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CROSSING RELIGIOUS BORDERS

Jews and Cabo Verdeans[1]

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ABSTRACT: Reclaiming the submerged yet deeply embedded Jewish component of their islands' past, many contemporary Cabo Verdeans are now researching their families' Jewish history and contacting peers with similar backgrounds. This ethnography of Cabo Verdeans with Jewish ancestry examines a range of contemporary activities in which many Cabo Verdeans on and off the islands engage (from blogs and DNA tests to full-scale conversion to Orthodox practice), to trace—and sometimes reactivate—that religious heritage. For anglophone scholars of Africa, putting lusophone studies on the research map opens up exciting new directions—including following diasporic Sephardic routes across Africa in their past and contemporary instantiations.

RESUMO: Recuperar o componente judeu submerso mas ainda profundamente enraizado do passado de suas ilhas, muitos cabo-verdianos contemporâneos estão agora a investigar a história judaica das suas famílias e estão a entrar em contato com seus pares com origens semelhantes. Esta etnografia de Cabo Verde com ascendência judaica examina uma série de atividades contemporâneas em que muitos cabo-verdianos (e nas ilhas, e fora das ilhas) agora estão envolvidos (a partir de blogs e de testes de DNA, para conversão em grande escala para a prática ortodoxa), para traçar e, por vezes, reativar esta herança religiosa. Para os estudiosos anglófonos da África, colocando os estudos lusófonos no mapa da pesquisa abre muitas novas direções—incluindo a seguir as rotas sefarditas diaspóricas em toda a África em seu passado e nas suas instantiações contemporâneas.

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Introduction

With some notable exceptions, the anglophone world of Africanists has, understandably, focused attention on understanding the past and present circumstances of anglophone Africa. If the francophone regions of Africa have received rather less attention by anglophone scholars, this gap characterizes the case of the lusophone regions even more.[2] Beyond the obvious linguistic factor, the reasons for the relative emphasis of one region over another among a particular group of scholars merit exploring by the historiographer. In this piece, starting from the *fact* of differential attention, I attend to the *implications* of that scholarly trend.

At the most obvious level, studying one region over another means attending to whatever social, economic, political, and religious themes dominate the history and current moment of that region. In the case of Africa, I suggest that an anglophone focus has produced inattention to one theme that intriguingly, if quasi-clandestinely, characterizes significant swaths of Portuguese-speaking Africa: the presence of significant numbers of Jews in the historical record. For a cultural anthropologist, that history suggests a compelling question: In what ways might this partially concealed yet increasingly documented history shape the perspectives, beliefs, and experiences of those living today under the sway of that past?

The broad shift in intellectual agenda implied by a shift in regional emphasis holds many implications. In this article, I follow the path offered by one such implication for one corner of the former Portuguese empire in Africa. Buttressed by recent, pathbreaking work by historians uncontestably documenting the presence of Jews across Cabo Verde's history, we may now inquire into the consequences of that history for the lived experiences of Cabo Verdeans today. As I am not a historian, this is not a work *of* history. However, it *is* a work *about* history. For I am working with a group of people who themselves are rethinking their own insertion into particular historical streams. As an ethnographer, I attend to that process of reimagining history from the standpoint of individuals located in specific spatiotemporal locations governed by structures of power, levels of access to technology and education, accidents of residence and neighborhood, and the current moment in geopolitical systems, as reported in mass media. For these and other reasons that I explore in the final section of this essay, many Cabo Verdeans are now curious to chart and reclaim the submerged Jewish component of their island's identity—seeking out both their Jewish family history and their peers with Jewish ancestry.

Although my focus is the present, it will be helpful to first survey very briefly the historical circumstances that undergird contemporary

experiences. Put simply: How did Jews come to the remote islands of Cabo Verde?

An Historical Glimpse of Jewish Cabo Verde

From their outpost in the North Atlantic some 380 miles off the coast of Senegal, the inhabitants of Cabo Verde's strategically located islands have looked beyond their shores ever since the uninhabited archipelago's (re)discovery by European mariners in 1456/60/62.[3] Over the past ca. 550 years, the Cabo Verdean diaspora has intersected with other diasporas across Africa, Europe, North America, South America, and South Asia. This early and continuing itinerant history, while well studied in broad strokes, contains one theme just beginning to be explored by scholars: its Jewish connections. Historians Tobias Green, Peter Mark, and José da Silva Horta are among the important scholars who are significantly expanding our understanding of the history of the island nation of Cabo Verde.[4]

The back-to-back, legal expulsions of all Jews from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496), unless they "chose" to convert to Catholicism, impelled hundreds of thousands of Jews to flee the Iberian peninsula in all directions.[5] As the brutal machinery of the Inquisition expanded its hold over Spain and Portugal, many Jews who had hoped to remain undercover, practicing their religion in secrecy (as "crypto-Jews"), lost hope for survival in their homeland and emigrated in large numbers, into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[6] Amsterdam and Istanbul became especially welcoming metropolises, while many other spaces around the Mediterranean, and across the Atlantic to the Americas, also attracted Jews in significant numbers.[7] Much less well known is that some especially adventurous Jews found themselves drawn to the newly (re-)discovered Atlantic islands of Cabo Verde.

However, the legal machinery of the Portuguese Inquisition cast a long shadow. Although no actual Inquisition courts became established on Cabo Verde, as they did elsewhere outside the colonial metropole (for example, in Mexico, Peru, and Goa), the islands drew spies sent from Lisbon to find overtly practicing Jews, "crypto-Jews," and Jews who had claimed to convert to Catholicism but who the Inquisition suspected had remained secretly Jewish ("New Christians"). In outlawing any religion other than Catholicism, Portugal thus exported its increasingly virulent anti-Semitism to Cape Verde. Some individuals on the islands were arrested by spies and sent back to Lisbon, to be tried in the Inquisition's courts; others must surely have been terrorized enough by this threat at least to conceal, if not

to cease, their Jewish practices. In short, what had appeared a space of safety in which they might follow their banned religion quickly revealed itself as yet another space of danger for practicing Jews. For this and other reasons, within a few generations, the descendants of these Jews became incorporated into the dominant Catholic ethos of the islands.[8]

In the early nineteenth century, another group of practicing Jews started emigrating to Cabo Verde, this time from Morocco (in some cases, via Gibraltar), where economic and political disturbances were taking the form of scapegoating Jews for internal structural problems.[9] This new "wave" of emigrants continued through the end of that century and into the early years of the next one. Some of these Moroccan Jews probably chose Cabo Verde as their destination at least in part from knowing that Spanish and Portuguese Jews had emigrated there in earlier eras; perhaps some suspected the existence of, or even knew of, distantly related family members on the islands.

No direct threat of punishment or death existed for this later group of Jewish immigrants because Portugal had abolished the Inquisition as a legal institution in 1821. Nevertheless, following the previous example of their co-religionists, within a couple of generations (which included intermarriage between, especially, Jewish, immigrant men and Catholic, Cape Verdean women), most of this group's obvious Jewish practices became absorbed into the dominant Catholic society. Thus, despite the large number of Jews who arrived on the island in several phases and across multiple centuries, leaving tangible traces in the form of cemeteries, gravestones, and place names, the islands today house no rabbis, no synagogues, and in effect no Jewish community that calls itself such.

In short, the Inquisition cast a long and obvious shadow whose effects were immediately palpable to all inhabitants of the island—and remain visible to contemporary scholars. Nevertheless, the flip side of this equation merits exploring. Despite its suppression, did Judaism contribute to shaping Cabo Verdean society in ways that might still be evident today?

Contemporary Glimpses of Jewish Cabo Verde

> Well, all the Jews in Cabo Verde have died. But many, many Jews came to the islands and married Cape Verdeans, and had children with Cape Verdeans. So although they've all died, they mixed with us, and they are part of us.
>
> —Germano Almeida[10]

In recent years, a striking number of Cabo Verdeans have begun to explore the Jewish heritage of their nation, their families, or both, seeking out

their Jewish family history (for intellectual discovery) and their peers with similar backgrounds (for socioreligious engagement). This group includes individuals currently living on the islands, as well as those in diasporic communities across Europe and the U.S. How is this largely unknown yet historically significant dual diaspora now being re-evaluated among contemporary Cabo Verdeans (both on and off the islands) who have Jewish ancestry?

Since 2006, I have been researching this dispersed yet increasingly connected group as they actively seek both information and one another, to explore—and, in different ways, incorporate—the Jewish component of their identity. This article is based on ethnographic research conducted in Cabo Verde (especially the islands of Santiago and São Vicente), and among Cabo Verdean diasporic communities in Portugal (especially the greater Lisbon area), France (especially Paris), the Netherlands (especially Rotterdam), and the U.S. (especially Rhode Island and Massachusetts).[11] The research has focused on a range of individuals, including those who know that they have Jewish ancestry; those who suspect that they have Jewish ancestry and are actively pursuing the question; and those who have no known Jewish ancestry but find themselves intrigued by the fact that other Cabo Verdeans have such family histories. Keeping in mind the diversity of knowledge about, and engagement with, their family's and their nation's Jewish history, in the remainder of this article I explore a selection of contemporary activities in which Cabo Verdeans are now engaging, to reassess the frequently overlooked Jewish underside to both family histories and national identity.

Unconscious Jewish Engagements

Q: "Do you eat pork?"
A: "No, it doesn't taste good to me."
A: "I try to stay away from pork—I'm not a big pork person."
A: "No, it gives me a stomach ache."
A: "I tried abstaining from pork for a year-and-a-half but then found the call of bacon a bit too tempting. Turkey bacon isn't as tasty. But that's the only pork I eat—I don't eat any other pork."
A: "The real *cachupa* [the quintessential Cape Verdean stew that often includes chunks of pork, in which case it is classified as *rica*—"rich"] doesn't contain pork! . . . [I]t's the Portuguese who introduced pork into *cachupa* and brought pigs to the islands. Otherwise, the islands wouldn't have pigs, just fish. The best *cachupa* I ever had was always with fish! That's how my grandmother made it, with fresh tuna caught from the sea and cut up in little pieces. . . . That's how I make it here [in

the Cabo Verdean restaurant in which he is a chef], with different types of fish—tuna, mahi-mahi . . . "

In the statements quoted above, each response to the question I posed—"Do you eat pork?"—evokes a particular rationale that implies an individual decision. Yet collectively, they suggest a different biography.

Cape Verdean cuisine combines Portuguese and West African culinary traditions, relying on foods introduced early on from both regions—including the Portuguese practice of raising domestic pigs. Indeed, in small villages across rural Portugal, an annual pig-killing event, called the *matança*, traditionally served as an important signpost organizing the yearly ritual calendar.[12] Mainstream Portuguese cuisine continues to revolve heavily around pork. Nowadays, pork appears in so many Portuguese dishes (sometimes furtively), from soups to desserts, that observant Jews or Muslims find it difficult to avoid the item in restaurants, even when they ask waiters for a list of ingredients.[13] The fact that so many Cape Verdeans I have spoken with either avoid pork entirely, or eat it only occasionally, suggests that earlier generations of Jewish family tradition contribute, perhaps unknowingly, to what appears to be a personal choice.

This case of daily habitus shaped by (seemingly) abandoned religious traditions is not unique among Cabo Verdeans. In my research, I have observed many quotidian and ritual activities that strikingly resemble Jewish practices—while not always acknowledged as such by those who practice them. These include rituals at both ends of the life cycle. For example, some Cape Verdeans have described to me their family's custom of putting an anklet or waistband sporting a six-pointed "Jewish star" or "star of David" around the foot or waist of a newborn, without recognizing the Jewish association of this star shape.

The other end of the life cycle also reveals Jewish ritual practices in many Cape Verdean households—again, often unrecognized as such. For example, the *nodjadu* funeral ritual common in Cabo Verde bears many similarities to the common Jewish funeral custom of "sitting *shiva*."[14] Davida, a Cape Verdean woman born on the island of Santa Antão but now living in Rotterdam, recalled her family's mourning customs from her childhood:[15] "When someone died, for seven days, people came to your house, and after one year, they all came together again."[16] Until recently, Davida was unaware that her family's funeral schedule replicated the classic Jewish mourning calendar. Yet somehow, for reasons she could not explain, as a child she resisted practicing Catholic ritual:

AG: Were you raised as a practicing Catholic?
Davida: Yeah, yeah.

AG: You were baptized in the church?
Davida: I'm baptized, yes, yes. Only I didn't want to do the Communion, I didn't want to do that. . . . It didn't feel right for me. As a child!

Only recently did Davida confirm—by accident—the Jewish identity of her ancestors. She had previously known that some common Cape Verdean surnames often indicate Jewish origins, but she had not definitively made the association to some of those same names in her own family. On a hiking trip in the north of Portugal this past year, she visited a synagogue that displayed rich information about the nation's Jewish heritage. One exhibit included a list of common surnames found among many Portuguese Jews and their descendants. Included in this long list was the surname of her maternal grandfather, Coelho, who she knew to have worked as a Catholic priest. She had previously heard that the name, "Coelho," had Jewish associations but had somehow never made sense of that seemingly non-rational fact concerning her grandfather, the priest. On her return to Rotterdam, in amazement and confusion, she confronted her mother.

Davida recounted to me, "I told her about the Jewish museum, and I said, '[The exhibit had a list of] Cape Verdean names, [and] they all were Jewish names.' And then she told me that her father told her as a child that they were from Jewish blood . . . but [that] she wasn't allowed to talk about it."

I asked, "Do you remember your reaction when you heard this?"

"Well, I thought, *Couldn't you have told me earlier?* Because I'm sure that I mentioned [to my mother] sometimes [something] about the name, 'Coelho' [being a Jewish name]! And since I knew it was a Jewish name, I had this [vague] idea that we must be Jewish, or something. But that's since 2000-something [that I'd heard this about my grandfather's name being Jewish]. She kept me waiting a long time!"

Another Cape Verdean woman had a very similar reaction. In recounting the moment when she verified her Jewish ancestry from her father, Carlota said,

> If you remember people lighting candles on Friday nights, that was one of those things where my father was, like, "Oh, yeah, I remember that!" [I thought], like, *You could have told me when I asked you the first time!*[17]

Jeanne, another Cape Verdean woman now living in Rhode Island, discovered unexpected affinities between her family's funeral practices and those of practicing Jews. One day, Jeanne described the kind of casket with which she grew up on the island of Santiago: "It's a simple, light wood, with no decorations at all. The only thing on the outside is simple handles for carrying the coffin."[18] Although this casket style resembles the common

Jewish predilection for using a simple pine box (or no casket at all), rather than the highly ornate coffins used by many Portuguese and Cape Verdean Catholic families, Jeanne was also unaware of the likely Jewish origins of her family's funeral practice.

Common family surnames imply a further ubiquitous component of Cape Verdeans' lives that have a probable Jewish source that remains largely unrecognized as such by those who bear the names. Abundant Sephardic oral history suggests that, following the late-15th century laws that expelled all Jews from Spain and Portugal, many of the classic Jewish surnames such as Cohen and Levi/Levy (=Alves) were supplanted by a set of names rooted in the natural world—both trees and animals—by Jews who opted to remain in Iberia and convert to Catholicism. In this way, re-naming to conceal previous Jewish identity became a potential means to survive (although the engine of the Inquisition continued to seek out such families for persecution for nearly three hundred years). Today, common surnames include tree/plant-derived names such as Carvalho (oak tree), Figueira (fig tree), Lima (lime tree), Lomba (hill), Pereira (pear tree), Pinheiro (pine tree), Oliveira (olive tree), Rosa (rose), and Silva (thicket, woods); and animal-derived names such as Cabral (goat), Coelho (rabbit), Leão (lion), Lobo (wolf), and Pinto (baby chicken).[19]

Given this history, many Cabo Verdeans bearing these surnames probably have ancestors who adopted the name soon after the Edicts of Expulsion were issued, to hide their Jewish identity and endeavor to remain safe in Spain or Portugal. Later, they would have fled Iberia because of continuing persecution by the Inquisition of "New Christians" holding such names. Given the remoteness of the historical era during which these events would have transpired, however, few living Cabo Verdeans who carry such names recognize the Jewish component in their genealogies.

* * *

An earlier generation of anthropologists might have called the ritual and naming practices just summarized, "retentions" or "survivals" (or, more specifically, "Africanisms"). Introduced by early Africanists such as W. E. B. DuBois, St. Clair Drake, and Melville Herskovits, the concept of "retentions" or "survivals" has especially been evoked in the context of African-derived linguistic, musical, artistic, and religious practices across the Americas.[20] While gaining ground in some circles, including the Black Power movement of the 1960s, the concept also attracted vigorous critique by anthropologists, for a variety of theoretical as well as historical/empirical reasons.[21] Nevertheless, some contemporary scholars continue to

draw on the concept, with the Internet expanding its reach further among bloggers and others.[22]

For our purposes, and keeping the multiple critiques of the concept in mind, the question merits asking: What (if any) is the significance of the practices outlined above, if their religious origins are unknown to contemporary generations who perpetuate them? In fact, if engagement with earlier Jewish practice exists only at the unconscious level for some Cabo Verdeans, others are in the process of developing awareness of those foundations. For insight into the meanings that these practices hold for these Cabo Verdeans, let us begin with a conversation during which an individual recognized for the first time the Jewish history of two personal practices.[23]

In Providence, Alessia had prepared a traditional afternoon snack of tea and *kuskus* for Teresa (a mutual Cape Verdean friend) and me.[24] As we enjoyed the tasty dish, Alessia explained how she had prepared it. The ingredients she listed included some Morton's kosher salt—which remained on the table at which we were seated. Alessia cast a glance at the characteristic dark blue cardboard box: it sported a large Jewish star on its front panel.

"That reminds me of the Jewish stars on some of my jewelry," Alessia said.

"Oh?" Teresa wasn't sure she'd heard correctly.

"I probably still have some jewelry with a Jewish star on it, left over from when I was a baby," Alessia assured us. "Let me see if I can find one."

In a few minutes, Alessia returned empty-handed from her bedroom. "I'm not sure where they are. But in my family, on the seventh day of a baby's life, we always put a belt around the baby's waist. It had a few charms on it—maybe three or four, or even five. One was always a Jewish star."[25]

"But what makes it a *Jewish* star?" Teresa asked.

"It has to be six-pointed," Alessia replied. "At least on São Vicente, we made a very clear distinction between a five-pointed star and a six-pointed star. We called the six-pointed one, *estrela de Judeu*—star of the Jew[s]."

"Wow, really?" Teresa shook her head in amazement. "In my family, we tied a six-pointed star onto a waistband for a baby, too. Or it might be a bracelet or an anklet for an older child, or even an adult. But I had no idea that it had anything to do with Judaism!"

Teresa added that she might still have what she now recognized as a "Jewish star" left over from one of her own childhood items of jewelry. Moreover, this childhood gift was not the end of the line: Teresa had also given what she now knew to be a "Jewish star" to both her own son (now 19) and daughter (now 23) when they were babies. In fact, she thought her daughter was still wearing the bracelet chain that she received as a baby, although minus the "Jewish star" and other charms dangling from it. Teresa

thought she might locate the "Jewish star" somewhere in the house of her parents (who had emigrated to Rhode Island some decades back).

Alessia added that, back in Cape Verde, the six-pointed "Jewish star" always appeared around Christmas time in her family's home. Either it hung on the wall inside the door, or (intriguingly) it dangled from their Christmas tree, or both. Teresa expressed further amazement: her family had the same practice as well. Moreover, Teresa claimed that many Cape Verdeans all over the archipelago hung a six-pointed star somewhere in their home during the Christmas season. Once again, she had no idea of this custom's Jewish origins.

I asked Teresa if she thought that most other Cape Verdeans know that the six-pointed star represents Judaism. Teresa asserted, "No, I don't think so—I certainly didn't!"

Alessia interrupted. "Yes, absolutely, I certainly did know!"

A highly educated woman (bearing three advanced degrees, including one from Portugal), Teresa found herself compelled to reflect on this revelation of an intimate family practice whose origins were, until now, entirely unknown to her. She speculated aloud with us how this ignorance could have been perpetuated. At least at the level of her immediate experience, she thought it had to do with the power dynamics of her parents' marriage. Her father, Teresa explained, was not a religious man. In fact, he often disparaged religious traditions and might even be an atheist. By contrast, her mother was inclined to a more religious perspective, and Teresa said that she and her siblings often found themselves caught between their father's secular orientation and their mother's religiosity. But her father was the dominant partner in the marriage, with her mother mostly remaining quite submissive. As a result, her mother rarely insisted on religious customs being practiced much in the family—and when she did, she never explained them, to avoid irritating her husband. Teresa and her siblings therefore grew up with scanty training in religion, and Teresa thought this lack explained her ignorance of the Jewish origins of her own six-pointed star charm.

By contrast, Alessia appeared proud of her knowledge of the Jewish origins of the six-pointed star, and she saw this knowledge as part and parcel of a generally cosmopolitan outlook. She attributed this orientation to having grown up on the Cape Verdean island of São Vicente, whose port city of Mindelo attracted people from around the world—including many Jews.[26] For her part, Teresa left the conversation avowing interest in these new revelations about her family's suddenly-complicated history.

Such personal revelations have occurred during many conversations I have had with Cape Verdeans. Each story contains its biographical particularities, yet all interlocutors share some sense of amazement at the moment

of discovery. Once Jewish ancestry emerges as likely or even certain, what do Cape Verdeans do with the knowledge? For people such as Teresa, the answer to that question must unfold slowly across future days and months of reflection. While some Cape Verdeans do not alter their daily lives, for others, a range of behavioral changes may result—from *contemplating* particular Jewish practices, to *trying out* some Jewish practices, to *adopting* some practices.

* * *

If people such as Teresa and Davida are in the early stages of discovering—or verifying—their Jewish ancestry, others have made the decision to engage actively with that religious heritage at one level or another. Some of these Cabo Verdeans (as with Alessia) grew up knowing of their Jewish ancestry, while others (as with Teresa and Davida) have only recently become aware of this component of their identity. In the section below, we sample the experiences of both groups.

Conscious Jewish Engagements

> I just remembered something. My mother had a torn picture . . . of her grandmother . . . when I was a teenager. It was interesting because I was just learning about the Star of David from my friends, and I remembered this picture that was torn of my grandmother . . . she was holding somebody's shoulder or something like that. But she had a Star of David on . . . she had that very broad face . . . But what I remember is, she had the Star of David on. And my mother said, 'Yeah, my father's family was Jewish.' And I completely forgot about that [photo] until now.
>
> —Eva[27]

> My mom says she wants to have a *sheeva*, or a *shiva*—am I saying that right? She said that's, like, one of the only Jewish customs she will follow. She loves that.
>
> —Leila[28]

The two women quoted in the above epigraphs were both born in the U.S. to (respectively) one or both parents of Cape Verdean ancestry. Both grew up in households that effectively considered themselves Catholic, but they also had awareness of Jewish ancestors. Neither has (yet) incorporated much Jewish practice into her life. But Leila, the younger of the two, exhibited an active curiosity. During our conversations, she pressed me to

confirm the Jewish origin of some practices she had already tentatively identified as Jewish. Still in high school, she evinced interest in undergoing a formal conversion to Judaism (regardless of the fact that her Jewish ancestry stemmed from her mother's side):[29]

> [A]fter discovering that I was of Jewish ancestry, I really would like to convert to the religion. Because I feel like there's [a] religion for everybody, and Catholicism just isn't mine. Like, I don't—it's like, I've been in Catholic school my whole life, but when I read the Bible, the only one [book] that interests me is the Old Testament. The New Testament, I find, is a little dressed up and ornate. And [in] Mass—I just don't feel connected with God. But I always felt really intrigued reading the Old Testament and doing the Passover thing [she had attended two community Seders by this point]. So, I kind of feel like a lot of Cape Verdeans are starting to realize that.[30]

Eva and Leila exemplify two distinct reactions to knowing about their Jewish ancestry, ranging from decades of indifference (on Eva's part) to active curiosity to pursue further knowledge and practice (on Leila's part). A third option also exists. If the discovery of Jewish ancestry for some Cape Verdeans does not produce new *spiritual* habits or realignments, for some people it may be accompanied by the awareness that some life habits derive from similar habits passed down across generations of Jewish families. Even when religious practice was long ago extirpated (whether by the Inquisition in Portugal or Cape Verde, or by more recent efforts to squelch Judaism), this group of Cape Verdeans insists on identifying continuities with daily secular practices taught by grandparents to parents to children.

Marco, a businessman I met in Cape Verde's capital city of Praia, showed up fifteen minutes early to pick me up. Apologizing, he explained that his father—himself, a successful businessman descended from a long line of successful businessmen—had always taught him that being on time is a precious habit guaranteeing success in the business world. Without prompting, Marco began our conversation by chuckling, "That's how I know I'm Jewish. My father taught me that Jews are always on time."[31]

Many other Cape Verdeans insisted to me that they acquired a lifelong love of learning in general, and reading in particular, from relatives descended from Jews. I collected dozens of stories of adults who made difficult, life-changing decisions organized around giving their children the advantages of an American education: women who sent their children to live in the U.S. and be raised by grandparents, and other women who themselves emigrated, lacking English and good job prospects—all so that their children might attend U.S. schools. These women enrolled in English

language classes as soon as they could—at once, to improve their own life chances, to serve as role models to their children, and to help their children strengthen their English skills. In many cases, these individuals explicitly connected their extraordinary motivation to pursue an education—both for themselves and for their children—with the Jewish value of learning that they claim they inherited from their own families. Although racism as both an attitude and a structure of power constricts the options of many Cape Verdeans in the US, the number of Cape Verdeans who have overcome the extraordinary obstacles in their path, for the sake of educating their children, is notable.[32]

In short, as historian Tobias Green has written, "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."[33] He specifies that this idea contributed to the texture of society on the archipelago:

> [B]y the 17th century the *cristãos novos* ["New Christians"] were the predominant European social group in Cabo Verde and Guiné . . . 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.[34]

This "doubleness of identity"—famously identified by W. E. B. DuBois and later developed by Paul Gilroy to characterize the world views of African-derived peoples following from the trans-Atlantic slave trade—has a different but related resonance for Jews.[35] Referring to the Jewish photographer Frederic Brenner, Cohen writes:

> the Diaspora as well is a calling for the Jewish people, says Brenner [who writes:]
>
> > ". . . *Lech lechah*—Go forth. Leave your land, your kindred and the house of your father, and go to the place that I will show you. But the place is never named. It's as if it belonged to each of us to name it. And from this point of view, I never saw the Diaspora as a curse but truly as a blessing, as a vocation . . . I believe that what Jews have in common is the experience of dispossession, dispersal, whether chosen or forced."
>
> This dispersion is not a passive experience. It is an active encounter that benefits humanity. Spread out among the nations, Jews have absorbed knowledge and culture from their hosts while enriching them with their own values and traditions. Brenner says, "It appears to me that the Diaspora is this incredible metaphor [of] how we have been fertilized and how we are fertilizing in return."[36]

* * *

Beyond secular values and practices, many Cape Verdeans with Jewish ancestry such as Leila are now slowly, tentatively making their way to some Jewish religious practices. For those living in New England, this process may start by attending a Seder held in Boston (Gottlieb 2012). At this Seder, which attracts about 100 Cape Verdeans and 100 American Jews every year, many Cape Verdeans encounter Jewish ritual—and in some cases, American Jews—for the first time. The seating plan intentionally joins members of both groups at each table, promoting conversations that often produce curiosity about possible Jewish ancestry on the part of the Cape Verdeans. On leaving, some feel inspired to pursue this curiosity, which may take them in multiple directions.

Another influential event was a ritual rededication of a Jewish cemetery held in Praia, the capital city of Cape Verde, in June 2013. With support from the mayor's office as well as an international NGO formed for the purpose, the event attracted a small but passionate number of Cape Verdeans from around the islands, and around the world. International publicity spread news of the event much further, both in print and online. Out of the ritual came a new, local NGO formed by Cape Verdeans eager to further preserve and publicize Jewish heritage on the islands.[37]

From encounters with either or both of these events, or other Jewish contexts, some Cape Verdeans with Jewish ancestry are trying out strands of Jewish practice in their life. Some men don the ritual skullcaps known in Hebrew as *kippahs* (and in Yiddish as *yahrmulkes*) at appropriate times; some try out ways to observe the Sabbath; some begin wearing a Jewish star, or displaying a menorah on their mantelpiece; some begin reading books about Jewish history and display the books on their coffee tables; some begin Facebooking or blogging about this newfound knowledge and practice, to try out their new identity in a more public setting. One couple recently traveled from Rhode Island to Israel to visit their daughter—a nun recently posted by the Vatican to Jerusalem—and returned with a newfound passion for all things Jewish, support for the Jewish state of Israel, and a heap of books to feed their growing curiosity about Judaism.

A small but increasing number of Cape Verdeans is becoming more comprehensively committed by formally joining a synagogue and considering themselves fully practicing Jews. Abrão, a Cape Verdean-American born in Providence, married a Russian-American woman of Jewish background and underwent full conversions to all levels of US Judaism (Reform/Conservative/Orthodox) before discovering that he actually had Jewish ancestry from both paternal grandparents. Despite being unaware of this

ancestry as a child, he had never felt comfortable with the Catholic Church in which he was raised, and as an adult, Judaism somehow felt right to him before he knew of his own family connection.[38]

Rosa, born on the Cape Verdean island of Santa Antão but now living in Rotterdam, told me a similar narrative rooted in mystical connections. She somehow "knows" she has Jewish ancestry—even though, to date, she has been unable to verify this "knowledge" through conventional means such as oral history, archival records, or genetic tests. But a mystical sense of Jewish identity pervades her spiritual life. Nevertheless, having been raised as a Catholic, she also retains reverence for Jesus Christ. With this mixed background, she has found herself drawn to an informal "Jews for Jesus" group, and she visits Israel twice a year, where she is affiliated with such a group. Indeed, she has recently decided to emigrate from the Netherlands to Israel ("make *aliyah*") through the state's "right of return," which grants citizenship to those with proven Jewish ancestry in the maternal line. To that end, Rosa has recently gone on a fact-finding trip to Cape Verde in search of definitive proof of Jewish ancestry in her mother's line.[39]

* * *

As Cabo Verdeans reassess what they thought they knew of their identity, they sometimes find themselves hard-pressed to categorize themselves using accepted religious labels. Some seek new labels that acknowledge a hybrid religion, so as to include both the Catholic and Jewish components of their religious heritage. Thus, some Cape Verdeans now call themselves "Catholic Jews;" reciprocally, others refer to themselves as "Jewish Catholics." Even more intriguingly, one Cape Verdean has coined the term, "Ca-Ju/Cashew," as a neologism uniquely suited to expressing her mixed religious heritage. Anna Lima Delgado has written a blog post to introduce the term to the Cabo Verdean community:

> On my first trip to Cape Verde, I discovered the Cashew . . . which is pronounced "Caju" in Portuguese, to be a . . . a fruit AND a nut. All these years, I believed the cashew was only a nut—Who knew?!?!? It was during this same trip that I first realized my own Jewish ancestry—Who knew?!?!? All this time I believed my family was Catholic but, as I learned more of my ancestry, I realized that many of our traditions were, in fact, based in the Jewish faith.
>
> So, if you're born and raised in the Catholic Church but practiced Jewish traditions, are you Catholic or Jewish? This is a questions [sic] that many Cape Verdeans may begin asking themselves as we begin to seriously consider the impact of Jewish ancestry in Cape Verde. I jokingly referred to

> being a "CaJu" with a friend of mine, who also recently found out about his Jewish roots. Is it possible to be Catholic AND Jewish—basically, a "Ca-Ju"?
>
> . . . I am a descendant of two groups of very strong people who survived a history of indescribable horrors for merely being who they were. . . . Because of our ancestors, we all have the freedom to be and . . . to worship how we'd like. And I am free to be a Catholic or a Jew and even a "CaJu" if I please.[40]

One Cape Verdean mother has instructed her two children to write "Cashew" under "Other" when asked to name their religion on school and other forms.[41]

Why Now?

The above considerations raise the temporal question: Why all this interest in (re)discovering Jewish family roots *now*?[42] Given the complexities of our lives as humans at both biographical and sociological levels, a single answer could hardly do justice to this question. Instead, I propose eight factors that, together, illuminate the current moment of heightened interest in Cape Verdeans exploring their Jewish identities.

1. *Post World War II and Salazar Years.* Some Cabo Verdeans born in the 1930s–40s related to me that their parents either entirely concealed their Jewish identity to them during World War II, or trained them to do the same. Born in 1940 in São Vicente but living now in Lisbon, Carlos related to me:

> With Nazism, things became even more drastic, because people were afraid of being Jews . . . they were afraid of giving clues: "Look, So-and-so who's a Benrós is in such a place. So-and-so who's a Wahnon is in such a place." As soon as a person had a tie to a Jew, he was on a blacklist of the Nazis. This made the possibility of people [with Jewish ancestry] contacting each other regularly even harder. It was many years [living under this threat]. Nazism started in the '30s and lasted more or less until the mid-'40s. And this fact must have led to many things being forgotten, many traditions, and must have made many families become more or less separated from each other. It was many years, hard years [of fear of anti-Semitism].[43]

Eduardo, born in São Vicente in 1930 but living in Lisbon when we met, likewise said about his childhood during World War II: "We knew that it was dangerous [to reveal our Jewish ancestry]. Because if Hitler had invaded Africa and taken Cabo Verde, we knew that we were Jews. Everyone was afraid. My father was [afraid]."[44]

Even after World War II ended, many Cape Verdeans remained secretive about their Jewish origins (among other topics). Partly this was attributed

to the lasting effects of Hitler, but others also evoked the Portuguese dictator, Salazar, as motivating people to continue their caution. In Paris, I interviewed Paulo, a secretive man who explained his proclivity for secrecy by evoking a joke, which he related while laughing bitterly:

> There's a story that's told in Portugal. A man travels from Portugal to the US. He hasn't seen a dentist in years. In America, he finds himself a dentist right away. The dentist is astonished that the man has come all the way from Portugal just to go to the dentist.
>
> "But why didn't you go to a dentist in Portugal?" he asks.
>
> "In Portugal, we never open our mouths for anyone," he replies.
>
> That was how it was under Salazar. No one said anything about anything important. We didn't ask questions, and no one volunteered any information, either. My grandmother never said anything about her family.

I asked Paulo about his grandmother: "Do you think she has Jewish ancestors?" He replied:

> Yes, of course, she must have . . . there was a Jewish star and a menorah in the house! When I lived with her as a child, I had no idea what they were. I didn't even know what Jews were, I'd never even heard the word! Even when I got to Portugal, I had no idea about Jews, never heard of them. That was the last years of Salazar, and no one spoke of Jews.[45]

Paulo's poignant narrative chronicles the lengths to which Cabo Verdeans living under the Salazar dictatorship went to conceal their Jewish ancestry even from close relatives. Once Portugal's bloodless coup, dubbed the "Carnation Revolution," deposed Salazar in 1974, Portuguese rule in Africa ended the following year, and Cabo Verdeans slowly began feeling comfortable speaking of all manner of issues they had previously concealed—including Jewish origins. Finally, they judge that they have recovered from that most recent historical moment when their Jewish identity could put them at risk—as it had for many of their ancestors at other times and places in history.

2. *The Internet.* Cabo Verde boasts a relatively high level of literacy compared with much of the rest of West Africa—76% overall.[46] Island residents increasingly use their literacy skills to research family history. In the US and Europe, the children of Cabo Verdean immigrants and their descendants achieve the same, nearly universal rates of literacy as do other residents of these nations. With literacy comes access to the world of knowledge available through the Internet. As Cabo Verdeans' level of education increases and their research skills deepen, it becomes ever more possible to explore

the Jewish history of both their nation and their family. Their explorations take many forms, ranging from informal engagements across social media to sustained, quasi-professional research in archives.

The Internet offers innumerable resources (with variable levels of reliability and comprehensiveness) for researching one's family history. Many Cabo Verdeans are now creating online accounts with genealogically oriented websites such as Ancestry.com as well as on Mormon websites.[47] There, they input what they know of their family history and often discover many new components—including clues that lead them to discover Jewish ancestry and Jewish relatives.

Facebook offers an especially active space for mutual discovery. Some subgroups of Cabo Verdeans have formed their own Facebook pages. For example, as of this writing (March 2015), a "Cape Verdeans of Atlanta" group lists 1,547 members.[48] A typical post reads: "Hi everyone I am moving to Atlanta in a week. I am very excited there is a cv [sic] community and look forward to connecting with you all!" A typical response is: "Best wishes & their [sic] is a CV party on April 18th & kizomba class with it so come along!"[49]

Some of the islands have their own Web presence. For example, residents of the island of Brava publish an online newspaper, Brava News Network, with both Portuguese and English versions, and an affiliated Facebook page. In addition to publicizing activities on the island, the website and Facebook page also publish news of the Cape Verdean diaspora and attract comments by diasporic Cape Verdeans with roots in Brava.[50] FORCV.com, an online Cape Verdean newspaper servicing the Cape Verdean diaspora, likewise attracts an increasingly global readership. Beyond general networking, information about the islands' Jewish history is occasionally posted. For example, on January 30, 2014, one post included this caption to publicize the website of an NGO, the Cape Verde Jewish Heritage Project (see below): "A relatively unknown but significant part of Cape Verdean history!" Did the five "Likes" gathered by this post index previous—or new—awareness of the topic? In this case, no further information is available, but other sites indicate clearer biographies of post-ers.

Some Cabo Verdeans are maintaining their own blogs on which they are posting the process of discovering new information about their family histories, including Jewish origins. One well-known blogger has devoted years to indefatigably researching her family's history in ship manifests, government records (such as passport, military, and other legal documents), baptismal and death records, and other print sources.[51] Originally unaware of her Jewish ancestry, she discovered this component to her family's history accidentally, while seeking the baptismal record of her beloved great-grandmother.[52] Delgado is especially articulate about her motivations for

researching her ancestry: "The more you know about the truth the less inclined you are to . . . allow other people to take your identity away."[53] In fact, Delgado has become so proficient at tracing her own genealogy using every means available (including websites as well as brick-and-mortar archives, among other means) that she has presented public talks on her experience.[54] She is a prolific blogger, and many of her posts garner lively online comments and Facebook "shares" from Cape Verdeans. Of course, one "share" often generates dozens or even hundreds more. Some of this blogger's readers are following her example and delving into their own family history.

Another social media network connects those of the Wahnon family, whose Jewish roots date to 19th-century Morocco (especially the port city of Tétouan, which lies on the Mediterranean, just a few miles south of the Strait of Gibraltar). This family has been especially energetic in tracing their ancestry (Jewish and otherwise), to the point of independently publishing a 718-page book compiling genealogical and biographical information of relatives now scattered around the world.[55] A Facebook page for the book ("Wahnon Genealogy") counts 432 "friends" as of this writing.

3. *Diaspora.* Movement into and out of the islands has characterized Cape Verdean society ever since its inception. Eulálio told me:

> I'm from the island of Brava. So—an island of sailors . . . the men sailed [on whaling ships], and they left wives there. They emigrated—literally, to America. Most Brava people went to America. They didn't know any other place to go, as immigrants, but to America. . . . I have cousins who are fourth-generation there [in the US], maybe fifth, who were born already in America. They went to New England on those whaling ships. Because they were recruited on the island. And . . . after two years at sea, they were given the right to stay . . . In every Brava house, you'll find a picture of a ship, a painting of a ship, of a whale . . . from those who went back—the immigrants—who returned to Brava—in their houses. Sometimes you feel [on Brava] that you're living in America.[56]

Historian Correia e Silva has written that, paradoxically, "the diaspora unifies Cape Verdean culture . . . [moreover] the diaspora is a . . . source of dynamism and creativity."[57] That "dynamism and creativity" includes new contacts with peoples of diverse backgrounds, and all the learning that occurs in such encounters. In the U.S. context especially, migration puts many Cabo Verdeans into first-time contact with practicing Jews. In the U.S., most Cape Verdeans inhabit spaces along the northeastern seaboard, especially between Boston and Providence. Other significant Cape Verdean communities exist elsewhere along the East Coast, including in New York,

New Jersey, Georgia, North Carolina and Florida; and on the West Coast, especially in California. In most of these places, especially in the Northeast, significant communities of Jews also exist, and Cabo Verdeans are likely to encounter Jewish colleagues in their workplaces, their children's schools, and assorted community events. One Cape Verdean woman I met works in the kitchen of a Jewish student group ("Hillel") on a university campus. Another Cape Verdean, Ilda, recounted her contacts with U.S. Jews to me:

> Over the years, I've . . . always had someone who has Jewish ancestry [in my life], who's Jewish or whose parents were . . . a good friend of mine is from Israel, and I had a . . . college work-study student who worked with me for four years . . . who is now a news reporter in X, so he's also Jewish. And most recently, my boss that I had last year is Jewish. And I went to a Seder at his house . . . we've started celebrating a little bit of the Jewish events that we've attended.[58]

Sometimes such contacts prove consequential. João, a Cape Verdean businessman living in Florida who has now spent many years researching the Jewish history of the islands, told me, "The person who really got me interested in the Jewish side of my origins was a Jewish surgeon I met in Florida who was a customer of mine, and we became friends. The surgeon told me all about Jewish practices."[59] When I asked João if he'd ever been to a synagogue, he replied:

> No, but my youngest daughter has, because she was a double major in history and religion in college, and one professor of a religious studies course about Judaism once invited her to a temple to attend services as part of her studies. She found it interesting and mentioned it to me and said she would love to get me to a temple some time.[60]

As they become more aware of Jewish practices, some Cabo Verdeans are coming to realize that what they had considered to be eccentric practices unique to their families were actually Jewish practices. For example, many Cabo Verdeans have told me that they were always baffled by their families' tradition of lighting candles every Friday night until they came to the U.S. and discovered that this is a Jewish tradition in honor of the Sabbath. Carlota, who was born and raised in the US, recalled to me how her Cape Verde-born father had "always been talking about seeing his grandmother and great-grandmother . . . lighting candles . . . on Friday nights."[61] Only as an adult more aware of Jewish history did Carlota recognize the Jewish origin of this practice.

In some communities in the US, living and working among Jews can also mean encountering questions about names that are frequently

considered "Jewish names." Even in Portugal, which has a far smaller, visibly Jewish population (both in absolute numbers and in proportion), Cape Verdeans are becoming aware of Jews around them. This process of discovery is sometimes reciprocal. Carol Castiel, who founded the Cape Verde Jewish Heritage Foundation to restore degraded Jewish tombstones in Cape Verde, first had her interest sparked by meeting Cape Verdeans with names such as "Levy" and "Cohen." Sometimes this process of discovery is mediated. Joel Schwartz, a financial planner working with Cape Verdeans and other immigrants in Boston, first became aware of the Jewish ancestry of some of his Cape Verdean clients and, in his excitement, began telling other Cape Verdeans he knew about his discoveries. He recounted to me:

JS: One of the first people I talked to [after discovering Cape Verde's Jewish history] is a friend of mine who's Cape Verdean . . . Jorge. So I was talking to him, we were sitting in a restaurant, and I said, "Jorge, I just want to run something by you. You know a lot of stuff about Cape Verde, and I just discovered this thing," and I told him about it [Joel's newfound knowledge of the history of Jews in Cape Verde]. . . . He said, "I don't know anything about it, I've never heard about this. This is all news to me . . . You know, I don't think *my* family has any Jews in it, never heard of that. But I'm . . . going to Cape Verde in a few weeks, and I'm going to ask about this."

I said, "Great, check it out."

Well, he comes back, and I say, "So, Jorge, what'd you find out?"

He says, "You're not going to believe this. I was talking to my brother, and he's married to a woman whose name is Levy, and she has Jewish ancestors, can you believe it?"

AG: So he'd never realized that the name "Levy" was a Jewish name?

JS: No, and just didn't know that about—you know, it's like, you never asked. And then we were talking—oh, in my first conversation, I was telling him about this history . . . and I said, "And some of those Moroccan Jews have names that are markers. So if you find somebody with one of these names, they're most likely Jewish. So there's 'Benros,' there's 'Benoliel,' there's 'Levy,' there's 'Cohen.'"

He says, "'Cohen' is a Jewish name?! I have a friend over in Cape Verde whose name is 'Cohen.' I didn't know that he had Jewish ancestors. Who knew?"

In this case, a trans-Atlantically mediated conversation produced revelations. For his part, inspired by conversations with Cape Verdeans that produced amazement and pleasure at the discovery of shared histories,

Joel went on to found an annual Joint Cape Verde-Jewish Seder in Boston, enabling the process of mutual discovery among Cape Verdeans and American Jews to continue in a regular forum. As the Cape Verdean diaspora expands exponentially with the increased travel options available, these sorts of educational conversations between Cape Verdeans and Jews will undoubtedly increase as well.

4. *"Mixed."* In the contemporary U.S., the category of "mixed" has emerged in recent years as a legitimate racial descriptor. Where previous generations of Americans were compelled to choose more singularly delineated categories of "race," current citizens feel less compelled to privilege only one component of a complex ethnic heritage. The increasing acceptance of the more complex (and realistic) category of "mixed" at the level of "race" may implicitly encourage Cape Verdeans to feel comfortable with an equivalent notion at the level of religion. In fact, many Cape Verdeans view themselves as a historical palimpsest composed of multiple layers of globalized identities, including at the level of race. Ilda said:

> I don't know that you can define what it is, what it means to be a Cape Verdean. Because there's just not a simple definition. Like, one could be so many different things. I've heard that I have, like, you know, Spanish background and different types of things. I mean, my family, if you line all my family members across, you wouldn't be able to tell . . . they're all from the same bloodline, just by looking at us, because . . . we look so different. Some of us have . . . really light skin and very bright, clear eyes, and others are on the dark side, like I am. So you can't really tell [our "race" because of all the different skin] . . . tones, hair texture, hair color, it's a melting pot . . . And I think most Cape Verdeans have to say that about themselves, because we're . . . it's extremely diverse. Yeah.[62]

Flora emphasized ethnic rather than racial diversity in making the same point:

> Cape Verde was the first melting pot. Because the US came after, and there's a big difference between the melting pot in Cape Verde and here. In Cape Verde they fused into one. You don't find one person who would tell you he is an Italian-Cape Verdean, like here they say Italian-American, Greek-American, French-American . . . There's no such thing in Cape Verde. Everybody becomes Cape Verdean after one generation.[63]

Raimundo, born on the Cape Verdean island of Santa Antão but now living in Rhode Island, put this idea more succinctly: "I went to a conference . . . they asked me a definition of Cape Verde and I told them, the smallest country in the world and the biggest melting pot in the world."[64]

If these statements gloss over race and class issues that do plague Cape Verdean communities both on and off the islands, they nevertheless index a discursive emphasis that most Cape Vedeans would likely endorse. With the general orientation that most Cape Verdeans have toward diversity serving as a bedrock foundation to their sense of identity, the new categorical trend in the US towards recognizing a "mixed" racial heritage appears well suited to reinforce the parallel tendency to accommodate a "mixed" religious heritage.[65]

5. *Circulation of Information about Sephardic History in the Lusophone World.* Some Cape Verdeans are now becoming aware that a new interest in re-discovering Jewish identity is sweeping across much of the lusophone world. This trend is especially notable in Brazil.[66] More recently, many residents in Portugal—both on the mainland, and in the Azores—have begun to investigate their previously buried or unknown Jewish ancestry.[67] At the national level, this trend is being enforced by several government initiatives, including a public monument acknowledging a massacre of several thousand Jews in a central square in Lisbon in 1506, a new Jewish museum constructed in the oldest neighborhood of Lisbon (Alfama), and a recent government invitation to Sephardim from around the world to apply for Portuguese citizenship after up to a half-millenium of exile by the Edict of Expulsion and the ensuing Inquisition.[68] In that sense, one might say that Cabo Verdeans are joining in what is increasingly becoming a global trend toward confronting the implications of the Iberian Inquisition.

6. *DNA Technology.* Although no "Jewish gene" exists, modern genetic techniques offer increasingly sophisticated and refined means to pinpoint components of one's family history, due to statistical profiles of certain genetic markers. A small but growing group of Cabo Verdeans is now having their DNA tested to discover new components of their ancestry. The decision to take such a test rests on three factors: keen curiosity to learn more about their identity, including the acknowledgment that they may learn unexpected and even unwelcome information that unsettles what they thought they knew about their family; sufficient level of education and research skills to sort through different options and make an informed decision about which service to buy; and enough cash to pay for the service.

Until recently, the last two factors would have excluded all but the smallest level of the elite. However, rapid and dramatic advances in the technology now make reliable and affordable services available to all but the most impoverished. According to one biological anthropology colleague, the most reliable service costs only $100 for a comprehensive test.[69]

Once Jewish ancestry is either suggested or all but confirmed by genetic tests, the result may have different impacts. When Carlota received DNA tests revealing a significant proportion of likely Jewish ancestors, she felt motivated to have her teenage son tested, with similar results. The son—then, 14 years old—immediately expressed regret that he had passed the conventional age for a *bar mitzvah*.[70]

Another Cape Verdean-American woman, Barbara, is expanding her family network as a result of her DNA tests. She recounted:

> I decided to have my DNA done . . . you know, people were saying, "Oh, you should do the DNA! It's one thing to . . . try and go back into the birth records. But that will really give you a lot more detail in terms of where your ancestry, DNA, is from."
>
> So I did it—I think I did "Family Tree DNA" . . . The results came in, and the very same day or the next day, I get an e-mail from a woman in Switzerland . . . her name was Nicole and she says, ". . . I'm reaching out to you because your DNA is a match for my father, and we have been trying to figure out his background. . . . Would you be open to talking to me, or—what can you tell me about the Cape Verde islands? It seems like that West African piece is a lot—like, you have the same DNA that he has."[71]

In Barbara's case, her DNA data produced an influx of new connections—including an active e-mail correspondence with a newly identified Swiss relative, which is turning into a warm friendship, and plans for one to visit the other at some point.

7. *News of World Affairs.* The Mid-East crisis that dominates so much mass media attention is also producing a new level of awareness of Jewish issues for Cape Verdeans. With Israel in the news daily, some Cape Verdeans are discovering a personal interest in the nation, seeing their own history in the process rather than a set of political events unrelated to self. Increasing numbers of Cape Verdeans post flags of Israel and Israel-themed stories on their Facebook pages, and a small number are traveling to Israel as "heritage tourists."

8. *NGO Work.* Finally, the above-mentioned NGO, Cape Verde Jewish Heritage Foundation (CVJHF), is drawing increasing numbers of Cape Verdeans to discover their Jewish ancestry. The NGO's founder, Carol Castiel, a successful journalist (currently working for Voice of America), has wide international networks and multilingual skills that allow her to attract both funds for and interest in the NGO's work. Although not Cape

Verdean herself, Castiel has inspired many Cape Verdeans to pursue their own genealogical research.

* * *

The above list of eight factors does not exhaustively account for the current excitement over (re-)discovering Jewish roots on the part of so many contemporary Cape Verdeans. Further factors may well be at play. Nevertheless, I suggest that, together, these eight factors go some way to address the "Why now? question in meaningful ways.

Concluding Thoughts

This article forms part of a recent scholarly recognition of a buried history of Jewish activities across the African continent.[72] The longstanding reluctance of Africanist and Jewish studies scholars to engage with one another increasingly seems curious at best, in light of the robust crossed lines of Jews and Cabo Verdeans—and other African groups—across more than a half-millenium. Given that the typical map of religions in Africa excludes the mention of Jews, simply putting Jews on the map—literally as well as metaphorically—can significantly broaden the conversation within African studies scholarship.[73] Reciprocally, given that the typical map of the Jewish diaspora excludes sub-Saharan Africa, simply putting sub-Saharan Africa on those maps—again, literally as well as metaphorically—can significantly broaden the Jewish studies conversation.[74]

What might we learn about Africans and Jews when we ask new questions about their unexpected crossings? Can we challenge what we thought we knew? In posing new questions, might we discover new realities? In particular, how can the globalized lusophone diaspora speak to—and help to rectify—the anglo/lusophone focus of US-based African studies? How might this early and continuing diaspora speak to, strengthen, and expand our understanding of the history of global diasporas over the past 500 years?[75]

As an historical consequence of the orders of expulsion and ensuing Inquisition that cast hundreds of thousands of Jews out of Iberia precisely at the moment of European exploration of Africa, the lusophone regions of Africa offer special interest for the scholarly understanding of African history and contemporary experience. At the level of Jewish studies scholarship, an enormous body of literature has existed for many centuries that addresses the simple question, "Who is a Jew?" The simple answer of the

Orthodox rabbi typically proposes that anyone with exclusively Jewish ancestry through the maternal line may consider her/himself a Jew. But the modern era raises many challenges to this genealogical approach. New community organizations as well as scholars are now opening up the question to include Jewish communities outside the simplistic dual divisions of "Sephardic" and "Ashkenazi" Jews that has dominated mainstream Jewish studies for too long.[76] Scholars now point to the cultural and political foundations of processes of both remembering and forgetting.[77]

In Providence, Noah emphasized the importance of memory in explaining his own interest in pursuing the Jewish roots on his Cape Verdean father's side of the family:

> My [paternal] uncle passed away just about a year-and-a-half ago—he always told us we were Jewish. And of course, a lot—most of the family is, like, Catholic or something—but he would very vehemently say, "We are Jewish." Almost every time you saw him, he'd say, "By the way, did you know we're Jewish?" . . . I still retain memories of this . . . Because he didn't want anyone to forget. He wasn't particularly religious—I'm probably the only person in the family that's been to synagogue, that I'm aware of . . . I still retain memories of this. Because it's family members [who] have impressed upon me, "Don't forget." . . . I don't know if it's "fierce pride" or if it's maybe just more of, You don't want to forget. Because a lot of . . . African-Americans don't know where their family came from, whereas some of us [Cape Verdeans] do. So, some of us care and want to keep it alive, you know?[78]

As Noah's narrative suggests, adding Cape Verdeans—and other Africans who have some Jewish ancestry—to the conversation allows new questions of race and identity to be raised in this contemporary moment of historical re-thinking.

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2. Important exceptions by historians include: David Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa* (Athens OH, Ohio University Press, 2004); C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (London, Hutchinson, 1969); Patrick Chabal et al., *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa;* Linda Heywood and John Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585–1660* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2007); Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012); Joseph Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988) and *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976); Malyn Newitt, *Emigration and the Sea: An Alternative History of Portugal and the Portuguese* (London, C. Hurst & Co Publishers, 2015); and Walter Rodney, *The Upper Guinea Coast* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1970). In political science, see, among others, Merle L. Bowen, *The State against the Peasantry: Rural Struggles in Colonial and Postcolonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 2000).

3. Historians variably date this "discovery" to 1456/60/62, depending on the Italian navigator(s) they credit—all of whom sailed in the service of the younger brother of the Portuguese ruler, Prince Henry the Navigator. Claims of earlier discoveries of the islands by Phoenician, Arab, Chinese, Wolof, Lebou, and Serer sailors at different epochs of history remain suggestive but unsubstantiated (for China, see: Gavin Menzies, *1421: The Year China Discovered America* [New York, William Morrow, 2008]).

4. Tobias Green, *Masters of Difference: Creolization and the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde, 1497–1672* (unpublished dissertation, Department of History, University of Birmingham, 2007); Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, *The Forgotten Diaspora: Jewish Communities in West Africa and the Making of the Atlantic World* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011).

5. Given sketchy record-keeping practices combined with the frantic (and sometimes clandestine) nature of the exodus, numerical estimates vary widely. Some key English-language sources on the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions include: Tobias Green, *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (London, Macmillan, 2007); Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Cambridge MA: Hackett, 2006); Cullen Murphy, *God's Jury: The Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World* (London, Penguin, 2012); Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History,* transl. Janet Lloyd (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2005 [2002]); and António José Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians, 1536–1765,* transl. H. P. Salomon and I. S. D. Sassoon (Leiden, Brill, 2001 [1969]).

6. Important English-language sources on the practice, trajectories, and legacies of these "crypto-Jews" include: Michael Alpert, *Crypto-judaism and the Spanish Inquisition* (New York, Palgrave, 2001); James Maxwell Anderson, *Daily Life during the Spanish Inquisition* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 2002); Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th–20th Centuries* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000); Bernard Dov Cooperman, ed., *Iberia and Beyond: Hispanic Jews between Two Cultures* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1998); Paloma Diaz-Mas, *Sephardim: The Jews from Spain,* transl. George K. Zucker (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1986]); Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York, The Free Press/Macmillan, 1994 [1992]); David Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1996); Janet Liebman Jacobs, *Hidden Heritage: The Legacy of the Crypto-Jews* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002); Bruce Rosenstock, *New Men: Conversos, Christian Theology and Society in Fifteenth-Society Castile* (Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar 39, University of London, 2002); and Nathan Wachtel, *The Faith of Remembrance: Marrano Labyrinths,* Transl. Nikki Halpern (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013 [2001]).

7. For discussion of the ensuing global diaspora of Sephardic Jews, see, among many other sources: Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York, NYU Press, 2013).

8. These early Jewish settlers engaged in a variety of economic activities—including banking, administration, trading of small goods, translation, and slave

trading. The slave-trading ancestry of contemporary Cape Verdeans is an ethically troubling legacy that few contemporary Cape Verdeans have yet acknowledged; for one brief but thoughtful reflection, see Anna Lima Delgado, "Jews of Cape Verde," *The Creola Genealogist*, April 8, 2012, : http://the-creola-genealogist.com/2012/04/08/jews-of-cape-verde/. Further discussion of this problematic component of Cape Verdean history must await a future forum.

9. On 19th century Moroccan economic and political issues producing increasing anti-Semitism, see, for example: Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013); B. A. Mojuetan, *History and Underdevelopment in Morocco: The Structural Roots of Conjecture* (Berlin, Lit Verlag, 1997); and C. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York, NYU Press, 2000).

10. Personal communication, April 4, 2007; my translation from the Portuguese.

11. Research methods include formal interviews, informal conversations, the classic anthropological methods of "participant-observation" including "go-alongs" in ritual events and daily life activities alike, language learning (Portuguese and Kriolu), volunteer work with Cabo Verdean organizations, and online research in Cabo Verdean chatrooms, social media, blogs, and other websites.

12. Denise Lawrence, "Menstrual Politics: Women and Pigs in Rural Portugal," in: Thomas Buckley and Alma Gottlieb (Eds.), *Blood Magic: The Anthropology of Menstruation* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988), 117–36.

13. My own challenges in this regard are chronicled in: Philip Graham, "365 Days of Pork Surprise," in: Philip Graham, *The Moon, Come to Earth: Dispatches from Lisbon* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2008), 12–16.

14. For a thoughtful discussion of the parallel funeral customs observed by Jews and Cape Verdean Catholics, see Anna Lima Delgado, "Shiva and Rosh Hashana in Cape Verde?" *The Creola Genealogist*, August 23, 2012; http://the-creola-genealogist.com/2012/08/23/shiva-and-rosh-hashana-in-cape-verde/.

15. This and most other personal names in this essay are pseudonyms.

16. Skype interview with Davida (in Rotterdam), January 31, 2015.

17. Phone interview with Carlota (Maryland), March 11, 2014.

18. Interview with Jeanne (Pawtucket, RI), April 26, 2014.

19. Jewish oral history claims that after the Iberian orders of expulsion from Spain and Portugal, Jewish families who decided to remain in Iberia and convert to Catholicism took these more "neutral" names to conceal their previous Jewish identities. At least some (if not all) of these names had circulated previously among Catholic families in Iberia, but they would have become far more widespread with the large number of "New Christians" who adopted them. Because these family names are now among the commonest in both Cabo Verde and Portugal, many contemporary Catholic Cabo Verdeans and Portuguese alike dispute the claim of Jewish origins to these names, while Sephardic Jews bearing these names vigorously assert their Jewish history. Of note is that biological anthropologists constructing contemporary Portuguese DNA profiles estimate that approximately 20% of Portuguese people living today have some Jewish ancestry, although few acknowledge it (see Susan M. Adams et al. "The Genetic Legacy of Religious Diversity and Intolerance: Paternal Lineages of Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula,"

American Journal of Human Genetics, 83, December 12, 2008, 725–36). Speaking of these names, Al Rubin has written: "Portuguese memory of Jewish ancestry is sometimes forgotten or hidden because of the horrifying consequences of the Inquisition. The memory is realized in unusual religious practices and oral traditions which are passed down for generation to generation. This remembrance frequently takes the form of lore about Portuguese names which are said to be of Jewish origin" (*Reunir: The Journal of the Aristides de Sousa Mendes Society* I, Dec. 1993, n.p.) These contested onomastic accounts bear further analysis.

20. Among many scholarly works drawing on the notion of "survivals" or "retentions," see: Alan Gregor Cobley and Alvin Thompson (Eds.), *The African-Caribbean Connection: Historical and Cultural Perspectives* (Bridgetown, Barbados, Dept. of History, University of the West Indies, 1990); David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers (Eds.), *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 1995); Gerard M. Dalgish, *A Dictionary of Africanisms: Contributions of Sub-Saharan Africa to the English Language* (Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1982); Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1941); and Joseph E. Holloway, *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2005).

21. Critiques of the concept of "retentions" or "survivals" include ethnographically and historically oriented discussions such as: O. Nigel Bolland, "Reconsidering Creolization and Creole Societies," *Shibboleths: Journal of Comparative Theory* 1, 1 (2006), 1–14; and Jean E. Howson, "Social Relations and Material Culture: A Critique of the Archaeology of Plantation Slavery," *Historical Archaeology* 24, 4 (1990), 78–91. Theoretically oriented critiques include: Andrew Apter, "Herskovits's Heritage: Rethinking Syncretism in the African Diaspora," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, 3 (1991), 235–60; Viranjini Munasinghe, "Theorizing World Culture through the New World: East Indians and Creolization," *American Ethnologist* 33, 4 (2006), 549–62; Charles Stewart, "Syncretism and Its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture," *Diacritics* 29, 3 (1999), 40–62; and Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw (Eds.), *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London, Routledge, 1994).

22. E.g., Nathaniel Turner, "African Retentions & Black Contributions: A Cultural Exchange in America," *ChickenBones: A Journal for Literary & Artistic African-American Themes,* http://www.nathanielturner.com/africanretentions.htm.

23. Conversation with Alessia and Teresa, July 23, 2014, Providence, RI.

24. Alessia was raised on the island of São Vicente. in the 19th and early 20th centuries, this island attracted many British businessmen and workers, who imported and popularized many British customs among island residents, including "high tea." The Cape Verdean preparation of *kuskus,* São Vicente-style, uses the North African ingredient of couscous, but sweetened and shaped as a cake-like confection—perhaps inspired by the British "high tea" convention of including sweets in the elaborate tray of snacks served.

25. According to Isabel Rodrigues (personal communication), "the charms are very popular in Portugal too. All jewelry stores sell gold *estrelas de David,*" and they are also given as charms for infants. This practice in Portugal bears further inquiry.

26. On the history of Mindelo as a cosmopolitan city, see António Leão Correia e Silva,"Para uma Sociologia Histórica de Uma Cidade-Porto: As Especificades do Mindelo no Context das Cidades Cabo-Verdianas," in: *Combates pela Historia* (Praia, Spleen, 2004), 169–202.

27. Interview with Eva, June 19, 2014, New Bedford, RI.

28. Interview with Leila, July 1, 2014, Boston, RI.

29. In Jewish law, religious identity is deemed to be mystically transmitted in the maternal line, so anyone able to demonstrate a certain number of generations of uninterrupted Jewish matrilineal ancestry has no need to formally convert, even if s/he was not raised in an observant household.

30. Interview with Leila, July 1, 2014, Boston, MA.

31. Interview with Marco, April 5, 2007, Praia, Cape Verde; my translation from the Portuguese.

32. A fuller consideration of this critical issue will require a separate article on the topic.

33. Tobias Green, *"Masters of Difference: Creolization and the Jewish Presence in Cabo Verde, 1497–1672,"* Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Birmingham, 2007, Ch. 4, 102.

34. Tobias Green, *ibid.*, "Introduction," 29–30.

35. W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Blue Heron Press, 1953 [1903]); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, Verso, 1993).

36. Myra Cohen, "Frederic Brenner (1959-)," *Lifestyles,* reprinted in Jewish Virtual Library, American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise; http://www.jewishvirtual library.org/jsource/biography/frederic_brenner.html.

37. Founded by Salamith Spencer in April 2014, the Associação de Preservação da Herança Patrimonial Judaica em Cabo Verde (AHJ) has an ambitious set of goals, including:

- Restore and preserve Jewish cemeteries
- Publish books about Jewish Cape Verdeans
- Produce audiovisual materials about Jewish Cape Verdeans
- Work collaboratively with the Cape Verde Jewish Heritage Project based in Washington, D.C.
- Create a tourism route with guided visits to formerly Jewish sites on Cape Verde
- Work with Jewish communities on cultural and business exchanges
- Work on humanitarian assistance
- Work on educational projects

(TSF, "Descendentes de Judeus Criam Associação para Defender Herança Patrimonial," *A Semana,* April 4, 2014)

38. Conversation with Abrão and his wife Sofia, March 23, 2010, Providence, RI.

39. Phone interview with Rosa (in Rotterdam), Jan. 4, 2015; e-mail correspondence with Rosa, May 10, 2015; phone interview with Bella (a friend of Rosa's in Israel), Jan. 10, 2015.

40. Anna Lima Delgado, "Catholic, Jewish or 'CaJu'?" *The Creola Genealogist*, March 27, 2013, http://the-creola-genealogist.com/2013/03/27/catholic-jewish-or-caju/.

41. Phone interview with Carlota (in Maryland), Feb. 27, 2014, and conversation with Carlota, April 19, 2014 (Providence, RI).

42. The flip side to this quest would be an effort to research specific African roots in one's family history. Currently, this line of thinking does not (yet) seem to have attracted nearly as much research energy among Cabo Verdeans. However, for some who undergo genetic testing, suggestive results locating African ancestors in certain regions of the continent are attracting some online discussion. Beyond genetic tests, the archival research requirements to accurately locate sub-Saharan origins in 16th–17th century mainland African communities may still appear too formidable for all but the most serious historical scholar, but future generations of Cabo Verdeans may well pursue this complementary line of family research.

43. Interview with Carlos, February 5, 2007, Lisbon; my translation from the Portuguese.

44. Interview with Eduardo, February 26, 2007, Lisbon; my translation from the Portuguese.

45. Interview with Paulo, October 10, 2010, Paris; my translation from the French.

46. Central Intelligence Agency, "The World Factbook. Field Listing: Literacy—Cabo Verde," https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cv.html.

47. On the Mormon imperative to research genealogies, see The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, "Why Family History is Important," 2015 (http://www.mormon.org/values/family-history). Mormon genealogical websites include: https://familysearch.org/; http://www.searchforancestors.com/mormongenealogy.html; and http://ldsgenealogy.com/. For one blogger's discussion of the importance of Mormon resources in her genealogical quest, see Anna Lima Delgado, "Cape Verde, Catholic Church Records, 1787–1957," May 9, 2015, *The Creola Genealogist;* http://the-creola-genealogist.com/2015/05/09/cape-verde-catholic-church-records-1787-1957/.

48. "Cape Verdeans of Atlanta—Public Group," https://www.facebook.com/groups/188847813884/.

49. For further discussion of the impact of social media on Cape Verdeans' sense of identity, see Gina Sanchez Gibau (this issue).

50. The English version of the website: http://www.bravanews.com/en; its Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/bravanews.

51. Anna Lima Delgado, *The Creola Genealogist*, http://the-creola-genealogist.com.

52. Anna Lima Delgado, "Genealogical Research," talk at Rochambeau Public Library, Providence, RI, May 31, 2014.

53. Anna Lima Delgado, "Know Your History. Tell the Truth," *The Creola Genealogist*, January 20, 2015, http://the-creola-genealogist.com/2015/01/20/know-your-history-tell-the-truth/.

54. E.g., Anna Lima Delgado, "Genealogical Research," talk presented at the Rochambeau Public Library, Providence, RI, May 31, 2014.

55. Luis Almeida Santos, *Wahnon: Contributo para uma Genealogia/Contribution for a Genealogy* (Lisbon, published privately, 2011).

56. Interview with Eulálio, January 30, 2007, Lisbon.

57. António Correia e Silva, "Para um Novo Arquipélago à Escala da Diáspora," in: *Combates pela História* (Paria, Spleen, 2004), pp. 52–53; my translation.

58. Phone interview with Ilda (in Boston, MA), December 19, 2014.

59. Interview with João, June 20, 2014, Providence.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Phone interview with Carlota, March 2, 2014.

62. Phone interview with Ilda (in Boston, MA), December 19, 2014.

63. Interview with Flora, June 17, 2014, Brockton, MA.

64. Interview with Raimundo, July 9, 2014, Pawtucket, RI.

65. This important point calls for the space of a separate article to be developed with fuller attention.

66. On current interest in Jewish themes in Brazil, see: Jewish Virtual Library, "The Virtual Jewish World: Brazil," and the website of the Associação Brasileira dos Descendentes de Judeus da Inquisição: http://anussim.org.br/.

67. On the development of a Jewish tourist route to accommodate Jewish (including Sephardic) travelers to Portugal, see: Naomi Leite, *Global Affinities: Portuguese Marranos* (Anusim), *Traveling Jews, and Cultural Logics of Kinship* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, 2011). On the recent renovation of a synagogue on the main island of the Azores, see Michael Holtzman, "Museum Captures History of Once-forgotten Azorean Synagogue," *Herald News* (Fall River, MA), May 4, 2015, http://wlweb.gat.atl.publicus.com/article/20150504/NEWS/1505087.02/1231/FRONTPAGE/?Start=1.

68. This trend has a counterpart in Spain, whose government recently invited descendants of Jews evicted by the 1492 Order of Expulsion to apply for Spanish citizenship (Isabel Kershner and Raphael Minder, "Prospect of Spanish Citizenship Appeals to Descendants of Jews Expelled in 1492," New York *Times,* Feb. 13, 2014. In some places in the Hispanic world (including Mexico as well as New Mexico), descendants of Inquisition-era Jews are also finding their way back to their ancestral religion (e.g., Vivienne Stanton, "Out of Sight: The Many Faces of Jewish Mexico," *Inside Mexico: The English Speaker's Guide to Living in Mexico,* April 2009; http://insidemex.com/people/lifestyle/out-of-sight; Ilan Stavans, *Return to Centro Histórico: A Mexican Jew Looks for His Roots* (New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press, 2012); Barbara Ferry and Debbie Nathan, "Mistaken Identity? The Case of New Mexico's 'Hidden Jews,'" *The Atlantic* (December 2000); and Stanley M. Hordes, *To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2005).

69. Conversation with Ripan Malhi, December 8, 2014, Urbana IL.

70. Facebook conversation with Carlota, January 15, 2015.

71. Interview with Barbara, April 21, 2014, Providence, RI.

72. Recent overviews include: Edith Bruder, *The Black Jews of Africa, History, Identity, Religion* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2008) and Richard Hull, *Jews and Judaism in African History* (Princeton, Markus Wiener Publ., 2009).

73. For typical such maps, see: Matthew White, "Religious Affiliation, 1990," http://users.rcn.com/mwhite28/afrorelg.htm;FlatworldKnowledge,http://images.flatworldknowledge.com/berglee/berglee-fig07_014.jpg; https://media.aop.com/curric/aop-sets/curriculum2011/a_wgh_2011/9/africa-religion-map.gif.

74. Typical maps include: http://www.worldreligions.psu.edu/world_religions 18.htm; http://emp.trincoll.edu/~lpolate/mic/museums/nahum_goldmann_files/jewish%2520diaspora.jpg.

75. Recent work includes: Francisco Bethencourt and Philip Havik, Eds., "Inquisição em África," special issue of *Revista Lusófona de Ciência das Religiões* III (5/6) (2004).

76. Melanie Katz/Kantrowitz, *The Colors of Jews: Racial Politics and Radical Diasporism* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2007).

77. Maurice Halbwachs initiated the modern scholarship on this topic (*On Collective Memory,* Ed. and Transl. Lewis A. Coser; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1941/1952]). Among many other works, recent scholarship includes: Paul Antze and Michael Lambek (Eds.), *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York, Routledge, 1996); Ana Lucia Araujo, ed. *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space* (New York, Routledge, 2012); Edward Bruner and Phyllis Gorfain, "Dialogic Narration and the Paradoxes of Masada," in: Edward M. Bruner (Ed.), *Text, Play, and Story: The Construction and Reconstruction of Self and Society,* (Washington, D.C., American Ethnological Society, 1984), 56–79; Jacob J. Climo and Maria G. Cattell (Eds.), *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives* (Walnut Creek, CA, AltaMira/Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); Jennifer Cole, *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001); Ferdinand de Jong and Michael Rowlands (Eds.), *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa* (Walnut Creek, CA, Left Coast Press, 2008); Johannes Fabian, *Memory against Culture: Arguments and Reminders* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2007); P. Feldman-Savelsberg, F. T. Ndonko and S. Yang, "Remembering "the Troubles": Reproductive Insecurity and the Management of Memory in Cameroon," *Africa* 7, 1 (2005), 10–29; Andrew Orta, "Burying the Past: Locality, Lived History, and Death in an Aymara Ritual of Remembrance," *Cultural Anthropology* 17, 4 (2002), 471–511; and Richard Werbner (Ed.), *Memory and the Postcolony: African Anthropology and the Critique of Power* (London, Zed Books, 1998).

78. Interview with Noah, May 2, 2014, Providence, RI.

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