis Suárez Fernandez (1980), 207-17. José Amador de los Ríos (1960: 473) estimated that 150,000 people were killed, though this figure is surely an exaggeration.

<sup>32</sup> J. Mendes dos Remedios (1895), Vol. 1, 209-11; João posted the bulls in public places around the country, and the crisis passed. The gravity of the situation in Spain was also underlined by the fact that some of Spain's Jewish population migrated to Portugal: *ibid.*, Vol. 1, 211-2, and also José Amador de los Ríos (1960: 521), who points out that in 1411 João I passed a law that any Jew who had been baptized and reconverted to Judaism should have their goods confiscated, which reflects displeasure at immigration from Castilla.

<sup>33</sup> Haim Beinart (1971a), 425.

<sup>34</sup> Converted Jews were known as *conversos* in Spain. As this Appendix refers exclusively to Spain, I use the Spanish term here rather than the Portuguese *cristão novo* utilized in the rest of the thesis.

nature of the watershed remains a point of debate. The questions of whether the baptisms were as forced, and the murders as widespread, as is usually suggested, are central to the subject of this thesis: for they relate to the changing categories and modes of identity through which people were defined in the century that accompanied the birth of the Atlantic world, and presaged the development of Caboverdean space.

### **Jews and Conversos in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Castilla**

There are, in fact, two historical schools of thought concerning the events of 1391. The first follows the traditional narrative as set out above, and is to be found in the work of such stalwarts of Sephardic historiography as Baer and Cecil Roth. The second, developed by Netanyahu and then Norman Roth, has it that the conversions of Jews to Christianity were mostly of a voluntary nature, and were related to a crisis in Jewish theology on the peninsula; converts found themselves quickly working among Christians, in circumstances where they could not maintain Jewish dietary laws, and thus Christianized rapidly<sup>35</sup>; on this account, relations between Christians and Jews in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century were much better than the traditional narrative would suggest, while the Jews who converted in 1391 did so largely from choice.

In his classic book on the 15<sup>th</sup> century *conversos*, Netanyahu first developed and defended the position that the *conversos* had mostly been sincere Christians and that it was only through the persecution of the Inquisition that crypto-Judaism re-emerged on the horizon. Netanyahu's work was important as it was the first major work of history on the Sephardim to be drawn from the rabbinical responsa of North Africa, that is the theological opinions offered

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<sup>35</sup> B. Netanyahu (1995), 207-8.

by exiled Sephardic rabbis after 1391. His thesis is that, firstly, the *conversos* were detached from Judaism; secondly, that in identifying the “Jewish heresy”, the Inquisition was therefore operating a fiction; and, thirdly, that racial hatred and politics drove this ideal<sup>36</sup>.

Netanyahu begins with the first leader of the Sephardi community of Algiers, Rabbi Isaac bar Sheshet Perfet. Writing in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>37</sup>, this rabbi held that most Jews who had not fled Spain by this point were probably idolaters<sup>38</sup>, for those who really wanted to leave – and maintain their Judaism – would have done so. Netanyahu takes this as evidence that by 1408 – the time of Rabbi Perfet's death - “the attachment to Judaism [among the *conversos*] was weakening; the trend towards Christianity was intensified”<sup>39</sup>. Perfet's successor, Rabbi Simon ben Zerah Duran, wrote several years later that “according to what we hear about the *anusim* [forced converts], *most of them or almost all of them violate the Sabbath publicly*”<sup>40</sup>. Duran held that a marriage between *anusim* was valid only when witnessed by Jews, and that *converso* testimony was not valid for Jewish law<sup>41</sup>. After his death in 1444, Duran's son, Solomon, described the generation as “sons of apostates known as uncircumcised *anusim*”<sup>42</sup>, and also mentioned them as openly breaking the sabbath. By 1450, then, Netanyahu holds, there had been a “victory of the assimilationist faction”<sup>43</sup>. The *conversos* were no longer Jewish in any meaningful sense, and their brethren who had fled to North Africa saw them as gentiles; those

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36 B. Netanyahu (1966), 3.

37 Rabbinical responsa are usually undated (ibid., 23).

38 Ibid., 26.

39 Ibid., 29.

40 Ibid., 36.

41 Ibid., 37.

42 Ibid., 45.

43 Ibid., 48.

who tried to return to overt Judaism overseas following the establishment of the Inquisition in 1481 did so only because they saw this as now the safer option<sup>44</sup>.

While Netanyahu's argument does not downplay the bloodiness of the events of 1391, it does suggest that there was a certain willingness among those who converted to leave Judaism, since their former co-religionists in North Africa felt that those who sincerely wanted to return to Judaism would have done so. This view would tend to support the thesis of Norman Roth, that the principal cause of conversion in the wake of the events of 1391 was not the threat of death but a theological crisis within Judaism itself.

Roth is himself a supporter of Netanyahu's thesis as to the willingness of conversion<sup>45</sup>. He argues that, had the *conversos* been genuine *anusim*, they would have left, as many Jews did, to North Africa or Granada, which was then easily accessible. Their failure to do so shows that "Jews converted of their own free will, for a variety of reasons"<sup>46</sup>. Drawing a contrast with the subsequent converts in Portugal, who he believes were forced to convert, he points out that whereas many Portuguese converts did return to Judaism in Italy or the Netherlands, this was not the case with Spain<sup>47</sup>.

Roth's view on the events of 1391 is itself substantially revisionist. He cites the royal chronicler, Pedro López de Ayala, who said that people wanted to attack the Moslems as well as the Jews in 1391 but held back for fear of reprisals against Christians in North Africa, which for him suggests that these were not generically anti-Semitic attacks<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, says Roth, the

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 137-65, the writings of the contemporary Sephardi Jew Isaac Arama.

<sup>45</sup> Norman Roth (2002), xviii-xix.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid..

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 33.

letter of Hasdai Crescas, rabbinic leader of Aragón and Catalonia, declaring that the Jewry of Toledo had been destroyed and that there were no Jews left in Valencia, is demonstrably false<sup>49</sup>.

In tracing the true degree of coercion involved in the conversions of 1391, Roth points out that the authorities dealt energetically with the perpetrators of the riots: Enrique III of Castilla wrote letters to the council in Burgos stating that forced conversions were contrary to the Church's law and taking Jews under his protection; Juan I of Aragón forbade forced conversions in Perpignan and issued orders of protection for the Jews of Zaragoza, Tortosa and Barcelona; and indeed, in Aragón forcibly converted Jews were permitted to return to Judaism<sup>50</sup>. What was crucial about 1391 was not the bloodshed itself, he argues, since the actions of the authorities made it clear that any unwilling converts could probably have reconverted to Judaism, but the fact that many leading rabbis fled from the peninsula leaving a spiritual vacuum in Judaism, and a faith unable to deal with the subsequent assault of Vicente Ferrer and Tortosa<sup>51</sup>.

Roth concludes that the 1391 riots were "minor in scope and...caused by a small minority of lower-class gangsters who saw an opportunity to rob and vent their frustrations on the relatively defenceless Jews"<sup>52</sup>. His view of the Christian sincerity of the *conversos* is consonant with that of other Sephardic specialists such as Glatzer, who have seen the reasons for the large-scale conversions of Jews to Christianity at this time as essentially religious<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, the notion that force was not the source of the wide-scale Jewish conversions to

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid..

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 11-13, 43.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Glatzer (1995), 61.

Christianity would be consonant with the idea that the position of Jews in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain was not as terminal as some have intimated.

This idea in itself is bolstered by numerous pieces of documentary evidence. In the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, less than 20 years after the events of 1391, the Jews of Évora complained that the Jewish quarter in the town was not big enough, which meant that the cost of owning houses was prohibitively expensive and many Jews were emigrating to Castilla<sup>54</sup>. Half a century later, in 1467, riots and forced conversions of Jews in Tlemcen, North Africa, sent one rabbi, Yeshu'ah ha-Levi, to migrate to Toledo: as ha-Levi put it, he “came to the land of Castilla to keep [his] life from danger for a while”<sup>55</sup>. Then, in 1483, the influential trader, intellectual and royal adviser Isaac Abravanel claimed asylum in Castilla after being accused of treason by João II of Portugal<sup>56</sup>.

Such evidence of Jews actually fleeing *to* Castilla in the 15<sup>th</sup> century must suggest that the situation of Jews was not terminal. It also tallies with the evidence adduced by Roth on relatively normal community relations between Jews and Christians for large parts of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with both Christians and Jews apprenticing their children to live with each other's families for periods of years in Seville and Toledo<sup>57</sup>, and Christians and Jews exchanging gifts of food at Christmas and Passover as late as 1491 and 1492<sup>58</sup>. Moreover, the examination of royal documents on the Jews from 1480 to 1492 makes it clear that the Jews received significant protection from the RRCC right up to the moment of their expulsion. In 1480 Isabela

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<sup>54</sup> Fortunato de Almeida (1967), Vol. 2, 389.

<sup>55</sup> H.Z. (J.W.) Hirschberg (1974), 388-9.

<sup>56</sup> Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. 1, 424.

<sup>57</sup> Norman Roth (2002), 66.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

ordered the people of Olmedo to allow the Jews access to the plaza from the Jewry<sup>59</sup>; in 1482, the Jews of Segovia were exempted from contributing to the cost of the wars in Granada<sup>60</sup>; in 1484 the Jews of Soria guarded the town's castle<sup>61</sup>; in 1485 the RRCC ordered the *alcalde* of Segovia to permit the Jews to bake *matzot* for Passover<sup>62</sup>; in 1486 the RRCC ordered the council of Balmaseda to revoke their expulsion of the Jews from the town<sup>63</sup>; as late as 1490, the RRCC ordered that the Jews of Trujillo should not be subject to a night-time curfew<sup>64</sup>.

The royal protection offered to the Jews is instructive, and, combined with the evidence for people seeking sanctuary in Castilla would suggest that the situation of Jews in Spain was certainly no worse than in many other parts of Europe. However, at the same time, we should not be under the illusion that the situation was quite as rosy as implied by Norman Roth: the *aljamas* [Jewish communities] complained in 1484 that many bishops, nobles, members of religious orders and communities wanted to sack and pillage their homes, synagogues and property<sup>65</sup>, while in 1488 the Jews of Vitoria complained that they were stoned and attacked when they walked in the street and their windows were stoned at night<sup>66</sup>, and in 1491 the Jews of Plasencia wrote to the RRCC that they feared a violent attack<sup>67</sup>.

A superficial reading of this evidence might suggest that there was widespread hostility to Jews throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Spain. Yet it needs to be borne in mind that such evidence of fears of attack is contemporaneous with the rise of the Spanish Inquisition, the prime target of

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<sup>59</sup> Luis Suárez Fernández (1964), 165.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 278-9.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 362.



which was the *conversos*. The evidence suggests an increase in hostility towards Jews in this later period, doubtless because of their association in the popular mindset with *conversos*, but this cannot gainsay the evidence of the previous decades as to the relative peace in which Jews lived in Spain for much of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus a close reading of the evidence for the vicissitudes of Spanish Jewry between 1391 and 1492 does suggest that the situation was not so terrible as some authors imply. All the evidence in fact suggests that, while Jews were certainly targets of resentment in the riots in 1391, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century that focus of resentment shifted away from them, and towards the *conversos*<sup>68</sup>. As the *conversos* increasingly became the targets of attacks – something which shall be followed below – Jews felt able to move back into Castilla with some degree of security.

This displacement of hostility from Jews to *conversos* was almost certainly related to the differing occupations of the two groups. For whereas *conversos* were often concentrated in the important urban areas, the Jews of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain resided predominantly in small towns and rural areas<sup>69</sup>. The Jews were therefore a less obvious target for the growing resentment directed by the masses at the bourgeoisie in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and better able to live peacefully among the Christians.

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<sup>68</sup> This point is made by Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada (1999: 300).

<sup>69</sup> Yitzhak Baer (1966), Vol. 2, 247-8; Norman Roth (2002), 50-1.

The careful consideration of this evidence suggests that, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century an important shift overtook collective *mentalités* in Spain. Whereas, in 1391, frustrations found their target in a religious group – the Jews of the peninsula – in the 15<sup>th</sup> century it was the *conversos*, and not the Jews, who became the scapegoats in Spain. Thus it was that prejudice developed racial, and not religious overtones, with the emphasis being on those of Jewish blood, and not on those of the Jewish faith. This, I shall now argue, was representative of a shift in worldview that represented various new tropes of thought.

Perhaps the pivotal moment in this process came in Toledo in 1449, with the riots that gave birth to the first statute of *limpieza*<sup>70</sup>, or purity of blood, which placed severe restrictions on the careers and rights of the *conversos* in the city. The Toledo statute became the prototype for similar statutes which gradually spread throughout Spanish life, especially from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. A close reading of the evidence regarding the emergence of the statute of *limpieza* reveals that the underlying motivations were principally economic, and that deeply connected to the emergence of the racialized vector of prejudice in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain, and the targeting of the *conversos*, was the growing importance of material concerns in the emerging worldview.

The disturbances in Toledo began on January 26<sup>th</sup> 1449 when Álvaro de Luna, Juan II's *condestable*, and the *de facto* regent of Castilla, passed through Toledo and demanded 1 million *maravedís* for Juan's fight against the Aragonese. Luna put two *conversos*, Alonso de Cota and Juan de la Ciudad, in charge of collecting the taxes, which became the spark of the disturbances<sup>71</sup>. Luna moved on but two canons, Juan Alfonso and Pedro López Galvez, led a

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<sup>70</sup> I shall use the Spanish spelling in this Appendix as I am dealing exclusively here with the Spanish context.

<sup>71</sup> Juan Blázquez Miguel (1989), 137.

protest against the tax on January 27<sup>th</sup>. The protest soon became a riot: Juan de la Ciudad and other *conversos* were killed and hung up from their feet, and the mutineers took all the entrances to the city bar two<sup>72</sup>. The *alcalde-mayor*, Pero Sarmiento, took advantage of the unrest to confiscate the goods of many *converso* merchants<sup>73</sup>. By the time that Juan II reached the insurgent town on May 6<sup>th</sup>, the rebels were in no mood to negotiate, and it was Sarmiento who sought legal grounds for the uprising and made the public declaration of the *limpieza* statute on June 5<sup>th</sup> 1449.

The rebellion needs to be placed against the background of the political unrest of mid-15<sup>th</sup> century Castilla. Prior to declaring the statute of *limpieza*, Sarmiento and the council of Toledo had made a detailed petition to Juan II, accusing Luna of “tyrannically and with dissipation devastating and usurping your kingdoms day by day for thirty years”<sup>74</sup>. Juan II had handed over the practical affairs of state to Luna, who, according to the royal chronicler Pérez de Guzmán, was said to be richer than all the nobles and bishops of Spain put together, and to be more powerful and feared than any other king had ever been<sup>75</sup>. This power was felt by the regions to be used with arbitrariness, and in the region of Toledo, complained Sarmiento, Luna had proceeded “destroying the vines and trees, and killing and arresting our residents, burning their houses and seizing our goods, attacking us cruelly as if we were Moors”. Luna was allowing all the public offices, both secular and spiritual, to be sold which was the cause of

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid..

<sup>73</sup> Albert A. Sicoff (1985), 53-4.

<sup>74</sup> Eloy Benito Ruano (1961), 186: “*a treinta años que don Alvaro de Luna, vuestro condestable, tiránicamente e desipado e devastado e usurpa e devasta (sic) de cada día los vuestros rreynos...*”.

<sup>75</sup> Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (1965), 46: “*opinion fue de él solo tener más tesoro que todos los grandes onbres e perlados d’España... apenas se podra saber de ningunt rey o príncipe, por muy temido e obedecido que fuese en su reino, que más lo fuese qué en castilla nin que más libremente oviese la governación y el regimiento*”.

poisonous ambition in the kingdom<sup>76</sup>. Moreover, these offices were often given to “infidel and heretical people, enemies of our Holy Law”<sup>77</sup>.

The political context explicates both the current of violence and the need for a scapegoat. As Sicroff points out, the Toledo incident was as much a struggle between the court and the people as between old and new Christians<sup>78</sup>. This was stated as much by Sarmiento at the end of his petition against Álvaro de Luna to Juan II, where he declared that if Juan II did not take control of the situation “we will withdraw the obedience and subjection which we owed to you”<sup>79</sup>. Yet at the same time Sarmiento was careful to associate Luna with the *conversos*, since one of Luna’s prime failings was that he “publicly has defended and welcomed...the *conversos* of Jewish lineage...who are mostly found to be infidels and heretics, and have Judaized and continue to Judaize...”<sup>80</sup>.

The power struggle between the court and the parochial authorities clearly found their expression in the lynching of the *conversos* and the development of the *limpieza* statute. Perhaps of greatest significance was that the trigger for the Toledano rebellion was a tax demand, for this was one of Sarmiento’s greatest grievances against Álvaro de Luna. Luna had, he said, pressurized the king to “decree unjust and inhumane laws that place your revenues at his brutal disposal”<sup>81</sup>, adding that “immense tax demands are made on your kingdoms”<sup>82</sup>. The fact that the *conversos* were usually the tax farmers inevitably must have increased the resentment directed

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<sup>76</sup> Eloy Benito Ruano (1961), 186: “*que los oficios de la dicha justicia e rregimiento, e los oficiales temporales e spirituales e todos los otros oficios se vendiesen...por dinero, lo qual es verdadera anvicion...*”.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 187: “*personas infieles e erejes, enemigos de nuestra santa Ley*”.

<sup>78</sup> Albert A. Sicroff (1985), 56. See also Juan Blázquez Miguel (1989), 137.

<sup>79</sup> Eloy Benito Ruano (1961), 189: “*sustrahemos la obediencia e subgeción que vos devíamos*”.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 188: “*públicamente a defendido e recebtado e defiende e rrecebta a los conversos de linaje de los judíos...los quales por la mayor parte son fallados ser ynfielos e erejes, e han judaizado e judaizan...*”.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 187: “*otorgar leyes injustas e ynumanas, para que pujase vuestras rentas a su brutal ynterese*”.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.: “*a vuestros rreynos son fechos tributarios de tributos ynmensos*”.

at them, but this cannot disguise the fact that this resentment was, at bottom, a resentment of taxes, and not of *conversos*<sup>83</sup>.

Nonetheless, the statute prevented *conversos* from holding public or private posts in the city, accusing them of remaining Jews while mocking Christianity, of being the enemies of Christianity, and of tyrannising the Old Christians through their monopoly of important positions<sup>84</sup>. The application of this exclusionary order on the basis of lineage was a new departure in Spain, and although the agitators behind the statute claimed an old royal prerogative – which they may indeed have possessed<sup>85</sup> - the controversy of the Toledano statute is underlined by the widespread opposition which initially faced it. Alonso Díaz de Montalvo wrote that “the Old and the New Testaments show that it is a heresy to sew the seeds of discord among the faithful”<sup>86</sup>, while Fernán Díaz de Toledo described in detail the intermingling of Jewish blood in the Castillian aristocracy, attempting to show the futility of discriminating against *conversos*<sup>87</sup>, and Alonso de Cartagena accused those involved in Toledo's statute of heresy because of their division of the unity of the church<sup>88</sup>. The controversy was underscored when Pope Nicholas V issued a Bull in contravention of the Toledo statute, ordering that all Christians, whatever their descent, should be admitted to all ministries and posts if they had been shown to be good Christians<sup>89</sup>.

The controversy of the initial statute is an important point, for it underscores the fact that this represented a fundamentally different way of perceiving Jews and Judaism. Netanyahu

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<sup>83</sup> See above, pages 56-59 for an analysis of how similar dynamics developed in Portugal in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>84</sup> The statute is published by Eloy Benito Ruano (1961), 191-6.

<sup>85</sup> B. Netanyahu (1997), 76-98; Netanyahu argues that there may well have been a privilege in Toledo going back to the reign of Alfonso “the Wise” in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>86</sup> Albert Sicroff (1985), 57.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 60-1.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 84.

has argued that it in fact reveals that a “new ideological current was born”<sup>90</sup>, and that “a whole theory of race and race relations is inherent in the Statute’s terminology”<sup>91</sup>. The economic activities of the *conversos*, and in particular the competition they represented for *cristianos viejos*, created widespread resentment; what this resented class had in common was their Jewish origin, and thus a pernicious racial theory was born<sup>92</sup>.

Yet while, as shall be shown below, I accept this economic argument, it is important to stress that this accent on economic concern needs to be treated cautiously. For one thing, the tendency of some historians to concentrate on such causes may prove as much a reflection of the priorities of their contemporary society as a reflection of the realities of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain. The dismissive treatment of religious concern which has been made by authors such as Netanyahu may, likewise, be more a reflection of our secular age and the belief that religion cannot be a “real” cause, but only an ideological excuse, than a reflection of the nature of the resentment of the *conversos*. It needs to be borne in mind that such a separation of motivations must in some sense be anachronistic, since people in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century would have found it difficult so clearly to separate religious and worldly concerns. And Netanyahu’s assertion that the religious “crimes” of the *conversos* only received a proper airing in the 1460s with Alonso de Espina<sup>93</sup> misrepresents the petitions of Sarmiento and indeed the language of the statute, both of which mention the heresies of the *conversos* in some detail<sup>94</sup>.

The root of Netanyahu’s desire to see racial and economic motives as underpinning the 1449 attack on the *conversos* appears to lie in the fact that such a position would be a support to

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<sup>90</sup> B. Netanyahu (1995), 382.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid..

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 950-1, 980-4.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 950.

<sup>94</sup> Eloy Benito Ruano (1961), 186-96.

his general thesis as to the sincere Christianity of many of the *conversos* in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain, and that the development of the Inquisition and the accusations of heresy were founded on a myth<sup>95</sup>. It is the accuracy of this position of his which lies at the heart of this question, and also at the heart of the question of the nature of the evolution of the new ideation in Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century: we will see that the persecution of the *conversos* by lynch mobs and then by the Inquisition was in essence the persecution of a myth that created the target of its enmity as a means of healing divisions and forging a new identity; the ensuing identity was itself, therefore, the product of nascent changes in ideation which found their expression in a newly racialized thought and the targeting of the *conversos*.

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Netanyahu's radical thesis on the religious orientation of the *conversos* in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain has proved highly controversial. One of the major apparent problems with it is that it contradicts so much of the evidence taken from traditional chroniclers' accounts of the affair. Thus Bernáldez's famous denunciations of the "Mosaic heresy"<sup>96</sup> in which he said that "most of [the *conversos*] were secret Jews"<sup>97</sup>, and Valera's account that "many of the newly

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<sup>95</sup> See above, pages 377-378.

<sup>96</sup> Andrés Bernáldez (1962), 94: "*la herética pravedad mosaica*".

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 95: "*por la mayor parte fueron e eran judíos secretos*".

converted...departed from the true path...some of them Judaizing publicly, without fear of God or justice”<sup>98</sup>, are on Netanyahu’s account accorded the level of fantasy.

Netanyahu’s theory that most of the *conversos* were willing converts therefore challenges the work of both anti-Semitic and philo-Semitic authors who have drawn their ideas from such accounts. If we follow Netanyahu’s view, the work of López Martínez holding that the *conversos* were a seditious and an anti-Christian group that represented a serious danger<sup>99</sup>, and the work of Cecil Roth holding that although there were some willing converts the vast majority of *conversos* only converted in order to escape death, and that “in race, in belief, and largely in practice, they remained as they had been before conversion”<sup>100</sup>, are accorded the status of works of fiction.

Netanyahu’s thesis has of course generated numerous critiques. One of its greatest problems is its perceived dependence on unwarranted assumptions of both a racial and a religious nature. In terms of race, Alpert has noted how the idea that most *conversos* were loyal Christians, and that the hatred of them was racially motivated, depends on the “assumption that the hatred shown towards converts was racial rather than religious”<sup>101</sup>; this might imply an anachronistic reading of modern racial concerns into a situation where the boundaries of tension were solely religious. Blázquez Miguel suggests that “religious affinity was almost equivalent to patriotism” in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and thus it is perfectly plausible to suggest that the hatred of the *conversos* was solely directed at their beliefs<sup>102</sup>.

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<sup>98</sup> Mosén Diego de Valera (1927), 123: “*muchos de los convertidos nuevamente a nuestra santa Fee...desviasen de la verdadera carrera...los unos públicamente judayzando, sin temor de Dios ni de su justicia...*”.

<sup>99</sup> The clearest example of such a work is Nicolás López Martínez (1956).

<sup>100</sup> Cecil Roth (1959), 19-20.

<sup>101</sup> Michael Alpert (2001), 16.

<sup>102</sup> Juan Blázquez Miguel (1988), 40.



Moreover, the suggestion that there were no genuine crypto-Jews among the *conversos* is refuted, on some accounts, by the evidence of Judaizing among some of the *conversos* tried by the Inquisition in places such as Ciudad Real, where knowledge of Jewish practice is apparent in many accounts, even granted the rigours of the inquisitorial techniques of interrogation<sup>103</sup>. This points up certain religious assumptions made by Netanyahu, centred around his decision to draw his definition of Judaism from rabbis, since, as Gerson D. Cohen has said, “no matter how Christianized the Converso way of life may have become they need not – and apparently did not – cease to be a Jewish group historically, sociologically, or even religiously”<sup>104</sup>; that is, the rabbinical treatment of the *conversos* as non-Jews may not have tallied with the way in which the *conversos* defined themselves and with their own religious practice.

However, in spite of these considerations Netanyahu’s thesis is worthy of analysis. It has in fact received qualified support from various highly respected historians. Henry Kamen largely accepts Netanyahu’s thesis, arguing that the Inquisition was a holocaust of more or less sincere baptized Christians, not secret Jews; he puts the lack of protest at the persecution of innocents down to the fact that Jews had little sympathy for the *conversos* while the *cristianos viejos* did not care<sup>105</sup>. Norman Roth, as we have seen, also supports Netanyahu’s thesis, citing the testimony of Jews against *conversos* to the Spanish Inquisition as evidence for the little love lost between the two groups, something which he puts down to the sincerity of the Christianity

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<sup>103</sup> Michael Alpert (2001), 16, Miriam Bodian (1997), 8 n13 and 11; see Haim Beinart (1974) and Juan Blázquez Miguel (1988), 52.

<sup>104</sup> Cit. Seymour B. Liebman (1974), 30.

<sup>105</sup> Henry Kamen (1992), 76, and 76n13.

of the *conversos*<sup>106</sup>. Even Cecil Roth, whom, as we have seen, had epitomized the school of thought which stressed the Jewishness of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century *conversos*, came largely to share Netanyahu's views<sup>107</sup>.

I would argue that when we come to look at the question of the religious affiliation of the *conversos* of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, we are confronted by a paradox, and that it is this paradox which is the source of the continuing polemics regarding the religious status of the *conversos*, for each side has limitless evidence which appears to support their point of view. The paradox is that, while on the one hand the evidence of the *responso* and of the migration of Jews to Castilla in the 15<sup>th</sup> century would appear to support the Netanyahu thesis, the numerous 1<sup>st</sup>-hand reports of Judaizing and the evidence extracted willingly from Jews as to the activities of the *conversos* would appear to contradict it. Resolving the issue – though essential to a full understanding of the nature of Jewish life in Iberia in the 15<sup>th</sup> century – is therefore extremely difficult, and must ultimately reflect something of the historian's predilections, and contain a considerable slice of interpretation and ideology<sup>108</sup>.

An interesting thought experiment, which perhaps allows us to move some of the way towards a partial answer to this problem, is to ask what picture of *converso* life and activity develops if we do reject the Netanyahu thesis and seek the truth among the records of the Inquisition and the Castillian chroniclers. One historian who has developed such a picture is Nicolás López Martínez, and by examining the credibility of his theses concerning the *conversos*, one can examine the credibility of the thesis challenged by Netanyahu.

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<sup>106</sup> Norman Roth (2002), xviii-xix.

<sup>107</sup> B. Netanyahu (1995), xxii.

<sup>108</sup> Some of the considerations examined in Appendix A are pertinent to this observation.

One of the striking things to emerge from a close reading of López Martínez's work is that the picture of *conversos* which emerges is one utterly devoid of nuance. Thus he says that the Jewish conversions of 1391 were owed to "the calculating spirit of the race, which saw the excuse of baptism as a solution to possible conflicts"<sup>109</sup>; that the pogroms against the *conversos* were not purely racist, as they were not matched by Spanish activities in other regions which they later explored (something which might come as a surprise to the peoples of, for instance, Mexico and Peru)<sup>110</sup>; that the *conversos* caused the racism to be heaped upon them through their pushiness<sup>111</sup>, which itself was driven by their "lack of principles"<sup>112</sup>, meaning that there was "an unquestionable reality: the incompatibility of Christians and Hebrews"<sup>113</sup>. He cites Fray Alonso d'Espina without any sense of the need for qualification, even though Espina was one of the leaders of the anti-Semitic movement in the 1460s, whose *Fortalitem Fidei* first set out the need for an Inquisition to rid Spain of the *converso* heresy<sup>114</sup>: the division was, says López Martínez *après* Espina, between "public Jews and hidden Jews; to all intents and purposes, all of them Jews"<sup>115</sup>.

This failure to be judicious in the use of sources leads López Martínez into some extraordinary generalizations about the *conversos*. So, he tells us that they led a "double life"<sup>116</sup>,

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109 Nicolás López Martínez (1954), 52: "el espíritu calculador de la raza, que vió una solución a posibles conflictos escusándose en su bautismo".

110 Ibid., 57.

111 Ibid., 58; "pujanza".

112 Ibid., 71: "la falta de escrúpulos cuando trate de lograr fines prácticos".

113 Ibid., 75: "una realidad incuestionable: la incompatibilidad entre cristianos y hebreos".

114 Yitzhak Baer (1966), op.cit., Vol. II., 284. There has been much debate as to whether Espina was himself a *converso*, but B. Netanyahu (1997: 43-75) has satisfactorily shown that his knowledge of Judaism was gleaned from non-Jewish sources.

115 Nicolás López Martínez (1954), 78: "la división era sin duda la de Fr. Alonso de Espina; judíos públicos y judíos ocultos; para los efectos, todos judíos".

116 Ibid., 162: *vida doble*".

and that “insincerity, lack of honour [we]re something habitual” for them<sup>117</sup>. Nobody trusted them, and they trusted nobody<sup>118</sup>. Their concept of truth “was not something absolute...and was a simple conformity to the conveniences of each moment”<sup>119</sup>. Their ethical system “was reduced, definitively, to making utility the final goal in the hierarchy of values”<sup>120</sup>, to such an extent that they wished to throttle the state to realise their plans<sup>121</sup>.

It is always easy to generalize about the failings of others, and while I would not want to go quite as far down this road with López Martínez as he himself did with the *conversos*, what one can say from this picture is that exclusive reliance on the Castillian sources creates a picture of the *conversos* that is compatible with a process of otherization. In this case, the judicious historian is entitled to ask how much the characterization of the *conversos* reflects reality, and how much it was a projection of the emerging society’s own insincerity, utilitarianism and elastic approach to truth. And since the emphasis of the Castillian sources was on the religious orientation of the *conversos*, one is entitled, legitimately, to ask how far this really was the source of the disputes that arose between the *conversos* and the *cristianos viejos*; and, moreover, if religion was not the source of the disputes, one is entitled to suppose that Netanyahu is supported in his idea that the picture of the *responsa* is broadly accurate, and that most *conversos* were relatively sincere in their conversion to Christianity.

It is helpful at this point to return to the accusations made by Pero Sarmiento in 1449 of the excesses of the *conversos*. As we saw above, in his petition to Juan II, Sarmiento stated that one of Álvaro de Luna’s failings was to defend “the *conversos* of the lineage of the Jews...who

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117 Ibid.: “*la insinceridad, la falta de honradez es algo habitual en el converso*”.

118 Ibid.: “*ni se fian de él, ni él mismo se fia ya de nadie*”.

119 Ibid., 163: “*no era algo absoluto...era una simple conformidad con las conveniencias del momento*”.

120 Ibid., 164: “*la ética de los conversos se reducía, en definitiva, a hacer de lo útil el término final en la jerarquía de los valores*”.

121 Ibid., 163.

for the most part are found to be infidels and heretics”<sup>122</sup>. Thus although this point makes reference to the religious failings of the Jews, it also implies a racial connotation, since it is those *conversos* of the *lineage*, or blood, of the Jews who are found to be flawed. Thus in fact in this denunciation what emerges, rather than a uniform theory of race relations as suggested by Netanyahu, is rather a growing tension between the concept of Judaism as a *religion* and the creation of a Jewish *caste*, something which betrays a contradictoriness and ambiguity in the way in which Jews were being perceived.

This is of great significance. As Fromm has written, “in the process of scrutinizing a system as a whole it is particularly important to watch any inconsistencies or contradictions within the system; these usually will point to discrepancies between consciously held opinion and underlying feeling”<sup>123</sup>. The contradiction here would appear to reveal that while it was the religious failings of the Jews which were *thought* to be their greatest crime, it was their racial characteristics which were *felt* to be the most dangerous, and the most likely to be threatening to the emergent Spanish society.

This tension between conscious and unconscious interpretations is perhaps best viewed through the prism of Mary Douglas’s observation on the inherent danger of any ambiguous group in society<sup>124</sup>. The *conversos*, as a group that were both seen as Jewish and pretending to be Christian, were a group which thrived on an ambiguity of status which went beyond merely rational interpretation. The responses which they met in Toledo in 1449 – to take just one example – were therefore not rational. Thus though nodes of difference were still overtly

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<sup>122</sup> Eloy Benito Ruano (1961), 188: “*los conversos de linaje de los judíos...los quales por la mayor parte son fallados ser ynfieles e erejes...*”; see above, page 386.

<sup>123</sup> Erich Fromm (1951), 69.

<sup>124</sup> Mary Douglas (1984), 39.

marshalled in religious terms, perceived “racial” characteristics were of growing underlying significance. This conclusion is surely supported by the observation made above, that the major civic unrest of the era was directed not at Jews but at *conversos*<sup>125</sup>. Religion, while still the major conscious focus of ideology and conflict, was no longer universally *felt* as such; had it been, the Jews rather than the *conversos* would have been targeted.

These considerations seem to require a qualified acceptance that the tenets of Netanyahu’s thesis are broadly accurate. The reality is, rather than that projected racial difference deriving from economic resentment was the “cause” of the development of the Inquisition and the hatred of *conversos*, that the development of a caste consciousness was worked through in a sort of racial resentment, and it was this caste consciousness which betrayed the development of a new *mentalité* as the 15<sup>th</sup> century unwound. Conscious justifications of unconscious needs may change quickly and without warning; just as today’s weapons of mass destruction can become tomorrow’s need for regime change, so the economic excesses of the *conversos* highlighted by Sarmiento could rapidly become the religious excesses highlighted by the Inquisition: ultimately, and however the matter was put, the new *mentalité*, and the new vector of prejudice, would find its conscious justification, and morality would accommodate itself to the new reality: both the conscious and the unconscious motivations were symbiotic parts of the new unifying ideology of anti-Semitism.

Yet the bitterest of ironies was the way in which the ultimate conscious justification of the new racial prejudice was developed. For by highlighting the religious failings of the *conversos* and instituting the Inquisition, Iberian society created instant anachronism. The religious worldview was itself being superseded, as the new emerging *mentalité* and its abstract

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<sup>125</sup> See above, page 383.

material concern made clear, and yet the religious worldview became the conscious justification for the new persecutions. Spanish society therefore became locked into an anachronistic dance that could only lead to its cultural and intellectual stagnation, something which surely followed Spain's entry into the "golden age". The application of anachronistic conceptual categories, apparent in the institution of the Inquisition, therefore both helped to create the unity that brought Spain into the glories of the golden age, and created the conditions in which those glories would inevitably decline.

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Historians should seek nuance, as truth lies in nuance and the rejection of dogmatic and uniform ideologies. This consideration, and the evidence we have examined above, suggests that the truth is neither that all the *conversos* were "Jews", nor that none of them were. There were both sincere Christians and active covert Jews among the *conversos*. The examination of the motivations behind the persecution of the *conversos* suggests that it was substantially racial dislike, prompted by economic concern, that lay behind this; this is itself revelatory of the emergence of a new mindset, and suggests that, while there were some covert Jews among the *conversos*, these were far fewer in number than was suggested by the Castilian authors of the time.

What we in fact see through this lengthy discussion is that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century there were, for the first time, different schools of thought emerging as to what it meant to be Jewish. The

exiled Sephardic rabbis in North Africa retained the halakhic definitions which were the cornerstones of the Jewish religious law; *cristiano viejo* society in Castilla was turning increasing to caste definitions, verging on a racial analysis, as shown by the persecutions and the development of ideas of Jewish lineage; and meanwhile, the *conversos* themselves, sandwiched between these two conflicting perceptions, developed an autochthonous view themselves which unquestionably varied from person to person, and which was increasingly directed at ritual observance rather than spiritual and theological subtleties<sup>126</sup>: it is possible that the Spanish converts found in the alienation of their new and ambiguous position, where they were perceived as Christians by the Jews and as Jews by the Christians, a sense of opportunity to break free from earlier restrictions and engage with the new realities which would open up along with the 15<sup>th</sup> century: that is, as Gershom Cohen wrote in his critique of Netanyahu's book on the *conversos*, "having their own canons of religions, many of them remained faithful to the faith of their fathers in a way that no rabbi would allow himself to understand"<sup>127</sup>.

And just as I have argued that the new underlying racialist perception of Judaism was revelatory of a new worldview, so these distinct understandings of Judaism itself also reveal a break from earlier collectivist approaches to identity. The new mentality would be protean, just as was the understanding of Judaism in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As I will now argue, this mentality emerged as a corollary of changes of the relationship of people to the land and a growing sense of national identity; thus what one sees in the consideration of the vicissitudes of Jews and *conversos* in Spain in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is that they were blank slates upon which the uglier

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<sup>126</sup> Ricardo García Cárcel (1976), 199; Nathan Wachtel (2001a) also sees the essence of crypto-Judaism as essentially ritual.

<sup>127</sup> Cit. B. Netanyahu (1997), 173.



excrescences of this process of state-formation could be projected: Spain's Jews were the first victims of the birth of modernity in Europe.

### **Land, Nationalism and the New Worldview**

If the development of the racialized anti-Semitism which led to the persecutions of the *conversos* in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain was testament to an emergent worldview, this was only possible because of concomitant socio-political circumstance. In this section I argue that these developments arose because of the formation of a proto-modern form of nationalism, which itself developed through the unusually early use of the vernacular as the language of ideological articulation in Spain. This linguistic distinctiveness was married with fundamental changes in the relationship of people to the land, leading to the resentment of occupiers of urban space and the formation of a national identity which sought to exclude the most apparently "different" occupiers of this urban space, the *conversos*.

In the first place, however, it needs to be shown that there *was* something that we can call a "new worldview" in emergence here. Here we must draw a parallel between the targeting of the *conversos* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and attitudes towards Frankish immigrants to northern Spain in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. These immigrants, the *francigeni*, came as part of the pilgrimage to Santiago which by the 11<sup>th</sup> century had become something of a phenomenon in south-western Europe. One anonymous chronicle described residents of Sahagún as being from Gascony,

Brittany, Bourgoigne, Provence and Lombardy, while there were also – to a somewhat lesser extent – English and German migrants<sup>128</sup>.

These *francigeni* were known to be craftspeople and merchants, and rarely lived in the countryside<sup>129</sup>; they thus filled a very similar social role to the *conversos*. Yet there was no history of aggression or persecution directed towards these “urban incomers”, as there was directed at the *conversos* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, this discrepancy is clearly related to a change in mentality rather than a greater tendency to anti-Semitism than to other forms of prejudice, since French immigrants were among the greatest victims of the Aragonese Inquisition from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> to the mid 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and there was thus no intrinsic antipathy towards persecuting the French<sup>130</sup>. Instead, what one must conclude is that there had been a change in mentality between the arrival of the *francigeni* in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries and the persecution of the *conversos* and then the French from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Thus far we have seen several phenomena that could be said to be expressive of the new mentality. Thus we have seen, for instance, how the tension between a racialized view of difference and a religious view of difference was implicit in the 1449 *limpieza* statute of Toledo, and moreover that the faultline of this ideological tension was a growing material concern<sup>131</sup>. Thus we also saw how the resentment of the *converso* class was a disguised resentment of new

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<sup>128</sup> Ch.-E Dufourcq and J. Gautier Dalché (1976), 69.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid..

<sup>130</sup> William Monter (1990).

<sup>131</sup> The way in which these years in general were crucial for this change of outlook in Iberia as a whole, and the role of economic concern in pushing through the change, is revealed in Zurara’s description of the discoveries of Guinea, where, in ending his chronicle in 1448, he remarks that from this point “things were not conducted with the same effort and fortitude as those which had happened before, since from this year onwards, the affairs of those parts were always managed more through treaties and trading agreements than by endurance or force of arms” – cit P.E. Russell (1995), 15.

economic conditions, in particular taxes<sup>132</sup>; these taxes themselves were implicit of the increasing state centralization which led to the formation of a strong and united Spain at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, something which represented a challenge to the system of *fueros* and local privileges that had preceded it, and which itself was a source of resentment.

Yet although these economic, ideological and political symptoms are all expressive of the change in outlook, they do not in themselves explain how and why this change began in the first place. Although they may lend support to Netanyahu's thesis on the economic sources of the resentment of the *converso* class, they do not help to explain the shift between the tolerance shown towards the *francigeni* in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries and the resentment of the *conversos* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This in itself implies a fundamental change in the relationship of people to the material world, and, I will now argue, to understand this we need to examine the shifts in the way in which people related to the land in this period.

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From medieval times into the Golden Age, physical surroundings – *place* – were of fundamental significance to identity in Spain. People were characterized by their places of birth such that a person “was intuitively sure that he derived physical and spiritual values from those

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<sup>132</sup> The economic vector of resentment is also expressed in the fact that, when the Inquisition came to persecute the *conversos*, they did so starting from the south and moving north, which reflected the fact that the *conversos* of the south had greater economic power than those of the north: Nicolás López Martínez (1954), 99.

of his birthplace”<sup>133</sup>. This is perhaps best expressed in the Spanish term “*natural*”, which has the meaning of someone who is born in a particular place (e.g., a *natural* of Cabo Verde), but brings with it the implication that their nature is implicitly bound up with the fabric of the place in which they were born<sup>134</sup>. This identification of people with their *comarca* was itself the consequence of intense pride in the fertility of the land, which meant that, as Castro put it, “land was among the innumerable beliefs that compose the texture of Spain, and essential among them”<sup>135</sup>. In Spain, perhaps most particularly, pride in the land arose because of the need to reconquer it from the infidel: in a period where religion was the kernel of all ideological and communitarian thought, the fertility of the land, combined with the fact that the land had been won for Christendom, was surely a particularly heady brew and contributed to its perceived importance.

The nature of the reconquest meant that there were frequent shifts in the nature of people’s relationship to the land. In the initial advances from Asturias during the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the land was settled by *aldeas*, small villages of between 60 and 150 inhabitants that were surrounded by orchards and vegetable plots<sup>136</sup>. Though in these early periods such settlements were characterized by communal organization, and thus by a shared relationship to the land, by 1000 the affairs of the *aldea* were governed by a council of *boni homines* or *boni labaratores*; thus a petty local nobility began to develop, which would now begin to ground its wealth in stock raising<sup>137</sup>.

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<sup>133</sup> Stephen Gilman (1972), 402

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 401: “the individual felt himself to belong almost carnally to the province, town, and even the neighbourhood of which he was a “natural””.

<sup>135</sup> Américo Castro (1954), 34 – “*entre las innumerables creencias que forman la textura de España, la tierra fué una y muy esencial*”; on the pride in the fertility of the land, *ibid.*, 25-33

<sup>136</sup> José Ángel García de Cortázar (1988), 27-8.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-5.

The 11<sup>th</sup> century appears to have been one of decisive change in the affairs of the *aldea*. It was then that writing became an instrument of power, which almost always favoured the emergent nobility and the monasteries, and meant that the peasantry lost out<sup>138</sup>. By the end of the century, the expansion of territory – with the conquests of Lamego, Toledo, Calahorra and Huesca between 1084-1096 – brought with it the requirement for a more rational structure of land-use and the growth of ever more powerful interest groups who were able to strangle the rights of the peasant communities. Thus a “spiral of credit, debt, and mortgage” had begun for the Castilian peasantry<sup>139</sup>.

However, although this meant that by 1100 the unit of the *aldea* had been overhauled, bringing with it an economic impoverishment of the peasantry’s relationship to the land, there was still the possibility of an active role in land ownership for the peasantry because of the ongoing *reconquista*. Thus as the *reconquista* moved in on Andalucía, conquering Córdoba, Jaén, Murcia and Seville between 1236 and 1248<sup>140</sup>, and land was available for the participants in the conquest, there was no fundamental realignment in the underlying relationship of people to the land. The Crown distributed new landholdings in small and medium grants of property, which enabled the repayment of many ordinary soldiers as well as of the knights<sup>141</sup>; moreover the conquered lands were so extensive that large areas were given over for communal use<sup>142</sup>.

However, while the 13<sup>th</sup> century in Andalucía was a time of liberal land grants, by the early 14<sup>th</sup> century the feudal aristocracy and the monasteries were imposing themselves in the

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 42-3, 96.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 43: “*La espiral del crédito, el endeudamiento, la hipoteca...*”.

<sup>140</sup> See above, page 373.

<sup>141</sup> José Ángel García de Cortázar (1988), 123.

<sup>142</sup> María Antonia Carmona Ruiz (1995), 39.

division of lands, and there were increasing numbers of large properties in the region<sup>143</sup>. The 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries saw a growing concentration of ownership of the land by city-dwellers<sup>144</sup>, and thus it was that the 14<sup>th</sup> century rapidly became one of rural crisis, partly as a result of the plague in 1348, and partly as the urban elites and the nobility became the owners of most of the titled land, and huge swathes of the countryside became depopulated<sup>145</sup>. There were agricultural crises in Castilla in 1331-3, 1343-6, 1367-9, 1376-7 and 1399-1400<sup>146</sup>.

There is no question that the phenomena of urban ownership of rural land, rural depopulation, and urban migration are all related. In essence, it would appear that the rise of writing as a means of title and ownership fractured the communitarian principles of the *aldea* and permitted the steady accretion of power in the hands of a few individuals, whose “explicit seigneurial violence”<sup>147</sup> ruptured the relationship of peasants to the land and created urban drift.

This process might appear to be far removed from the persecution of the Jews, but close examination would suggest otherwise. It should be recalled that it was in Seville that the riots against the Jews first broke out in 1391, and that, as Borrero Fernández, who has studied the Sevillano rural hinterland in the late middle ages in great detail, suggests, “one cannot understand Seville in the 15<sup>th</sup> century without the strong connections it had with the rural environment of Aljarafe”<sup>148</sup>.

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<sup>143</sup> José Ángel García de Cortázar (1988), 149.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 186-9: to cite just one of García de Cortázar’s examples, in Alava, 70% of the settlements which had existed between 1025 and 1257 were uninhabited by the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (189).

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 190: “*violencia señorial explícita*”.

<sup>148</sup> Mercedes Borrero Fernández (1983), 33: “*no se puede entender la Sevilla del siglo XV, sin las fuertes conexiones que tiene con el ámbito rural aljarafeño*” (Aljarafe being a rural district just outside Seville).

In fact, events of the years 1386-90 are particularly worthy examining. The end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century saw a rapid expansion in seigneurial ownership of the land near Seville<sup>149</sup>, and in particular in urban ownership of rural property, so that by the 15<sup>th</sup> century most of the Sevillano oligarchy owned land in the countryside<sup>150</sup>. At the same time, it was precisely in 1385-6 that there was widespread emigration from the rural areas of Aljarafe for economic reasons<sup>151</sup>, while the years 1386-90 are filled with accounts of empty *villas* in the rural hinterland of Seville, places facing a demographic and agricultural crisis<sup>152</sup>. Since the *padróns* of Seville from 1384 into the early 15<sup>th</sup> century show a demographic growth<sup>153</sup>, this rural migration must largely have been directed at the metropolis, Seville

It is therefore clear that a combination of growth in urban influence, urban encroachment on rural landholdings, and a piling up of power in a few big landowners, all contributed to the disenfranchisement of the peasantry in the rural hinterland of Seville in the years leading up to 1391, and contributed to their migration to Seville. It must also be borne in mind that these migrants were precisely descendants of those whose hunger for land, following the dismantling of the *aldea* system in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, had led them to migrate to Andalucía in the first place.

In such a situation, I would argue, it was resentment of urban life, and the alienation that went with it, *not* resentment of the Jews, which was the trigger for the attacks on the *judería* of Seville in 1391: it was, in fact, the forced changes in people's relationship to the land which provoked the attacks and encouraged the wide-scale conversion of Jews to Christianity, creating

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 186.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 186.

the large *converso* class which would be the target of the emergent mentality's persecutions in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Moreover, as the 15<sup>th</sup> century progressed, this process of expropriation of rural land by urban classes continued. In this period, the process was directed most at communal land, known as *bienes propios* and *bienes comunales*, and the 15<sup>th</sup> century saw the progressive usurpation of these communal lands and rights by individuals and organizations powerful enough to impose their wills on relevant *consejos*<sup>154</sup>. This process, combined with the marked rise in demographic growth in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, meant that by the last quarter of the century in particular there were frequent complaints of the lack of grazing land which had followed from what were claimed to be illegal usurpation of these communal lands<sup>155</sup>.

What we see is that the process of modernization fundamentally involved the squeezing of the rural population, and the creation of a large urban underclass, eroding the sense of “ownership” and “rights” which the peasantry had in their relationship with the land. In such a circumstance, the rural population's view of urban dwellers as “rapacious and parasitic”<sup>156</sup> could only augment.

Herein, I would argue, lies the meaning in the shift of the target of persecution from Jews to *conversos* between 1391 and 1449. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as we have seen, Castilla's Jewish population became largely small town and provincial, whereas the *conversos* constituted an important proportion of the dwellers in the large urban centres. It was this that singled them out for resentment, a resentment which was substantially of urban ways of life rather than of *conversos per se*. Castilla's rural communities felt that their birthright – the land – had been

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<sup>154</sup> Maria Antonia Carmona Ruiz (1995), 9-14.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>156</sup> Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada (1999), 314.



stripped from them by the cities – as indeed it had been – and vented their resentment at the most obvious target: the *conversos*.

Thus it was that a new outlook was proclaimed at the statute of Toledo in 1449. This was an outlook required to be commercial and utilitarian, rather than rural and communitarian, by the requirements of exchange upon which the urban economy was predicated. It was the urbanization of space which permitted the birth of a proto-modern outlook, and the shift in the vector of prejudice from religion to race. From 1449 onwards, all that the outlook needed to dominate the new ideological space was a coherent ideology, and this was not long in coming, in the form of a very early type of nationalism.

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The urbanization of space in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain had numerous corollaries, not just limited to those discussed in the previous section. The corralling of the peasantry in limited urban spaces required a form of abstraction from the land, and the working of the land. In this section I argue that it was this process of *physical* abstraction which permitted the development of the *mental* abstraction and alienation which was characteristic of the new outlook, and had numerous symptoms: greater theoretical abstraction – for instance in the shift from a conceptualization of places to a conceptualization of spaces<sup>157</sup> - greater economic abstraction,

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<sup>157</sup> See above, pages 56-59.

with the advance of monetarization<sup>158</sup>, and greater theoretical abstraction, with the development of a new and abstract ideology: nationalism.

The key in the development of this nationalism in Spain was the use of the vernacular. In an influential work, Anderson argued that the demise of “sacred communities”, bound together by sacred languages prefigured the rise of nationalist ideologies. In Europe, on his account, the demise of Latin as the sacred language of Roman Catholicism exemplified the fragmentation of sacred communities and the ultimate rise of nationalism, encouraging particularisms where before there had been a unified whole<sup>159</sup>. What is of central importance in Spain – and has not been sufficiently stressed by scholars hitherto – is that the demise of Latin and the rise of the vernacular in the learned community occurred exceptionally early, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, fully two centuries before similar developments elsewhere in Europe.

The importance of the vernacular in medieval Spain was first stressed by Castro. The translation of the Bible and works of universal histories, law, astronomy and even chess into Castillian prose gave Castilla a vulgate literature “without peer in mid-13<sup>th</sup> century Europe”<sup>160</sup>. In no other European country would it have occurred to people to ignore Latin, argues Castro, and the translations into Castillian rather than Latin, on his account, reflects the role of the Jews in the translation school in Toledo, their Arabic heritage stemming from their cultural antecedents in the Caliphate of Córdoba, and their lack of interest in Latin<sup>161</sup>. Only thus, he suggests can it be explained that a king such as Alfonso X, considered “wise”, should “vulgarize and not Latinize history, law and science, cultural forms only expressible in Latin in western

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<sup>158</sup> On the connection between abstraction and monetarizations see George B. Simmel (1990).

<sup>159</sup> Benedict Anderson (1991), 12-8.

<sup>160</sup> Américo Castro (1954), 357: “*una literatura en vulgar sin equivalente en Europa a mediados del siglo XIII*”.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 451-8.

Christendom in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century”<sup>162</sup>. The Jews, “transmitters of Moslem culture”<sup>163</sup>, and who used Spanish and not Hebrew in their synagogues<sup>164</sup>, were the conduits through which the national language achieved its status in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>165</sup>.

As Castro himself recognizes, this interpretation of events will remain precisely that – an interpretation – since “a phenomenon of this type will never emerge alone from the documents”<sup>166</sup>. Yet what does emerge unquestionably is the fact that the vernacular was widespread and in very early use among the *letrado* class in Spain. Thus there can be no doubt that this extraordinarily early spread of the vernacular as the cultivated language in Spain is a phenomenon that we must take seriously, and which may well have had far-reaching effects in other developments in the peninsula.

A window onto the way in which this development may have affected ideological currents occurs if we revisit the phenomenon of *limpieza*. As we have seen in this appendix, the development of the doctrine of *limpieza* in Toledo in 1449 reflected growing tensions between the corporatist medieval worldview and the emergent outlook. Yet the concept of *limpieza* was a purely Iberian phenomenon, looked at with some bafflement by peers in other countries<sup>167</sup>; when the Italian Jesuit Francesco Sacchini wrote a history of the Society of Jesus in 1622, and mentioned the Jewish ancestry of Diego Laínez, the second leader of the Society, Spanish

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 457: “sólo así se hace intelligible que a un rey, considerado como sabio, se le ocurra vulgarizar y no latinizar a la historia, el derecho y la ciencia, formas de cultura solo expresables en latín, en la cristianidad occidental, a mediados del siglo XIII”.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 454: “transmisores de la cultura musulmana”.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 458.

<sup>165</sup> Another historian to stress the role of Jews in spreading Castillian is José Luis Abellán (1995). Abellán shows that the state of Latin learning was deplorable in Castilla-León in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (396-7), and that the Jews, who disliked speaking Latin as they identified it with the Church and felt that their own scientific heritage was in any case demonstrably superior, were able to push translations towards Castillian rather than Arabic because of their prominent position in Toledo’s school of translation (397-400).

<sup>166</sup> Américo Castro (1954), 460: “un fenómeno de esta clase nunca brotará de los documentos”.

<sup>167</sup> Albert A. Sicroff (1985), 163.

Jesuits unanimously demanded the removal of the offending paragraph, in spite of its veracity<sup>168</sup>: somewhat baffled, Sacchini responded that he had said so much on Laínez's wisdom, prudence and piety, and that the "splendour of virtue cannot be belittled by defects of ancestry...on the contrary, it is virtue which gives splendour to the ancestry"<sup>169</sup>.

It is instructive at this juncture to recall that the first mooted of the doctrine of *limpieza* was composed by a largely secular group of insurgents in Toledo led by Pero Sarmiento. When the matter is put to reflection, it must surely appear plausible that the fact that the vernacular was the language used in petitions to the king, and had been for some time, made this body of insurgents better able to articulate and defend their new conceptualization of difference than would have been the case had they been forced to make their petition in the language of the sacred community, Latin. The use of the vernacular broadened the scope for conceptualization, and allowed the effects of the abstraction from the land of the peasantry to filter through to the higher levels of Spanish society, so that they could be articulated in the statute of *limpieza* of 1449.

Thus I would argue that the use of the vernacular as a language of learning and official communication for two centuries facilitated the development of an ideology which could be harnessed to the new outlook that was developing in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The early use of the vernacular helps to explain why events in the Iberian peninsular were so distinctive, and why Spanish national identity seemed so strange to many outsiders. As the Jesuit Sacchini put it in

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<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 330.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 332: "*el resplendor de la virtud no puede ser menguado por los defectos de linaje...al contrario, es la virtud la que hace resplandecer el linaje*".

1622, Spain was the only country in Europe in which to be descended from Jews constituted a “stain”<sup>170</sup>.

The racialized nature of the developing anti-Semitism of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Spain was then a concomitant to a growing sense of national identity, something which culminated with the spatial unification of the nation with the conquest of Granada in 1492. Nationalist movements have often been at the expense of religious minorities<sup>171</sup>, and it was thus absolutely natural that the expulsion of the Jews went with the capture of Granada. For the developing ideology of nationalism, facilitated by the use of the vernacular, had come to associate the spatial unity of Spain with racial unity, as the otherization of the *conversos* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century had made clear. The “nation” of Spain could not, therefore, be born, without the expulsion of the Jews<sup>172</sup>.

On this account, a repositioning is required of traditional approaches to the persecution of the *conversos* in 15<sup>th</sup>-century Spain. This was not directed primarily at economic excesses of the *conversos* or at religious failings, but rather emerged from a developing sense of national identity which was facilitated by the widespread use of the vernacular. This was prompted by the abstract mentality that went with urbanization, monetarization, and the abstraction of peasantry from the land, facilitating the development of abstract ideologies such as nationalism. And while the ideology was prompted by such developments, in its turn it was able to harness the resentments caused by the rapid progress of these abstractions, and the visceral pain felt by those who saw themselves as having been stripped of their birthright - the land - and needed a

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 334.

<sup>171</sup> Juan Gil (2000), Vol. 1, 42.

<sup>172</sup> Pedro Sainz Rodríguez (1962: 83) is among the Spanish historians to note that Spanish national unity occurred earlier than in other countries in Europe.

scapegoat to excise their pain. With the abstractions, a new form of identity was needed which could define itself against a common enemy, and thus the persecution of the *conversos* began, as part of a unified and newly powerful ideology of anti-Semitism.

### **Recapitulation: The Expulsion of Spain's Jews and Their Influence in Portugal**

In 1492, Ferdinand and Isabela took the decision to expel the Jews from Spain. Although Spain was by no means the first European country to take this decision, this was an unprecedented move for Spain, which hitherto had been characterized – unlike her northern neighbours – by cultural heterogeneity rather than by cultural uniformity. Many of the expelled Jews went to Portugal - the “natural place of refuge for the unadventurous”<sup>173</sup> – and thus the effects of the developments of the previous century in Iberia were significant on the Jews of Portugal, some of whom ultimately ended up in Cabo Verde.

Portugal may have been the safe option, but this did not make the journey there any easier. Even the notoriously anti-Semitic Andrés Bernáldez managed to feel a shred of pity for the Jews who left:

“They left the lands of their birth, great and small, old and young, on foot and on horse and on ass and on other beasts and by cart; and they continued their journey, each one going to the ports which they had to go to. And they went by the roads and fields which they had to go by with great labour and hazards, some falling down, others rising up, others dying, others being born, others falling ill, so that there was no Christian who did not feel sadness at their plight.”<sup>174</sup>

The numbers who left Spain – and reached Portugal - is something that is always debated by historians. Bernáldez claimed that there were more than 170,000 Jews in Spain, with

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173 Cecil Roth (1959), 54.

174 Andrés Bernáldez (1962), 258.

30,000 families in Castilla and 6,000 in Aragón<sup>175</sup>; of these, he suggested that around 95,000 people may have left<sup>176</sup>. Given the notorious problems which surround estimates of numbers from this age, however, Miguel Angel Ladero has suggested that there were in fact only between 70-90,000 Jews in Castilla in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>177</sup>, with the numbers of exiles correspondingly diminished. By contrast, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz has suggested that the total number of Jews leaving Spain was 100,000<sup>178</sup>, while João Luzio d'Azevedo believed that the number of immigrants from Spain to Portugal alone was as high as 120,000<sup>179</sup>.

Of course, the true number will never be known. But whatever the state of affairs, that their number was significant is without question. However high (or low) the quantity of immigrants from Spain, most authors are agreed that they outnumbered their co-religionists in Portugal. Azevedo, for instance, believed there to have been around 75,000 Portuguese Jews prior to 1492<sup>180</sup>; Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares, by contrast, puts the figure at just 30,000<sup>181</sup>, much lower than the lowest estimate for the number of Spanish immigrants. The effect of this wave of new Jews can be gauged from Évora, where they did not all fit into the ghetto, and had to be given a space to live in the Christian neighbourhoods<sup>182</sup>.

Just as the precise numbers of refugees from Spain to Portugal cannot be known, so the motivations behind the expulsion remain debated. Fernando and Isabela stated in their expulsion order in 1492 that the Jews were expelled largely because of their bad influence on the

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175 Ibid., 255.

176 Ibid.

177 Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, (1995), 171.

178 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (1993), 43.

179 J. Luzio d'Azevedo (1922), 44.

180 Ibid.

181 Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares (1982), Vol. I., 74.

182 Ibid., Vol. I., 427.

*conversos*<sup>183</sup>. It would appear that it was the *conversos* and their heresies that posed the real problem, and the Jews were expelled rather because of the *conversos* than because of their own faith. This implies that the true origin of the expulsion of the Jews lies in the complex relationship between abstraction from the land, abstract ideologies, emergent nationalism and an increasingly racialized sense of identity which developed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and which targeted *conversos*. Since the expulsion of the Jews emerged as a consequence of this process it was, in fact, one of the keystones of the formation of that identity, presaging the “racial” unity of Spain.

Such justifications, predicated on the economic resentment of the *conversos* and of the new abstraction from the land, in fact had little relationship to *converso* activity. For though, as I have argued, it was their economic activities which were singled out as a target for resentment, their activities were far more widespread than this perception would imply: thus, although the *conversos*' economic position was important in facilitating their exclusion from the emergent identity what was even more crucial was the external perception of this position.

For of course, not all the *conversos* were wealthy and influential. Ladero Quesada's analysis of *conversos* from Badajoz, Toledo and Andalucía shows that, in the last third of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, only 10-15% of *conversos* were involved in commerce, and that the vast majority (between 50 and 77.5%) were artisans<sup>184</sup>. Julio Valdeón Buruque cites the work of Monsalvo on Osma's bishopric at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century that shows that only 3.1% of *conversos* were active in commerce<sup>185</sup>. So although many *conversos* were neither wealthy nor afraid to work

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183 Luis Suárez Fernández (1964), 392

184 Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada (1992), 42-44.

185 Julio Valdeón Buruque (1995), 80.



with their hands, the presence of a handful of powerful *conversos* was magnified in the minds of others to facilitate the otherization of an entire social group<sup>186</sup>.

Thus the process which led towards the expulsion of the Jews was founded on a myth, namely the universal economic tyranny and cupidity of the *conversos*. And this allows us firmly to place this process within the compass of nationalist ideologies, in which myths are of such importance. In Spain, the marriage of the early development of a widespread vernacular and the abstractions that followed the changes in the relationship of people to the land had found their perfect target: those of the so-called Jewish “race”<sup>187</sup>.

Thus the Jews who arrived in Portugal in 1492 had an intimate understanding of the emergent alienating forces that were changing outlooks, identities, and prefiguring modern forms of nationalism and analysis. They did so because they had been intimately involved in the development of such processes in Spain, as victims. This knowledge allowed them rapidly to influence the outlook of Portugal’s own *cristãos novos* when the forced conversions took place in 1497, conversions which themselves reflected Portugal’s changing outlook.

Thus the long 15<sup>th</sup> century in Spain was not unconnected to the attitudes which the *cristãos novos* took with them to Cabo Verde and elsewhere in the Atlantic: for they brought with them a long history of both resistance and modernization, a curious and in some ways contradictory inheritance whose doubleness would be of such centrality as the *cristãos novos* attempted to find their peace with the emergent Atlantic world of the modern era.

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186 Ibid., 81.

187 This in itself was a myth: see Jennifer and Raphael Patai (1989) on the “myth of the Jewish race”.

## **APPENDIX C: DOCUMENTARY TRANSCRIPTIONS**

In this appendix, I transcribe just a few of the documents which have been read in the preparation of this thesis. My hope is that this will give the reader a flavour of the type of documentary material upon which the thesis is based, and of the type of life histories which form the background to the argument which is unfolded in these pages. Photocopies of the originals follow the transcription except in the case of Extract 2.

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**1. Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección Inquisición, Libro 1021, folios 114v-115v**

– the confession of Antonio de Espinoza in Lima (1636): *Extracts*

“En 19 de Abril del dicho año de 636 se le dio tormento, siete bueltas de mancuera; tres en el potro a los molledos, muslos, y espinillas, apretando tres bueltas cada garrote; y quatro quartillos de agua, y a todo estuvo negativo, llamando siempre a Dios y a su bendita me y diciendo q era cristiano, y q avia dicho la verdad.

Estando la causa en este estado, y estando ya combalecido el reo del tormento pidio auda voluntariamente y arrojandose a los pies del inqor Licendo Andres Juo Gaitan con quien tuvo la auda con muchas lagrimas y solloços dixo que pedia misericordia de las culpas q avia cometido contra la fee de dios nro Sor y q el no aver dicho la verdad desde su principio abia sido de temor, porq abia echo una muerte alla fuera, y por la muerte de la mujer casada estava sentenciado a aorcar por dos sentencias, y temiendo como hombre q acavada su causa en este sto offo le abian de entregar a la justa seglar para q se executase la senta de muerte, no abia querido declarar verdad desde el principio, ni confesarla en el tormto. Y por aver entendido despues que este sto offo no prende sino por causas de fee, y que no los entrega sino por ella, a la justa seglar, biene a pedir misericordia, y a confesar sus culpas, y que no se entendiese aver sido reveldia ni impenitencia suya, sino justo temor de la muerte. Y que por mayo, o junio, de 631, se embarco en cadiz con el capan po correa q iva a guinea en un navio, q era Portugues mercader el qual, que llevaba al reo en su camara de Popa y en muchas conversaciones q tuvieron en el viaje le fue persuadiendo la lei de moisses, a que resistio el reo a los principios, y comunicando con otro portugues del navio llamado henrique diaz lo q le pasava con el capan correa le dixo al reo q

todo lo q el dicho capan le deçia era la verdad y q lo creyese. Y que despues abiendo llegado a guinea se juntaron un dia otros quatro Portugueses q nombro con el dicho Capan correa y todos le dixeran al reo tantas cosas de la lei de Moisses discurriendo el reo mui largo en ellas, y en el modo que dios abia dado la lei a Moisses en el monte, y como bajando del abia hallado que los del pueblo de isrrael abian 114v/115r idolatrado, gastando en esto mas de un pliego de papel, y al cavo el reo se abia resuelto de guardar la dicha lei y apartarse de la de jesuxpo aunq savia q la dicha de Moisses era contraria de ella. Y que en el mes de sete estando cenando una noche con el dicho capan correa dixo al reo que aquella noche se abian de poner camisa limpia, y no abian de comer bocado, ni beber hasta el dia sigte salida la estrella q cenarian juntos porq era el ayuno grande, y por fuerça abia de hacerse para no quebrantar la lei de Moisses, y que el reo hiço el dicho ayuno en la forma referida, y despues cenaron pescado, guevos, y frutas, y no carne por estar prohibido çenarla los dias de ayuno en la dicha lei de Moisses, y dijeron q le abian echo en guarda y observancia de ella con intencion de Judios para salvaçion de sus almas. Y que despues de lo susodicho abiendo pescado los marineros una bicotea y traidosela al dicho capan correa, despues de idos dixo al reo q no podian comer de aquel pescado los q seguian la lei de Moisses porq no tenia escama y ansi se la embiaron al piloto. Y q el tiempo que estuvieron en guinea q serian ocho meses guardaron los savados por fiesta de la dicha lei poniendose ropa limpia. En otra auda q pidio ansimesmo voluntariamente el reo en 8 de Ago del dicho año de 636 dixo q la queria para descargar su conciencia, y echar de si aquella desdicha porque no queria mas de la salvaçion de su alma y fue declarando contra muchos complices en cacheo de guinea, en Potosi y en esta ciudad, donde dixo averse comunicado en la lei de Moisses con sus hermanos Manuel y Xorge de espinosa por Abril de 63 (sic) y con otras personas q nombre complices. Y an auda de 25 de Sete del dicho año de 36 ratifico en pleno ante las onestas

personas, y ad perpetua contra todos los q avia declarado. Y en auda de diez de novie del dicho año prosiguo en deçir contra mas complices con quienes se abia comunicado en la dicha lei de Moisses, dando de todas las comunicaciones cumplida raçon con día mes y año.

Teniendo su causa en este estado pidio el Reo auda voluntariate en 22 de novie del dicho año de 36 y dixo q todo quanto abia dicho era mentira, falso testimonio que abia levantado a todas las personas contra quienes abia declarado, y las fue nombrando a todas; que todo lo revocava como falso q era, y que abia dicho dichas maldades, porq sus hermanos del reo y los Limas le dixeron por 115r/115v medio de un preso q estava en la carcel medianera entre la del reo y sus hermos y los dichos Limas, que ellos estavan confiesos y q si el reo no deçia de muchos le abian de quemar porq tenia contra si muchos testos, y q de averlo dicho con poco saver y con mentira pedia a dios perdon, y en el tribunal misericordia con muchas lagrimas.

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...

Domingo 23 de Heno de 1639 años estandose celebrando el auto de la fee pidio el reo Anto de espinosa misericordia y auda, y bajo de su asiento a darsela el inqor licendo don Anto de Castro, y dixo en ella q le abia enseñado la lei de Moisses en guinea goncalo diaz Rovalo, Jorge Martinez, y Min Diaz, y que a los demas de aquella probinçia los abia lebantado testimonio."

ditores desta Real Audiencia, y Andres Baraona de encirillas fiscal della  
y de acuerdo desta mayor parte fue condenado a Real Jura, y a form<sup>o</sup> in capud  
alienum, y confiscacion de bienes = estos es dicho Pres<sup>o</sup>, y don Juan  
de arriola le condenaron a form<sup>o</sup> in capud proprium. —

En 19. de Abril del dicho año de 636. se le dio tormento, siete bueltas  
de mancuerna = tres en el pecho a los molledos, muslos, y espaldas, a  
pretando tres bueltas cada garrote = y quatro quartillos de agua, y  
alto de estremo negativo, llamando siempre a Dios y a su bendita Madre  
y diciendo que era cristiano, y que abia dicho la verdad. —

Estando la causa en este estado, y estando ya combalecido el Rey del tor-  
mento pidio a Dios voluntariamente y arrojandose a los pies del  
Inq<sup>o</sup> Licen<sup>do</sup> Andres que gaitan con quien tuvo la Audiencia, con muchas lagri-  
mas y sollozos dixo que pedia misericordia de las culpas que abia come-  
tido contra la face de Dios Nro S<sup>or</sup> y que el no aver dicho la verdad desde  
su principio abia sido de temor, por que abia como una muerte alta  
futura, y por la muerte de la mujer casada estava sentenciado a mor-  
tar por dos sentencias. y temiendo como hombre que acanada su  
causa en este S<sup>o</sup> Offi<sup>o</sup> le abian de entregar a la just<sup>o</sup> seglar para que  
se executase la sent<sup>o</sup> de muerte, no abia querido declarar la ver-  
dad desde el principio, ni confesarla en el Form<sup>o</sup> = y por aver en-  
tendido despues que este S<sup>o</sup> Offi<sup>o</sup> no prende sino por causas de fe,  
y que no los entrega sino por ella, a la just<sup>o</sup> seglar, viene a pe-  
dir misericordia, y a confesar sus culpas, y que note ent<sup>o</sup> endie  
se aver sido reuel<sup>o</sup> dia, ni impenitencia suya, sino justo temor de  
la muerte = y que por mayo, o junio, de 631. se embarco en cadiz  
con el Cap<sup>o</sup> de Correa y una aguienea en un navio, y era Portugues  
mercedero el qual que llevaba al Rey en su camaraca de Popo en  
muchas consideraciones que tuvieron en el viaje le fue persuadi-  
endo la lei de Moyses, a que resistio el Rey a los principios, y  
comunicando con otro Portugues del navio llamado Henrique  
Fiaz lo que le ganara con el Cap<sup>o</sup> Correa le dixo al Rey que todo lo que  
el dicho Cap<sup>o</sup> le decia era la verdad y no creyese = y que despues  
abiendo llegado a aguienea preguntaron un dia otros quatro Portu-  
gueses que nombres cometia dicho Cap<sup>o</sup> Correa y todos le dixeron al Rey  
tantas cosas de la lei de Moyses que le vinieron al Rey muy largo en  
ellas, y en el modo que Dios abia dado la lei a Moyses en el monte,  
como bastando del talia llamado Moyses del pueblo de Israel abian

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de los irados, gastando en esto mas de un siglo de paga, y al  
caus el reo se abia resuelto de guardar la dicha lei, y por  
tanto de la defension aunq. sabia q. tal cosa de moises era contra  
ria, de ella = que en el mes de set. estando cenando una noche con  
el dicho cap. Correa dixo al reo que aquella noche se abian de poner ca  
misa limpia, y no abian de comer bocado, ni beber hasta el dia sig.  
salió la sacrista q. cenarian juntos porq. era el ayuno grande, y por fu  
erza abia de bacerse para no quebrantar la lei de moises, y que el  
reo fizo el dicho ayuno en la forma referida, y despues cenaron pes  
cado, huevos, y frutas, y no carne por estar prohibido cenalla los dias  
de ayuno en la dicha lei de moises, y fizeon q. se abian echo en guar  
da y observancia de ella con intencion de perjudicar para salvacion de  
sus abmas = y despues de lo que dicho abiendo pasado los marine  
ros una siesta y estando en el dicho cap. Correa, despues de lo dicho dixo  
al reo q. no podian comer de aquel pescado los q. seguan la lei de moises  
porq. no tenia escama, y asi se la cambiaron al piloto = y el tiempo  
que estuvieron en guinea q. serian ocho meses, guardaron los saua  
dos por fiesta de la dicha lei poniendole ropa limpia = en otra aud.  
q. pidian asi mismo voluntariamente elites en 8. de set. del dicho año  
de 36. dixo q. queria para descargar su conciencia, y cebar de su que  
lla des dicha porque no queria mas de la salvacion de su alma y fue  
declarando contra muchos complices en cachos de guinea, en estos  
y en esta ciudad, donde dixo auerse comunicado en la lei de moi  
ses con sus hermanos Manuel, y Jorge de Espinosa por Abril de 33  
y con otras personas q. nombre complices = y en aud. de 25. de set. del  
dicho año de 36. se ratifico en plen. antelas onestas personas, y ad. porq.  
contra todos los q. abia de declarados = y en aud. de diez de nov. de  
dicho año prosiguió endecir contra mas complices con quienes se abia co  
nunicado en la dicha lei de moises, dando de todas las comunica  
nes cumplida razon con dia mes y año =

Fuendo su causa en este estado pidió el Reo aud. voluntaria  
te en 22. de nov. del dicho año de 36. y dixo q. todo quanto  
abia dicho era mentira, falso testimonio que abia levantado  
en todas las personas contra quienes abia declarado, y as fue no  
lo a todas, que solo lo echó en cara como falso q. era, que abia  
dicho mal de las, y de sus hermanos del reo y los firmas de ellos

ne lio de un preso q estava en la carcel mediana entre las de oro  
y sus herms q los dichos imas, que ellos estavan confesos q si el reo  
no decia de muchos le abian de quemar por q tenia conda de muchos  
festos, q de aver lo dicho con qto s auer qun mentira pedia a Dios per  
don, q el tribunal misericordia con muchas lagrimas ~

En auto de 3. de diciel se le puso 2<sup>a</sup> acusacion de la reuocacion q respon  
diendo a ella denaps de juram<sup>to</sup> dixo que era fiel qut blicos co tra  
ano q que todo quanto contra el reo abian dicho de la guarda de la  
lei de moises era mentira, q lo era tambien lo q el reo abia festi  
ficado en la guarda de la dicha lei contra otras personas, q que asi,  
y a ellas abia levantado festim<sup>o</sup> = diose de tras lado, q abiendo co  
municado con su letrado, q alegado lo mismo q el reo abia dicho se ve  
cibio la causa aprueua = q el reo se ratifico en sus reuocaciones an  
te las dhas personas ~

En audiencias de 29. de julio 21. de Ago. veinte y 27. de oct del dicho  
año de 1638. se le dieron al reo quatro publicaciones de los festigos  
q contra el abian declarado, q asi dho, q respondiendole a todas de ha  
yo de juram<sup>to</sup> nego siembre ser judio, q nego auerse comunicado con  
ninguna persona en la lei de moises porque nunca abia seguido  
ginto la ley q no = comunicaron te todas con su letrado abien  
dole de lado al reo. tras lado de ellas q comparecer en sus alegos y en sus  
defensas, q pidio se le diesen algunos pliegos de papel q se le dieron  
q rubricados, q los trajo todos escritos refiriendo algunas acanias que  
abia echo siendo soldado; q faciendo algunos festigos que no abia  
declarado, q adios q se abian des dicho, q con los que acerto, dio  
por festigos de las factas acomplices en esta complicidad, con q parecio  
no se relebaban en nada q asi nose admitieron. q de lo qo dis<sup>ta</sup> monie

~ Viose en consulta este proceso en 9. de abril de 1638 años por los tres  
inquisidores, ordinario, y tres consultores de qso referidos  
q de auer do de todos fue condenado a archafar, q confiscacion  
de bienes. ~

~ Domingo 27. de Seno de 1639. años estandose celebrando el auto de  
fateo pidio el reo ante de espinosa misericordia q auto, q ha fido  
su auer do adarsele el un<sup>o</sup> licen<sup>do</sup> don Estre de castro, q dixo en  
ella q le abia enseñado la lei de moises en quinea goncalo diaz  
Douado, Jorge martinez, q m<sup>o</sup> diaz, q que a los dhas le a que  
la provincia los abia levantado festim<sup>o</sup> = q confeso su culpa

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**2. Gemeentearchief (Amsterdam), Notarial Archive 381, folio 480 – concerning Alvaro**

Gonçales Frances: *Extract*

“Perante mi Niculao Jacobs notario Publ<sup>o</sup> admetido pella Corte de Olanda residente em esta Cidade de Amsterdam e em presensa das testemunhas abaixo nomeadas. Parecerão presentes Miguel de Crasto e diogo lopes cardoso mercadores portugueses em esta ditta cidade yrmaos de Andre fernandes Viegas que faleceo em cacheo Rio de Santo Domingo e Juão Viegas, como marido e tutor de Ana Cardosa, yrmã do ditto defuncto, juntamente cō a ditta Ana Cardosa sua mulher e por elles todo e cada hum delles foy ditto que davão e outorgavão dão e outorgão todo seu Livre e cumprido poder tam bastante como de direito se requera o Licenciado Bento gill avogado da supplicação e o Lorenzo Pastanho moradores em Lixboa ambos e a cada hum delles em particular, Para que por elles todos em seus nomes, e por cada hum delles dittos outorgantes, Possão os dittos seus procuradores, cada hum delles e seus soestabelecidos arrecadar cobrar e aver dez pecas de escravos que ho ditto difuncto deixou em cacheo em poder de Alvaro Gonçalves Francez...”.

**3. Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Inquisição de Lisboa,  
Livro 220, folios 352r-v – on João Rodrigues Freire : *Extract***

"Muito Rdos snores ynquisidores da meza ordinaria :

Tomo a pena pedindo perdão do atrevimto q tenho de escrever a tão santo tribunal ũ homē de tão pouco entendimto y urbanidade, mas si dixere q o atrivimto e grande, como o e eu assi o confesso e del culpa e maior pois sou christão pela graça de JX nosso snor nacido ou natural da vila de pombal filho do ldo Simão Vaz Fragozo hirmão do Ldo diogo pinto fragozo e sobrinho do desembargador bras fragozo, e basta isto paraq não posso sofrer as juderias q pasão nesta ilha do cabo verde e ginea q parrese q ia não esta no mūdo o santo ofício ou q estes iudeus estão en seu sentro ese me disserem pois la não o Obispo rresponde q si mas tem noventa annos e hum santo varão, e cuidão q todos são como eles...

Digo snors inqisidores q eu me chamo manonel Fragozo e estive nesa cidade de Lxa o ano pasado e no mes de fevereiro fui a ese santo tribunal e pedi audiencia e me mandarão entrar e me falou o snor inqisidor pantaliam Rodrigues aqui dixee q avia mtos annos q eu andava en ginea e por estas partes e q para descargo de minha conçiença vinha a descubrir muitas juderias q vira fazer a judeus christãos bautizados dezendo q decendião do melhor d Portugal ao q o ditto snor inqizidor me res 352r/352v –pondeo cō muita cortezia e amor q donde morava e que quē me conheçia...

...

deste porto de partiū ũ Judeu ourives criado na Rua deste officio en Lxa chamase João Roiz freire o qual estando aviado pa partir sabado qe se cōtarão tantos deste mes o no qis fazer porq dizē he pubrico q nunca trabalhou en semelhante dia, este tem dous filhos q assiste na escola q

dizē q seu pai te uma imagē de nosso redentor o qual sua mai en sertos dias fasta e seu pai asouta, isto tal dis ū conego chamado bartolomeu Vieira q saiu do Algarve para aqi e q ū sanbenito q tinha o botou ao mar...”

Muito Rdos snos Inqizidores da mesa Ordinaria

tomo apenas pedindo perdão do azeite em 4 tenho de  
 exercer as adas santo tribuna e nome de tal por  
 co entendim<sup>2</sup> Urbanidade; mas si doze e o a  
 trunim grande como o eguaqi o confesso del  
 culpa Amaro pois sou christao pela graç  
 deis nois snos naci do ou natural do bi lo  
 deponha filho do Sr Simão das fragozo e  
 do Sr drago pinto fragozo e do Sr Inha do  
 braga de braga fragozo e basta isto para na  
 sôfres a judiciao q' pagas nesta illha do cabo  
 verde eguea q' parece q' ra na esta nome do  
 o santo oficio o q' estes judeus esta em seu centro  
 esse medirem pois la na a obispo responde q' si  
 mas tem noventa e nois e um santo d'ara  
 e eu da q' todos sab como ela com as cab  
 digo snos Inqizidores q' eu me chamo Marcos  
 fragozo e effine residade deis o arto papado  
 Enos me defene reix fui a se santo tribuna  
 e pedi audiencia em me mandara entrar  
 em favela e snos Inqizidos pantaliss  
 Rodrigues a que d'ara q' avia m' anno q'  
 andava engineira e por essas partes  
 de cargo de minha consciencia vinda  
 de cubra muitas judiciao q' vira favela  
 a judeus christaos baptizados dezendo  
 e recordad de mi lhos de ostregal  
 Inq' adito q' d'ara Inq' do m' lhos

pondero a minha corteza e amor e donde mora a  
e que me conhece e sabe por di que eu moro pa  
xada mea e christouas de tauxa e em minha  
camisa tambem conheço e meu patrisio don  
jua pexeira e enleza da goria condga decot  
milloz da ad hazas demis por la uou todo  
os dias por ses como jemas do corde jua ff  
de uas con selo - foi me despondido em selo  
pboxa e nos puxa xemos por um cheya se  
aocazias das naos sig me tam sen ses familia  
e xa of eudese ranao para mandar aesa cidad  
juma ma gina decaio judeos ff fronta e paxa mi  
don me portugez - este porto separa tuu  
deu orxiois criado na tua deste oficio e lã  
mae jua ff fize o qual espando fuido p  
partis sabado qe se e torcao tanto deste mes on  
qis fa zes por qe deze republicas e nunca trabalho  
ense me marita dia, esse tem dois filhos e ff  
na esola e deze e seu pai teuma image de ch  
nosse de dehoz aqua sua pai em sextos dias  
ofa esse pai ff fronta, esse tal dia e conego  
mado bartolomeu uicoria e saim do ff garve  
aagi e qe e garbeniti e zinkal ob tou onca e  
aagi dos qe gouernas ff fizes u judeu vezinha  
ben do ff garve e ff u emma deu came  
u entouros do ff pteffissimo saexa me to  
rese e tre me amas quando semelhante  
dada e ezeu, aagi esse u judeu tarbi  
ff garve e tem u filho ezeu ezeu, esse  
de esse e esse chama fcei manude de esse  
me dise e era uerdade e qe e sabi de esse  
ff susidio esse dias ff garve espando u de  
selho jurando por christo the dise u ame  
seu fndai qe na a ne ouue tal christo  
munda detudo aagi ma lido sab esse  
amunhos of fceado de s. fceais e

Eu nome grave e chamado juaz debrato e foi  
 nesta terra ouvidor geral e se mede seis  
 e como estes naõ dizes digo e tem mede 20  
 punitam naõ as achado u nome taõ onpda  
 e hixtaõ velho como oportadise desta e lola  
 de jã sepho vicario de seixos seu ando buq  
 e ando eug seixos adõ noffo gudo e minha  
 peva ifdizenda e regerem e nuffo me ocupem  
 e ontem eoneartoy pmanda m de seu seixos  
 oã tudo confio gudo noffo gudo ade ses para  
 aumeto de nolla santa fee catolica fmen  
 # die 28 de julho - 1671

Deste obediante filho da igreja catolica

me uha bodita  
 josepho  
 de seixos

secreto faxei oq vosso mecesne  
 de na vem e jã naõ faxei nada  
 e faes apedome noda m e hixtaõ desta terra  
 e se rep exancia deira e medis aumeto

*[Large decorative signature]*  
 e magozo

**4. Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Cabo Verde, Caixa 4, doc. 47 – Jorge Mesquita**

de Castelbranco's denunciation of Manoel Henriques: *Extracts*

“Neste governo onde V. Magde me mandou asisto ha 3 meses nelles tenho feito assi ao servico de dios como de V Magde com inteiresa limpesa e verdade de Vaçallo, pte da gente que governo são huns vaçallos mal afeitos a V Magde.

Pois pellas ordens de V. Magde dei entrada a dous navios de Castella nesta ilha, e pedindolhe donativo que V. Magde me manda, forão aconselhados os Castelhanos não pagassem pois esta ilha era forra e franca e nunca os senhores Reis de Portugal lhe puserão tributes, e que este Donativo que eu pedia era maldade minha e o queria cobrar como cousa propria e não de nossa magde; ouve tanta repugnancia da parte dos Castelhanos aconselhados de P<sup>o</sup> de Bairros que aqui servio de Sarginto Maior, e Manoel henriques homens de nacão que aqui vierão amoestados da Igreja que com outros homens tem feito hũa coniuracão contra o servico de deos e de V Magde querindo impedir a crescentamto da Real coroa e que não dee eu a execucao as ordens de V Magde...

...

...

Esta coniuracão destes homens determinará tiraremme a vida con peconha como fizerão de Deus me não livrava, pois um fruta se me mandava dar, e por mtas veses se me tem advertido pessoas Catolicas e tementes a Dios me guarde pois sabem de certo me quiere matar e a meu filho por servirmos a V Magde como vacallos leaes no real Servicao de V Magde.

Estes homens estão abraçados com Castella com parentes e Irmãos que para lá fogirão deste Reino de que tenho muitas cartas que tomei neste navio com que acabarão de se declararem meus inimigos a V Magde remeto a copia de algũas...

...

...

Po de Bairros he cabeça desta coniução contra os naturaes da terra e contra os governadores de V Magde e publicamente se disse mandou matar a Roque de Bairros com peçonha de que morreo; por muitas vezes me ofereceu dinheiro, negros, e tudo o que eu quisesse, e com grandes apertos, cousa que eu nunca aceitei hua, que resolutamente de ver meu animo tratou com os Castelhanos accumularem e seos companheiros contra mim dandome cargos iniustos contra toda a verdade que V Magde como Rei e Sr deve mandar castigarme se o merece pois com a vida e cabeça estou soieito como vacallo leal de deus e su Magde, e constando ser contra a verdade os cargos que se me dão, he iusto que V magde mande castigar vacallos tão desleaes e de menos sangue sendo homens de nação e de officios mechanicos quererem tirar a honrra aos governadores de vossa Magde e que nesta governo elles assistão como officiaes de camara pois so este he seu intento, e traserem esta cidade e governo sempre atropellado que vossa Magde deve acodir como rei Senhor.

No tempo que servio Po de Bairros de Sargento Maior nesta Cidade com o governador Po Semedo lhe não obedeceo nunca, nem lhe quis tomar o nome antes querendo o governador prendello se fez forte em hua caza com cem negros e armas de fogo, dizendolhes que matassem todos quantos a sua caza viessem foi forçado a Po Semedo a quietarse e deixallo em sua liberdade e pello auto que a vossa Magde sera presente consta dezir po de bairros na Camara desta Cidade hum exemplo que ouvera em Portugal de hum Mister que dissera a hum Sor rei que



sinão governasse bem buscaria hum Rei que os governasse; e en tempo de Po Semedo o ditto Po de Bairros na Camara este chamem Mesa reia e Manoel henriques que V Magde deve demandar levar a este Reino per duas culpas serem de nacão con caza de sinagoga nesta Cidade, e vacallos desleaes no servico carteados cõ castella con mta especie de traidores, e ficara este governo muito quieto, e os naturaes sosegados e não perseguidos pos estes dous homens tão grdes inimigos deos (sic) e da fee de Christo.

Eu como filho da Igreja me pareceo dar esta conta a Vossa Magde e â santa Inquisição pois ha aqui hun Judaismo publico escandaloso aos homens Christãos velhos de que se me tem feito grdes queixas de publicamte estarem Judaizando e adorando beserras a fasendo mtas feiticierias sem que o Cabido entenda con elles sendo o Maior mal aver no mesmo Cabido alguns complices vossa Magde deve acodir como Rei e Senhor ao servico de deos e de vossa Magde....

...

...

Pois os maiores [inimigos] que aella podem vir são este coniuados que fasem esta guerra civil comigo contra o servico de Deos e de V Magde, querendome odiar como determinavão com os soldados que po seu Conselho os obrigavão a faser hum motim que he publico disirem os soldados fora conselho dos homens da nacão brancos de portugal que não querem governador de vossa Magde cuia catolica pessoa nosso Sr grde pa emparo de Sua fee, en medio de seos vacallos. Ribra grande Cidade de Stiago. 9 de Agosto de 1652."

MINISTÉRIO DO ULTRAMAR



ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO

CABO VERDE

1652

Agosto 9

Caixa

4

Doc. N.º

47

Cabo Verde  
9 Agosto 1652

#  
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Este governo onde V. Mage<sup>de</sup> mandou a fize ha 3 mezes  
nelles como feito ahi a ordem de deus como de V. Mage<sup>de</sup> com  
intenção de limpar a verdade de vacallos, e de aqui que go  
verno ha huns vacallos mal affectos a V. Mage<sup>de</sup>.

Das pellas ordens de V. Mage<sup>de</sup> de entrada adoutra vez  
de castella nestas pellas qd inda he donatius que V. Mage<sup>de</sup>  
memanda forão aconselhados os Castellanos não pagar  
nem por castella era terra estranha, e nunca os Castellanos  
que de Portugal he a superior tributo, e que este donatius que  
impedia era mal da minha co. guerra cobras como  
coisa propria, e não de vossa Mage<sup>de</sup>, e siue tanta resisten  
cia da parte dos Castellanos aconselhados de os de baizros  
que aqui se viu de fargento mais, mandel henrique  
homem denacia que aqui ui esas amo estrados de fize  
ca que com outros homens tem feito ha com iuracao con  
tra o serviço de deus e de V. Mage<sup>de</sup> querendo impedir a re  
centar a coroa que ha de ver eu de accuiao  
as ordens de V. Mage<sup>de</sup>.

Dando-lhe por exemplo que alguns navios que o  
anno passado se não haõ pagavaõ donatius e que  
governo fize sem se pagar, parecendo me ser serviço de vo  
ssa Mage<sup>de</sup> sobre donatius em ande depositar em ordens de  
Quarta spende, e fize m. mercado aborado, que tem tre  
z mil cruzados de douz navios seicentos mil reis de cada um  
que se haõ de castella ab. Mage<sup>de</sup> sira tudo presente.

Esta coniuacao de fize homem determinavaõ tirar a  
me a vida e injuria como fize de deus me nas luras  
na por injuria se me mandava dar, e por m. fize se me  
tem advertido por castella e de castella e de castella  
de por sabem de certo me querem matar e a me fize  
por se uir nos a V. Mage<sup>de</sup> como vacallos leas, no qual se viu  
os de V. Mage<sup>de</sup>.

Este homem estao abraçados con castella conparentes  
e irmãos que se haõ fugido de de deus de que temo m.  
cartas que tomei neste negocio conque acabaraõ de de de  
clardem meos inimigos a V. Mage<sup>de</sup> remeto a copia de  
algua, tao sem se, e de de de de de de de de de de de de  
dade de de de de de de de de de de de de de de de de de  
is a algaba que he a via mandado a castella e negros  
for sem ordem nem permisso de V. Mage<sup>de</sup>, antes sem  
gar direitos de donatius conque como quem iurava entre  
que não fize de vossa Mage<sup>de</sup>.

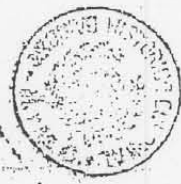
De Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup> deca<sup>l</sup> 1670

Quiaque de D<sup>o</sup> de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup>  
deca<sup>l</sup> 1670 in decem  
Ista operum M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup> compo  
nita, p<sup>o</sup>ntar compo<sup>o</sup> de a<sup>o</sup> 1670 de  
M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup>. Com<sup>o</sup> in 1670 de  
con<sup>o</sup> de p<sup>o</sup>ntar de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup>  
deca<sup>l</sup> 1670 de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup>, accepit  
de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup> deca<sup>l</sup> 1670  
de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup>, in 1670 deca<sup>l</sup>  
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de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup> deca<sup>l</sup> 1670  
de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup> deca<sup>l</sup> 1670  
de Societate M<sup>g</sup> Sa<sup>l</sup> deca<sup>l</sup> 1670



Todos os moradores desta Ilha vivem quietos e seguros e bedi-  
antes há passados oito meses sem haver morte nem quei-  
za alguma justica e faze igualdade a todos e a todos a Ilha vi-  
via com o contrato com esta gente que vivem a puz mais de  
doze mil homens e com quietos e seguros com elles desta Ilha e vi-  
viam de tudo o que a ella vier, e dos inimigos da Ilha de  
esta Ilha.

Pois os maiores que a ella podem vir são os que vivem  
dos que fazem esta guerra Civil com igo contra o Rei  
e de deos e de V. Mage, querendo me odiar como de sumina  
nao com os soldados que por seu Conselho obrigaram a fazer  
esta guerra que he publico dissem os soldados fora do palho  
dos homens danadao brancos de Portugal que nao querem po-  
uervados de esta Ilha. Com a cabella que ha neste Ilha que  
em para de esta Ilha e remedio de todos os males. Por grande  
Cada de J. Mag. q. de Agosto de 1552.



Vertical handwritten text on the left margin, possibly a reference or date.

Multiple columns of vertical handwritten text at the bottom of the page, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.

**5. Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Inquisição de Lisboa, Livro 239, folio 176v – on João Rodrigues Duarte and João Rodrigues da Costa : *Extract***

"...o ditto Conego Luiz Rodriguez era de nação hebreá disse que morava e vivia cõ hum Jo Rodriguez Duarte seu parente o qual he homem de nação e penitenciado pello Sto Offico do tribunal de Cartagena donde se veio a viver a Guine adonde reside e he morador e tendo ambos palavras cõ hum Jo roiz da Costa homem de nação hebreá dissera o dito João Roiz da costa ao conego Luiz Rodrigues que era hum judeo muito baixo e o dito seu parente João Rodrigues Duarte virandose pa o ditto Conego lhe disse Vos que direis que sois honrado comigo vos honrais mais a verdade he que sois de Tribu de Zabulon (sic)..."

Delats

parente de pessa da  
mae

Marias?

pessa de thechamus  
judes m...  
C...

parente thechamus e era  
do tribu de Zabulon.

Sabia que o dho fone e stava no  
 drey era de Micia e bre a  
 Cisse que morava e vivia com  
 J. Rodriguez e quarto sepa  
 rente. o qual e homem de ma  
 cad e experiencia de pelo Offi  
 cio do Tribunal de Portugalia  
 donde seuis ajuizar a Guine  
 a bordo de um de Emora dor  
 e sendo amboy go Lauray e um  
 J. Reis da dho Emora de na  
 Hebra de Hebra do J. Reis  
 da dho as fone e um Rodriguez  
 que era um judeo muito bai  
 xo. e do seu parente do dho  
 drey e quarto veran do e p  
 o dho fone e he ditte vos que di  
 zej que sey comra de comiss  
 vos comray may a dho de e  
 que sey do tribu de Zabulon  
 e do dho sabe por elle sebbe  
 munda se achar presente e al  
 mas ditte. o que eu do Rego  
 do perante os dho drey e offi  
 ciarios. eue scruas que o dho  
 e dho may que de dho de  
 be de dho de Emora que  
 presente se achou. eue scruas  
 que o dho e de bre drey e

3



## GLOSSARY

**Alcalde** - Mayor (in Portuguese: *alcaide*).

**Aljama** – Religious community; derived from the Arabic, but used to describe Jewish communities in Christian Spain (and also Moslem communities).

**Almohads** – North African ascetic Islamic movement whose followers took control of southern Spain in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century.

**Almoravids** – North African warriors, many of them Berbers, who swept into Spain in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century and took over control of the affairs of the land which had formerly been controlled by the Caliphate of Córdoba.

**Almoxarifado** – The institution handling state finances in a particular locale (in Spanish: *Almojarifado*).

**Almoxarife** - Administrator of royal domains.

**Anusim** – Forced converts from Judaism to another religion.

**Arrobas** – Measure of weight equivalent to approximately 15 kilogrammes.

**Asiento/Asentistas** – Contract/Holders of the contract.

**Assimilados** – Term given to African peoples under Portuguese imperial control in the 20<sup>th</sup> century who were deemed to have reached a certain level of assimilation of Portuguese cultural values.

**Auto da Fe** – Inquisitorial procession culminating in the reading of sentences and the capital punishment of the condemned.

**Barafula** – Measure of cloth made in Cabo Verde used as a measure of exchange in Guiné and known as far away as Cartagena.

**Câmara** – Council, Assembly

**Capitanias** – Captaincies; used to refer to administrative units of the *Ultramar* apportioned to the supervision of a captain.

**Comarca** – Locality.

**Condestable** – Constable.

**Consejo** – Council (of state).

**Conversos** – Converted Jews – the term is associated with Spanish converts to Christianity, especially in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

**Conselho Ultramarino** – Arm of Portuguese government charged with supervising affairs in Portuguese overseas possession in this period.

**Convivencia** – The period of life in the Iberian peninsula when the faiths of Christianity, Islam and Judaism co-existed – the phrase is generally taken to refer to those territories under Christian control.

**Corregedor** – Local governor.

**Cristãos Novos** – The Portuguese term for Jews who had converted to Christianity (in Spanish: *crístianos nuevos*).

**Cristãos Velhos** – The Portuguese term for Christians who had no Jewish or Moorish ancestry (in Spanish: *crístianos viejos*).

**Cruzados** – Portuguese currency – a gold coin.

**El Sabio** – “The wise” – epithet accorded to King Alfonso X of Spain.

**Encomienda** – Parcel of land given to colonists in the New World under Spanish administration.

**Escrivão** – Scribe or registrar.

**Escrivão do Almojarifado** – Registrar of the royal exchequer.

**Escrivão da Correição** – Registrar of the local governor.

**Estado Novo** – Portuguese government under Antonio de Salazar.

**Feitor** – Factor.

**Fidalgos** – Nobles, often minor and in straitened circumstances.

**Fueros** – Local charters of rights in towns in Aragón and Castilla.

**Griot** – Praisesinger.

**Halakhic** – Meeting Jewish ritual law.

**Judiaria** – Jewry.

**Juula** – Diaspora of Mandinga traders in West Africa.

**Kriolu** – Creole language of Guiné.

**Lançados** – People of Portuguese origin living in Guiné in the 16th and 17th centuries. These people were also known as *tangomãos*.

**Letrados** – People with an administrative or legal training/formation.

**Limpeça de Sangue** – Purity of blood, i.e. absence of Jewish or Moorish antecedents (in Spanish: *limpieza de sangre*).

**Lusophone** – Portuguese-speaking.

**Manuelline** – The adjective referring to King Manoel I of Portugal (1495-1521).

**Maravedí** – Spanish coin, derived from Arabic; its value decline progressively from the medieval through to the early modern periods.

**Matzot** – Unleavened bread eaten by Jews at Passover.

**Meirinho Mor** – Chief bailiff.

**Mestiços** – People of mixed racial background.

**Mestiçagem**– The process of the mixing of races (in Spanish: *mestizaje*).

**Moradores** – Residents – in this period used to signify residents with certain rights.

**Ouvidor** – Special Magistrate.

**Ouvidor Geral** – Chief Magistrate.

**PAIGC** – *Partido Africano Da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* – party formed by Amílcar Cabral to lead the independence movement against Portugal in the 1960s.

**Parecer** – Opinion, often legal.

**Pieza de Escravo** – Literally, a “piece of slave”; slaves were not accounted as individuals but against the benchmark of the *pieza*, which was equivalent to one able-bodied healthy male slave (in Portuguese: *peça de escravo*).

**Povo Miudo** – The masses – equivalent to ‘hoi polloi’.

**Procurador** – Prosecutor.

**Provedor** – Supplier, Purveyor.

**Provedor da Fazenda** – Supplier to Crown property.

**Rabi Mor** – Chief Rabbi of Portugal.

**Real/Reais** – Unit of currency in Portugal.

**Reconciled** – A term for a penitent of the Inquisition who has been punished in a variety of ways but readmitted to the Church.

**Reconquista** – Reconquest of Iberia from Moslem rule.

**Relajado** – Someone condemned by the Inquisition to be burnt or – if they repented and died as a Christian – garrotted by the secular authorities (in Portuguese: *relaxado*).

**Rendeiros** – Tax collectors.

**Responsa** – Written rabbinical opinions on matters of halakhic law.

**Rua Nova/Vila Nova** – Areas where converted Jews lived in Portuguese towns and cities.

**Sanbenito** – Penitential garment worn by penitents of the Inquisition.

**Sargento Maior** – Sergeant-Major.

**Siete Partidas** – Landmark legal code drawn up during the reign of Alfonso X “*el sabio*”.

**Taifas** – Islamic city-states which formed across Spain following the collapse of the Caliphate of Córdoba in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

**Ultramar** – Overseas Portuguese possessions.

**Urzela** – A type of lichen harvested in the early days of the Caboverdean colony.

**Vintena** – Tax owed to the Portuguese crown in the early years of the Caboverdean colony equivalent to 1/20 of takings.

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## Bibliographical Note

Most of the archival research for this thesis was undertaken in Portugal, where the bulk of the documentation regarding Cabo Verde's early history is located. The three Portuguese archives I concentrated in were the *Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo* (IAN/TT), the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (AHU) and the *Biblioteca da Ajuda* (BA); I also sought out references in the *Arquivo das Alfândegas de Lisboa* (AAL), the *Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre* (ADP) and the *Sociedade de Geografia* (SG).

The IAN/TT was the main focus. As the national archive of Portugal, this is where all the state papers regarding Cabo Verde are located (excluding the *Conselho Ultramarino*). It is also home to the archives of the Portuguese Inquisition, to the extraordinary *Corpo Cronológico* and to Jesuit correspondence from much of the *Ultramar*.

Inquisition documents were of pre-eminent importance. Guided by Farinha<sup>1</sup>, I was able to narrow down the area of research. I focussed mostly on the archival material of the tribunal of Lisbon and the *Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício* (CGSO). Lisbon, as the tribunal responsible for offences against the faith in the *Ultramar*, was the sensible place to read for references to Cabo Verde, and I concentrated especially on the books of *denúncias* for the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the *cadernos do promotor* of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is in these books that individual denunciations and minor trials are detailed, and this seemed the most sensible place to look; I

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<sup>1</sup> Maria do Carmo Jasmins Dias Farinha (1990).

was not disappointed<sup>2</sup>. I also consulted the accounts of inquisitorial visits to Brasil and the islands of Madeira and the Azores.

As far as the CGSO was concerned, I looked in the files of correspondence and the lists of the *Autos da Fé*. Here again, there were a surprising number of useful references, in particular relating to financial motivations for the lack of an official inquisitorial presence in Cabo Verde. I also consulted some documentation from Évora and Goa, the computerized index of the inquisitorial trials, and the written name-index of trials from the Évora tribunal.

With regard to the other corpuses of material in the IAN/TT, I was guided by the exhaustive – and, truth be told, exhausting – handwritten indexes. Knowing that other documentary material would be easier to find from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, I concentrated especially on the *Chancelaria* of João III, for which, conducting an exhaustive search of all the public offices in the books of *doações*, I tracked down many references to Cabo Verde. Similarly, holding my sanity in high esteem, and needing also to prioritise time given the many other archives in which I also needed to work, I decided to read the indexes of the *Corpo Cronológico* until 1550 only.

Turning to the other Portuguese archives, strategies for reading were simpler. In the AHU – the repository of the correspondence of the *Conselho Ultramarino* - documentation for Cabo Verde and Guiné does not exist before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. There are 8 *caixas* of documents<sup>3</sup> for Cabo Verde between 1602 and 1672, and 2 *caixas* covering Guiné up to the same date. In the

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<sup>2</sup> I was further guided in this direction by my readings of António Borges Coelho (1987), Luiz de Bivar Guerra (1972) and Elvira Cunha de Azevedo Mea (1997), whose extraordinarily detailed analyses of the tribunals of Évora and Coimbra do not add greatly to the Caboverdean perspective, implying that documents – should they exist – would be found in the Lisbon tribunal's archive.

<sup>3</sup> A *caixa* can have anything from around 50 to around 90 documents.

BA there is a competent index listing all the *códices* relating to Cabo Verde and Guiné, all of which I consulted.

The research in the archives of Portugal provided an abundance of information on Cabo Verde. It would have been possible to expand this research through the many branches of the IAN/TT, making a more exhaustive search of the inquisitorial trials or looking in more detail at later periods of the *Corpo Cronológico*, at other *Chancelarias*, or at the *Cartórios Notariais*. Yet to concentrate exclusively in the archives of Portugal would have been to give a lopsided approach to this question and instead I sought out documentation from other sources.

I spent some weeks in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (AHN) in Madrid, where the major body of the documentation for the tribunals of Cartagena and Lima is kept. The catalogue of the AHN is computerised and excellently organized. Here I concentrated on reading the *relaciones de causas*, and the trials of all the major Judaisers for the period of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, together with the documentation relating to *confiscaciones de bienes*. This provided more information than I ever imagined possible, and often corroborated and elucidated things from the archives of Portugal.

In order to fill out the American findings, and to increase my understanding of these international connections, I made a subsequent visit to the *Archivo General de las Indias* (AGI) in Seville, where again the excellent indexing system facilitated the task. This visit was made towards the end of the research period, and in order to get the most from it, I decided to concentrate on searching for details on the individuals whom I had been tracking previously through the archives of Lisbon and Madrid. During this visit to Spain I also went to the *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS) to follow up information on Jews from Amsterdam and Antwerp with connections in Cabo Verde.



Adding to the research in Spain, a reading of the work of Gray and Chambers<sup>4</sup> provided an additional reference to cases of Judaizing on the archipelago of Cabo Verde as late as 1672, and this led to a brief visit to the *Archivo Segretto delle Vaticano* (ASV). In the manuscripts department of the British Library (BL), I found a few documents relating to Cabo Verde, a few of which made specific reference to any Jewish presence; the Lucien Wolf collection at the Mocatta Library in the University College of London Special Collections provided more references to relevant individuals from Amsterdam and Antwerp.

This array of sources, while extensive, tended to deal with the Jewish presence from anything other than an external perspective. In order to redress this balance, I paid a visit to the *Gemeentearchief* of Amsterdam (GAA), where the records of the old Sephardic community of that city are kept. Owing to its heavy involvement with the establishment of the Jewish community in Dutch Brazil<sup>5</sup>, the Amsterdam Sephardic community seemed an obvious place to search out information about the international networks whose identities I had been constructing elsewhere. Using Coen's invaluable abstracts of the notarial records relating to Amsterdam's Sephardic community in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>, I quickly found evidence that the GAA would be of use; Coen's abstracts, when combined with Pieterse's inventory of the holdings of the Sephardic community<sup>7</sup>, enabled swift progress, and filled out a picture of Jewish involvement in Cabo Verde which went right to the top of the Amsterdam community.

This summary of research methods would be incomplete without an account of my research visit to Cabo Verde. While the indexed documentary holdings of the *Arquivo Histórico*

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<sup>4</sup> Richard Gray and David Chambers (1965), 23.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Arnold Wiznitzer (1954), (1955) and (1960); Herbert Bloom (1971).

<sup>6</sup> E.M. Koen (1969-1997).

<sup>7</sup> W. Chr. Pieterse (1961).

*Nacional* in Praia (AHNCV) are not fecund for this period, it seemed absurd to embark on a study of a place without making a research visit. In addition to broadening my grasp of Caboverdean historiography in the AHNCV's library, I made visits to the remains of Ribeira Grande, and the islands of Fogo and Brava, adding to the cultural knowledge which I had already attained of the Guinea Coast<sup>8</sup> - knowledge essential to the overall tone of this study.

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<sup>8</sup> See Toby Green (2001). It should be stressed that Fogo was, after Santiago, the first island of the archipelago to have a settled population.

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