

Jews and marranos, in Portugal and in Brazil, in the first half of the 20th century: anti-Semitism and social Darwinism?¹

Judeus e marranos, em Portugal e no Brasil, na primeira metade do século XX: anti-semitismo e darwinismo social?

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Abstract

This article seeks, on the one hand, to characterise the evolution of the Portuguese of Jewish origin from the beginning of the 16th century until the first quarter of the 19th century and, on the other hand, to analyse the specific situation of the Portuguese and Brazilian citizens of Marrano origin from the 1830s until the immediate post-World War II and post-Holocaust period. The aim is also to reflect on the possibilities and risks of defining patrimonialisation and socio-cultural intervention strategies that are based either on historiographical production and other social sciences, or on memory and post-memory about Jews and Marranos, in Portugal and Brazil, in the first half of the 20th century. To this end, we will use theoretical categories such as anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, philo-Semitism and Zionism; nationalism, social Darwinism, racism and xenophobia, eugenics, religious fundamentalism and secularism; discrimination, mass violence and genocide, transitional processes. I recall how, during the centuries of systematic persecution (16th-18th centuries) and the decades of more or less aggressive tolerance (1820s to 1970s), Portuguese and Brazilian citizens of Marrano origin were both targets of discrimination by their fellow citizens of Catholic culture and of Jewish descent, and were marked by the consequences of their own strategy of survival and resistance during the centuries of systematic persecution (16th to 18th centuries) and in the decades of less or more aggressive tolerance (1820s to 1970s).

Keywords: Jews. Marranos. Anti-Judaism. Anti-Semitism. Social Darwinism.

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¹ The English translation of this paper was funded by portuguese funds through the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), under project reference UIDB/00460/2020.

Resumo

Procura-se neste artigo, por um lado, caracterizar a evolução dos portugueses de origem judaica do início do século XVI ao primeiro quartel de oitocentos; por outro lado, analisar a situação específica dos cidadãos portugueses e dos cidadãos brasileiros de origem marrana da década de 1830 ao imediato pós-Segunda Guerra e ao pós-Holocausto. Visa-se, ainda, reflectir sobre as possibilidades e sobre os riscos da definição de estratégias de patrimonialização e de intervenção sociocultural que tenham como fundamento, quer a produção historiográfica e outras ciências sociais, quer a memória e a pós-memória acerca dos judeus e dos marranos, em Portugal e no Brasil, na primeira metade do século XX. Utilizar-se-ão, para o efeito, categorias teóricas como as de anti-judaísmo e anti-semitismo, filo-semitismo e sionismo; nacionalismo, darwinismo social, racismo e xenofobia, eugenia, integrismo religioso e laicismo; discriminação, violência de massas e genocídio, processos transicionais. Lembro que cidadãos portugueses e cidadãos brasileiros de origem marrana foram, tanto alvo de discriminação por parte de concidadãos de cultura católica e de origem judaica, como marcados pelas sequelas da sua própria estratégia de sobrevivência e de resistência nos séculos de perseguição sistémica (séculos XVI a XVIII) e nas décadas de tolerância menos ou mais agressiva (décadas 1820 a 1970).

Palavras-chave: Judeus. Marranos. Anti-judaísmo. Anti-semitismo. Darwinismo social.

Introduction

Probably less well known than the words Jews and New Christians, the word Marranos was used specifically as a pejorative for New Christians in the 16th to 18th centuries. These were Portuguese subjects of Jewish origin who had been forced to convert to Catholicism after 5 December 1496, and who, living in the metropolis or in their non-autonomous territories, and whether they wanted to or not, secretly maintained Hebrew religious experiences and cultural practices in general.

This allegedly almost universal tendency to “Judaise” would have different causes, depending on one’s ideological perspective. For the mainly anti-Jewish view, the New Christians or Marranos were an attack on the “virtuous monopoly of Catholicism” through temporary (individual and family) attachment to previous religious habits. For the mainly proto-anti-Semitic readings that legitimised the long existence of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the “religious crimes” committed by New Christians

or Marranos had a global scope and resulted from the “permanent evil nature” of the Jews as a people².

The term Marranos, on the other hand, referred to Portuguese, Brazilian, and perhaps other non-autonomous countries and territories in the 19th to 21st centuries. They were the descendants of Portuguese of Jewish origin and New Christian Portuguese who had little contact with Hebrew culture and who had lost contact with other segments of the Jewish Diaspora in general, and with other parts of the Sephardic re-Diaspora in particular. Such a break would be the result of an attempt at disguise –resistance and survival – sustained for almost five centuries of systemic persecution, followed by lesser or more aggressive toleration.

While traditional forms of anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic discrimination continue to exist in the surrounding societies, the Marranos have also experienced (and will continue to experience) other forms of marginalisation in the modern era. Of particular importance were the phenomena resulting from individual and collective traumas caused by long-term exposure to discrimination and mass violence, religious fundamentalism or defensive xenophobia on the part of Jewish leaders or sections of Jewish communities, and the fact that most Marranos live in “precarious” socio-cultural contexts, i.e. those characterised by the hegemony of peripheral socio-economic relations, popular cultures and/or mass culture³.

Given the intense changes that took place in Portugal and Brazil in the first half of the 20th century, the aim of this article is, first, to systematise the results of the research already carried out on Jews and Marranos, anti-Judaism/anti-Semitism and philo-Semitism in these countries and during this period, and then to reflect on the potential and the risks of strategies of patrimonialisation and socio-cultural intervention, whose object of study and intervention is the remembrance, the post- remembrance and the contemporary reality of the Jews and the Marranos in Portugal and Brazil.

² See, in particular, ALVES, Francisco Manuel (Reitor ou Abade de Baçal), “Preâmbulo”. *Os judeus no distrito de Bragança, Memórias Arqueológico-Históricas do Distrito de Bragança*, Bragança: s.e., Tomo V, 1925, p. 7-18 [...]; NUNES, João Paulo Avelãs, “Anti-judaísmo e anti-semitismo, em Portugal, no Antigo Regime e na Época Contemporânea”, forthcoming; REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos. *Os judeus em Portugal*, vol. II, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1928.

³ See, inter alia, GARCIA, Maria Antonieta. *Os judeus de Belmonte. Os caminhos da memória*. Lisboa: UNL, 1993; MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo. *O Porto judaico*. Porto: Evo Luna Edições, 2021; MILGRAM, Avraham. “Crypto-Jews, Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and Refugees from Nazi Europe in Early twentieth-century Portugal: Together and Apart”, *Contemporary Jewry*, 2020, p. 607-626; SCHWARZ, Samuel. *Os cristãos-novos em Portugal no século XX*. Lisboa: [loose-leaf of the journal *Arqueologia e História*, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, “Prefácio do Dr. Ricardo Jorge”], 1925.

At the risk of oversimplifying, I would say that, in Portugal, both aspects of the defined universe (Jews and Marranos in the present) have reached a similarly average level of depth since the 1980s – the dictatorship of the Estado Novo, which severely limited research in historiography/other social sciences and the technologies derived therefrom, was only interrupted in 1974. In Brazil, on the other hand, the evolution of citizens of Jewish origin has been studied more extensively than that of the Marranos, whose mere existence is still little known⁴. This has involved reconstructing and analysing both the contexts of their origin as settlers, immigrants, exiles or refugees, and their international contacts.

Epistemological, theoretical-methodological, and deontological assumptions

In my opinion, historiography in general, and the historiographic analysis of problems related to forms of discrimination in particular, are important enough in contemporary societies to merit both a debate on the proposed conclusions and an evaluation of the epistemological, theoretical-methodological, and deontological choices made so far. I believe that the same reasoning largely applies to technologies derived from historiography, such as scientific communication and heritage journalism, history teaching and didactics, organisational culture and territorial differentiation, heritage and museology, leisure and heritage tourism.

I also suggest that one of the causes of the diminished standing and social influence of historians and specialists in technologies derived from historiography as a professional group is both the precariousness of the epistemic and methodological debate and the inadequacy of deontological self-policing. Most importantly, the knowledge generated may become less objectified and operational, or, through critical reception, may not be included in challenging processes of qualifying civic intervention and professional activity.

In this article, I outline the epistemological, theoretical-methodological, and deontological assumptions that I, as a historian (in other words, as a researcher, teacher, and communicator), have tried to make about the problem of the Portuguese of Jewish origin and the Marranos, anti-Judaism

⁴ On the survival of the Marranos in Peru until the second half of the 20th century, cfr. WACHTEL, Nathan. *Sous le ciel de l'Eden. Juifs portugais, métis & indiens. Une mémoire marrane au Pérou?* Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 2020.

and anti-Semitism, philo-Semitism and Zionism. These assumptions structure my work as a researcher and consultant in the fields of history teaching and didactics, organizational culture and territorial differentiation, cultural heritage and museology, leisure and heritage tourism.

In terms of epistemology, I share the views of the founders and proponents of the neo-modernist paradigm that emerged in the 1930s. I argue that the most that historians, as scholars, can produce and disseminate is knowledge that is as objective as possible about reality (reconstruction and analysis of specific objects of study, including their contextualisation and comparison). I believe that this effort of objectification is important to improve the living conditions of all individuals and the degree of sustainability of human societies; that science depends on the mobilisation and control of each researcher's structuring ideology, the operational use of complex concepts and methodologies, inter- and transdisciplinary dialogue, the willingness to listen and, finally, to incorporate different proposals for reconstitution and/or interpretation.

I share the idea that science (an attempt to know reality as objectively as possible) is not the same as science-based technology (a rationalised attempt to transform reality in a direction previously chosen on the basis of civic or ideological criteria); that it is up to individuals, civil society organisations and public institutions to decide what to do with the results of scientific and technological research. I also support the idea that historians, like researchers in other sciences, should be involved in the production of technological knowledge derived from their field of expertise, and should

contribute to the development, application and evaluation/improvement of technological solutions.

I am therefore at odds with many of the core assumptions of the modern and post-modern paradigms. As for the modern paradigm, which is responsible for the decisive process of the autonomous affirmation of science and science-based technologies, it affirms the objective and definitive character of scientific knowledge; the superiority of science over other knowledge – humanities, arts, ideology, common sense – as well as the increased rigour of “exact sciences” over natural sciences and even more so over social sciences. It also proclaims the epistemological identity between science and science-based technology, and the obligation for individuals and human societies seeking to promote progress to adopt the unquestioned conclusions/determinations of science and science-based technology.

With regard to the post-modern paradigm, consolidated in the 1960s, it makes an absolute distinction between scientific knowledge and science-based technologies (resulting from the reconstruction and analysis of those parts of reality that can be approached through mathematical models) and ideological narratives about reality and the consequent proposal for its transformation. The most radicalised post-modern sectors – on both the far left and the far right – even claim that the monopoly of the ideological approach also applies to those segments of reality that have hitherto been studied and transformed through the application of mathematical models (“exact sciences”, natural sciences and the technologies derived therefrom).

Given that ideologies – value systems that enable us to ‘critique’, ‘evaluate’ and ‘act upon’ reality – are almost exclusively a form of knowledge accessible to people, it would be up to researchers to produce and promote the most just and mobilising narratives of reality. Since the degree of fairness attributed to each reading/intervention strategy would depend on the conceptions espoused, and the sub-universe of recipients would be associated with the identity of each subject of knowledge (the respective “place of speech”), we would inevitably be faced with a space of permanent confrontation between ideologies, identity groups and complementary and/or opposing powers.

From a theoretical and methodological point of view, I have opted for a syncretic use of contributions from historiographical currents such as new historiography, structuralist historiography and critical Marxist historiography, by combining the priority given to empirical with the recognition of the centrality of the conceptual structuring of analysis, by interdisciplinarity and the simultaneous use of different scales and temporalities, and by comparing different periods and societies. Finally, I would like to argue that the technologies derived from historiography – scientific dissemination and cultural heritage journalism, didactics and history teaching, organisational culture and territorial differentiation, cultural heritage and museology, leisure and cultural heritage tourism – should consist above all in disseminating the most objective and up-to-date proposals for the historiographical interpretation of the issues under consideration⁵.

⁵ See, in particular, BALIBAR, Étienne; WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel, *Raça, nação, classe. As identidades ambíguas*. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2021; BLOCH, Marc. *Apologia da história ou o ofício de historiador* (trad. do francês) Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2002; BRAUNSTEIN, Jean-François. *A religião Woke*. Lisboa: Guerra & Paz, 2023; CATROGA, Fernando. *Memória, história e historiografia*. Coimbra: Quarteto Editora, 2001; HESPANHA, António Manuel. “História e sistema: interrogações à historiografia pós-moderna”, *Ler História*, n. 9, 1986; NEIMAN, Susan. *A esquerda não é woke*. Belo Horizonte: Editora Âyiné, 2023; NUNES, Adérito Sedas,

Jews, New Christians and Marranos in Modern and Contemporary Portugal and Brazil

After 5 December 1496, in Portugal and its empire – including Brazil –, the members of the existing Jewish communities were forced to convert to Catholicism or leave their territories. Throughout the 16th to 18th centuries, these Portuguese and their descendants were formally identified as New Christians by the Portuguese State and the Catholic Church. The target of various forms of legal and institutional discrimination, they were also inherently victims of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. As former Jews or descendants of Jews, they were false Catholics and maintained an irrepressible tendency to “Judaize” (to think and act in accordance with the cultural and religious precepts of Judaism).

In terms of informality, i.e. in terms of diffuse socio-cultural relations, the New Christians were effectively seen by many of the Old Christians as Jews in disguise, or at least as Jews forced to simulate a Catholic lifestyle. One of the traces of this identification and of the corresponding hostility or alienation is the fact that the New Christians were referred to, both collectively and individually, by the term “Marranos”. Since ‘Marrano’ was synonymous with pig, it was clearly a double insult. Humans were relegated to the status of non-humans, using a species that had a very negative image in Jewish culture.

If, on the one hand, the initial choice of forced conversion could be characterised as the fruit of an anti-Jewish worldview – the only problem for the Jews would be the practice of a “false religion” – on the other hand, the creation and long existence of both the category of New Christians and the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition are indicative of the presence of at least embryonic anti-Semitic ideas (the danger would be the insurmountable “Jewish blood”). The New Christians adopted several strategies in trying to integrate themselves into a forcibly Catholic State and society, and in trying

“Questões preliminares sobre as ciências sociais”, *Análise Social*, v. VIII, n. 30/31, 1970; NUNES, João Paulo Avelãs Nunes. “História e historiografia, património cultural e museologia, lazer e turismo culturais: uma abordagem deontológico-epistemológica e teórico-metodológica”, *Revista de Teoria da História*, v. 17, n. 1, Julho de 2017; _____, “Historiografia e tecnologias derivadas: relevância social, epistemologia e deontologia”. In: VAQUINHAS, Irene Maria et. al. (Coords.). *História, empresas, arqueologia industrial e museologia*. Coimbra: IUC, 2021; PAIS, José Machado. *Consciência histórica e identidade*. Oeiras: Celta Editora, 1999; PLUCKROSE, Helen; LINDSAY, James. *Teorias cónicas* (translated from English). Lisboa: Guerra & Paz, Editores, 2021; ROUDINESCO, Elisabeth. *O eu soberano. Ensaio sobre as derivas identitárias* (translated from French). Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2022; VARGAS LLOSA, Mario. *O apelo da tribo* (trad. do castelhano). Lisboa: Quetzal, 2018; VATTIMO, Gianni. *O fim da modernidade. Niilismo e hermenêutica na cultura pós-moderna*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1987; WOOD, Ellen Meiksins. *Democracy against capitalism. Renewing historical materialism*. Cambridge: CUP, 1996.

to avoid or at least survive the brutal and constant violence perpetrated by the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

Among the main methods of acculturation or disguise used by the New Christians between the 16th and 18th centuries, I would highlight the migration from small villages in the interior of Portugal to cities on the coast and to colonies, protectorates or trading posts (namely Brazil). I would also emphasise the renunciation of forms of Jewish social, religious and cultural life which might be more easily identifiable by possible informers, the adoption of some Catholic religious and cultural practices, the pursuit of professional activities not associated with Jews, mixed marriages with Old Christians, and the almost complete renunciation of Jewish religious and cultural traditions.

Even those New Christians who, until the early 19th century, chose either to go into exile or to immigrate to countries that were less intolerant of Jews (while returning to Jewish cultural and religious life) faced numerous constraints. In addition to the obstacles posed by the Portuguese administrative and ecclesiastical authorities, and the manifestations of anti-Judaism and proto-anti-Semitism that existed in these other societies, the host Jewish communities were confronted with several situations: the trauma and post-trauma resulting from the threat of violence and/or the violence suffered in Portugal and in their respective non-autonomous territories; the accusations or distrust associated with the partial, temporary and even imposed abandonment of Judaism and Jewish culture; with the difficulties and stigma of having had an explicitly syncretic upbringing (Jewish and Catholic); the rivalries between Sephardim, Ashkenazim and Oriental Jews, and between Jews from different countries.

Perhaps this will make it easier to understand why, even in modern times, Portuguese subjects of Jewish origin – those who recognised themselves as such and were identified as such by third parties – were divided into two increasingly separate sub-universes. First, the group of those who, as Jews in other countries or as New Christians in Portugal and its non-autonomous territories, maintained contact with the basics of Jewish culture, including religion, and with other segments of the Jewish diaspora (primarily the Sephardic re-diaspora). There were also those who, as New Christians in Portugal and its non-autonomous territories, knew only a small part of Jewish culture; they were not aware that there were many branches of the Jewish Diaspora⁶.

⁶ See, inter alia, BENBASSA, Esther (Dir.). *Mémoires juives d'Espagne et du Portugal*. Paris: Éditions Publisud,

At least since the beginning of the modern era⁷ and until the establishment of republican political systems, both Portugal (from 1820 to 1910) and Brazil (from 1822 to 1889), as constitutional monarchies, saw the arrival of Jewish exiles, refugees and immigrants – with the consequent creation of community structures in some cities – and of processes in which Portuguese or Brazilian citizens, formerly crypto-Jews, publicly returned to a Jewish cultural and religious tradition. Although small (both in absolute and relative terms), these communities ensured, on the one hand, that they were recognised by civil societies, state apparatuses and political systems, and, on the other, that they resumed regular contacts with other sectors of the Jewish diaspora.

Consumed by the fear of being once again persecuted by the state, by the Catholic Church and by their former Old Christian neighbours, many of the small groups of Portuguese and Brazilian former New Christians – locally self- and hetero-identified as Jews or Marranos – continued to live in secrecy and isolation, losing contact with much of the Jewish culture and links with the publicly resettled Jewish communities in Portugal and Brazil. The fact that the majority of these Marranos lived in rural areas in the interior of the country, and that they mainly practised forms of popular culture, increased the likelihood that they would remain unknown in other regions of the countries and non-autonomous territories in question, as well as in other countries.

Neither the Jewish communities nor the groups of Marranos in 19th century Portugal and Brazil saw the establishment and deepening of contacts and bilateral relations as something positive, due to their own peculiarities and the tensions that arose in their relationship with the surrounding non-Jewish cultural majorities. Among the Marranos, this attitude may have stemmed from fear of the possible future consequences of a public embrace of Judaism, even in a conservative liberal regime, from the difficulty of accepting

1996; DIMONT, Max I. *Jews, God and History*. Nova Iorque: Mentor, 1994; MUCZNIK, Esther et. al. (Coords.). *Dicionário do judaísmo português*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2009; MUCZNIK, Esther. *Judeus portugueses. Uma história de luz e sombra*. Lisboa: Manuscrito, 2021; REIS, Maria de Fátima; PINTO, Paulo Mendes (Coord.). *Identidade e memória sefardita: história e actualidade. Terra(s) de Sefarad 2017. Encontros de Culturas Judaico-Sefarditas*. Bragança: CMB/Ideias Emergentes, 2019; TAVARES, Maria José Ferro. *Os judeus em Portugal no século XV*, 2 volumes. Lisboa: INIC, 1982-1984; J.A.R.S. TAVIM, José Alberto R. Silva et. al. (Org.). *As diásporas dos judeus e cristãos-novos de origem ibérica entre o Mar Mediterrâneo e o Oceano Atlântico. Estudos*. Lisboa: CH, 2020.

⁷ In this regard, I would like to remind you that, since the reign of King José I (1750-1777), the Portuguese State had abolished most of the formal forms of discrimination and repression specifically directed against its subjects of Jewish origin.

the radically piecemeal and syncretic nature of their experience of Judaism and Jewish culture in general, and from the near impossibility of grasping the real complexity and dimension of the Jewish diaspora.

Faced with the initiatives of Marranos who wanted to contact the Portuguese and Brazilian Jewish communities in order to be supported in their return to more structured practices of Judaism and Jewish culture, several organisations initially refused to promote both these individual processes and joint strategies for reaching out to groups of surviving Marranos in each of the aforementioned countries. The explanation for this may be related to a failure to recognise the socio-cultural reality of the Marranos as part of the Jewish diaspora, a degradation of ways of life that are essentially based on popular cultures, and a concern not to provoke violent reactions from the more anti-Jewish and/or anti-Semitic sectors of civil society, political systems and state apparatuses in Portugal and Brazil.

Since the establishment of the republican political-institutional experience (i.e. from 15 November 1889 to the present day), Brazil has seen a significant increase in its Jewish community, an increase of its internal diversity – Brazilian citizens, exiles, refugees and immigrants, Sephardim, Ashkenazim and Oriental Jews with different attitudes towards Judaism, Zionism, the political alternatives that exist in Brazil or in other countries, including, since 1948, the State of Israel –, and the increasing intensity of debates about and by people of Jewish origin who are more or less members of the community in question. Conversely, the reality of Brazil's Marrano centres remains little known.

Given the size and intellectual strength of the Jewish community, and the particular intensity and explicitness of multiculturalism in Brazil since at least the beginning of the 20th century, the isolation that will essentially continue to characterise the majority of Brazilian Marrano nuclei is nevertheless surprising. This peculiarity is all the more striking when compared with the development of the surviving Marrano nuclei in Peru until the second half of the 20th century. Also descendants of Portuguese and Brazilian New Christians, the Peruvian Marranos went through a common process of reconstructing their memory, reintegrating into the Jewish diaspora and then, in part, immigrating to Israel.

In Portugal, from 5 October 1910 to the present day, there has been both a relative increase in the Jewish community and a significant increase in public awareness and knowledge of the Marrano nuclei. There has also been

an increase in controversies concerning Jews, an increased public presence of people of Jewish origin, and some growth in the number and internal diversity of the Jewish community living in Portugal (Portuguese citizens, including some of Marrano origin, exiles, refugees and immigrants, Sephardim and Ashkenazim, with different attitudes towards Judaism, Zionism, the political alternatives existing in Portugal and in the respective non-autonomous territories or in other countries, namely the State of Israel since 1948).

As a result of the not necessarily concerted action of three unusually dynamic heterodox individuals – Father Francisco Manuel Alves, Captain Artur de Barros Basto and Engineer Samuel Schwarz – and many other individuals and organisations (national and foreign), the first phase of the process of hetero- and self-characterisation of the Marrano nuclei, which included the debate on their relationship with the Jewish diaspora in general and the Sephardic re-diaspora in particular, took place in Portugal between the 1920s and 1940s. A second phase of this process began in 1974, with the end of the Estado Novo dictatorship, the establishment of a democratic regime and the establishment of diplomatic relations with the State of Israel.

Led by Artur Barros Basto, one of the founders of the Porto Israelite Community and himself a Marrano who had returned to Judaism in Tangier (Morocco) after being rejected by the Lisbon Israelite Community, the first phase of the process in question (known as the “Save the Marranos”) lost momentum from the second half of the 1930s onwards due to the negative reaction of the Estado Novo and the Church/“Portuguese Catholic Action”, among other factors: conflicts within the Jewish community of Porto, the reservations of the Jewish community of Lisbon, the indirect consequences of the rise of radical anti-Semitism, the Second World War and the Holocaust. The subsequent fate of the majority of Portuguese citizens who identified themselves as Marranos in the 1920s and 1930s remains to be seen⁸.

After the coup d'état/revolution of 25 April 1974, an effort was made to reconstruct, analyse and disseminate information about Samuel Schwarz, Artur Barros Basto and the “Save the Marranos” movement, on the one hand, and the development of the Portuguese Marranos from the beginning of the 19th century to the immediate post-World War II and post-Holocaust period, on the other. In the case of the Marranos in the municipality of Belmonte (in Beira Baixa), there has been an attempt to characterise the community

⁸ On this subject, it is both possible and essential to consult the collection of the Porto Israeli Community Newspaper (*Ha-Lapid (O Facho)* [1927-1958]).

as it was in the 1970s and 1980s, in anthropological and historiographical terms, with a view to the patrimonialisation and touristification of their lives and memories, with the intervention of the City Council, and a process of rapprochement with Jewish culture and Judaism, with the intervention of the State of Israel⁹.

Portugal, Brazil, the Jews and the Marranos from 1820 and 1822 to the present

Above all, it is worth remembering something that is obvious, but still worth emphasising. Between 1820 or 1822 and the present day, both Portugal and Brazil have experienced different political regimes, during which the attitude towards Jews (national and foreign), the Marranos, the memory of the former Jews – forced to convert to Catholicism or expelled – and then the New Christians varied. Individuals and organisations from both civil societies and political systems, individuals and entities from both state apparatuses, also took different positions. Until 1974, referring to Portugal meant taking into account the “continental territory” and the “adjacent islands”, as well as the respective non-autonomous territories (protectorates or colonies).

Since the beginning of the modern era, Portugal has experienced a liberal-conservative regime with authoritarian overtones (Constitutional Monarchy, 1820-1891) and a demoliberal regime with authoritarian overtones (Constitutional Monarchy, 1891-1910), both of which were monarchical in nature; a demoliberal regime with authoritarian overtones (First Republic, 1910-1926), an extreme right-wing authoritarian regime (Military Dictatorship, 1926-1933), an extreme right-wing and tendentially totalitarian

⁹ See, in particular, ALVES, Francisco Manuel (Reitor ou Abade de Baçal). *Memorias Arqueologico-Historicas do Districto de Bragança*. 11 tomos, Bragança: s.e., 1910-1947; SCHWARZ, Samuel. *La découverte des marranes. Les crypto-juifs au Portugal* [“Préface de Israël Levi”]. Paris: Éditions Chandeigne, 2015 — Préface de Nathan Wachel, Introduction & Notes de Livia Parnes; FIGUEIREDO, Ana Gabriela da Silva. “The Portuguese Marranos Committee. A contribution to a unknown history”. In: TAVIM, José Alberto R. Silva et. al. (Org.). *As diásporas dos judeus e cristãos-novos de origem ibérica entre o Mar Mediterrâneo e o Oceano Atlântico*. Estudos. Lisboa: CH, 2020; FRANCO, Manuela. “Judeus em Portugal”. In: MÓNICA, Maria Filomena; BARRETO, António (Coord.). *Dicionário de História de Portugal. Suplemento*, Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, v. 8, 1999 p. 314-324; GREEN, Abigail; SULLAM, Simon Levis (Eds.). *Jews, Liberalism, anti-Semitism. A global history*. Londres: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021; MARTINS, Jorge. *A República e os judeus*. Lisboa: Nova Vega, 2010; MEA, Elvira de Azevedo; STEINHARDT, Inácio. *Ben-Rosh. Biografia do Capitão Barros Basto, o “apóstolo dos marranos”*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1997; PARNES, Livia. *Présences juives dans le Portugal contemporain (1820-1939)*, 2 volumes, Paris, 2002 (policopiado); VITAL, David. *A People Apart. The Jews in Europe (1789-1939)*. Oxford: OUP, 2009.

regime (Estado Novo, 1933-1974), a revolutionary process (1974-1976) and a democratic regime (1976-...), always under the guise of republicanism.

Brazil, for its part, has experienced a liberal-conservative monarchical regime with authoritarian overtones (Empire, 1822-1889); a demoliberal regime with authoritarian overtones (First Republic, 1889-1930), authoritarian right-wing governments (New Republic, 1930-1937) and a tendentially totalitarian right-wing regime (Estado Novo, 1937-1945)¹⁰, an openly demoliberal regime but with authoritarian overtones (1946-1964), a tendentially totalitarian right-wing regime (Military Dictatorship, 1964-1985) and a democratic regime (1985-...), also always under the guise of republicanism.

With regard to the Jews and Marranos of today, on the one hand, and the memory of the Jews and New Christians of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, on the other, I believe that in both countries it is possible to identify anti-Jewish, anti-Semitic, philo-Semitic, Zionist or pro-Zionist attitudes and actions. Although most anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic attitudes are associated with conservative and/or right-wing worldviews, there have also been manifestations of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism based on left-wing values. I would also argue that, as a result of both the choices made by their respective elites and the pressures exerted by the dominant powers in the spheres of influence into which they were integrated, neither the Portuguese nor the Brazilian states pursued radical anti-Semitic policies, much less genocidal anti-Semitic policies from the 19th to the 21st centuries.

Both the Portuguese constitutional monarchy and the Brazilian empire, while claiming to be Catholic, allowed the practice of other religious denominations – including Judaism – as long as they were not openly practiced in public. Most of the intellectuals and political leaders of both conservative-liberal regimes even defended a philo-Semitic interpretation of the past and future of both countries: the persecution of Jews and New Christians would explain some of the blockages accumulated in the modern era; overcoming this “backwardness” (economic, social, scientific and technological) would depend

¹⁰ Assuming that the characteristics of dictatorial, authoritarian and/or totalitarian governments and regimes, which seek to legitimise and consolidate themselves on the basis of predominantly right-wing ideologies, essentially define ideologies, symbol and actions that are typical of the far right. A similar logic would apply to dictatorial governments and regimes – authoritarian and/or totalitarian – that seek to legitimise and consolidate themselves on the basis of mainly left-wing ideologies. See NUNES, João Paulo Avelãs. “Sobre a utilidade da teoria na historiografia: o exemplo da história dos regimes políticos no século XX”. In: DOCKHORN, Gilvan Veiga et. al. (Coords.). *Brasil e Portugal: ditaduras e transições para a democracia*. Santa Maria e Coimbra: Editora UFSM e IUC, 2020a, p. 47-71.

in particular on the reconstitution and full integration of the respective Jewish communities, preferably of Sephardic tradition.

Symbolised by the “Dreyfus Affair” (France, 1894-1906) and the publication of several editions of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1903-1905 and later), moderate and/or radical anti-Semitism became part of the arguments of Portuguese and Brazilian personalities and organisations, both on the right and far right and on the left and far left, at least since the last decade of the 19th century. Although several of the aforementioned ideological and political actors presented themselves as Catholics, what was to become the dominant current of organised Catholicism (conservative Christian democracy) opted for moderate anti-Semitism, anti-Judaism or even the absence of hostile references to Jews, New Christians and Marranos.

It was during this period – the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century – that the myths of anti-Semitism reached their highest expression in Europe and America, relevant to the subsequent viability of the years of mass violence against people of Jewish origin and, later, genocide (the Holocaust). The Jews would be an Asian people who wanted to dominate the world by destroying the superior “Western civilisation” (Christian, monarchical and corporatist). Loyal to their nation, they would try to blend in and disguise themselves, but would refuse to integrate effectively into any other state. The creators of a despotic dictatorship, they would promote liberalism and democracy, anarchising communism and wars.

As fanatical believers in their Eastern religion, they would advocate secularism and religious freedom, atheism and the desecration of Christian places of worship, the ritual murder of children and the elderly. As economic and social parasites, they would propagate capitalism and collectivism. Hostages to an animalistic male sexuality, they would spread feminism and divorce, contraception and abortion, prostitution and paedophilia, alcohol and drug abuse. Supposedly incapable of subtlety and aesthetic grandeur, they favoured subjectivism and what many anti-Semitic activists and individuals called or saw as “degenerate art”.

Faced with the proclaimed indisputability of this characterisation – supposedly validated by theology, philosophy and/or science – the anti-Jews advocated the relentless pursuit of converting every single Jew to what they called “the true religion” (in other words, one of the forms of Christianity). Moderate anti-Semites proposed to demonstrate the danger posed by Jews by segregating them preventively, limiting the number of Jews in each country

and monitoring the links between each national Jewish community and a mythical “Jewish International”. The radical and genocidal anti-Semites demanded that priority be given to denouncing the absolute evil of the Jews, to their dispossession and expulsion, and to the cultural and physical elimination of all Semites who resisted the so-called “racial hygiene” measures (presented as legitimate and indispensable).

Both the First Brazilian Republic and its Portuguese counterpart formally legalised the public practice of the Jewish religion, claiming, with varying degrees of accuracy, to be secularist and to promote religious freedom. Much of the criticism levelled at the two authoritarian regimes, from both the far right and the far left, referred to alleged links between the republican leadership and the “Jewish International”, namely through Freemasonry, “capitalist plutocracy” and “Russian Bolshevism”, the “surrender” of parts of “national territory” (including the non-autonomous territories) and the defence of multilateralism.

After the establishment of authoritarian and/or totalitarian right-wing governments or dictatorial regimes – the military dictatorship and the Estado Novo in Lisbon, the New Republic and the Estado Novo in Rio de Janeiro – in the 1930s and until immediately after the Second World War, the Portuguese and Brazilian states returned to an informal Catholic confessionalism. Although legislation and institutional practice generally preserved the basic principles of the secularisation of both state apparatuses and civil societies (including individuals of Jewish origin), some of the “organic intellectuals” and political leaders of these dictatorships adopted radical anti-Semitic discourses and moderate anti-Semitic practices.

According to the same ideologists, Catholicism was the defining force in Portugal and Brazil. Both countries had been victims of “Jewish aggression” since the end of the Western Roman Empire (support for the Muslim invasion, constant provocation of Catholics, the practice of usury and hoarding, ritual murders of children and the elderly, sexual violence against Catholic women, the clandestine spread of Judaism, support for the Dutch invasions, support for the Napoleonic invasions). Hence the undeniable necessity and legitimacy of the outbreaks of “popular justice” against the Jewish quarters in the Middle Ages, the forced conversion to Catholicism or the expulsion in the late 15th/early 16th centuries, and the activity of the Holy Office of the Inquisition from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

They also proclaimed that, after the 1820 and 1822 ruptures, it had become essential to keep the Portuguese and Brazilian Jewish communities small, as assimilated as possible and under surveillance, to prevent the Marranos from abandoning Catholicism and returning to Judaism; to prohibit the entry of more people of Jewish origin – as immigrants, refugees or exiles – or to guarantee their exit; to support the “governments of order” of countries that, “belatedly” compared to Spain and Portugal, were alleviating or resolving their “Jewish problems”. Despite unequivocally recognising the scale and brutality of the Holocaust, the creation of the State of Israel and the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council, the Portuguese Estado Novo, at least until the end of António de Oliveira Salazar’s term of office (1968), remained firmly committed to the above assumptions and practices. Lisbon did not establish diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv until May 1977, three years after the coup d’état/revolution of 25 April 1974.

Before and after the beginning of the Second World War and, later, the outbreak of the Holocaust, after the end of this generalised military conflict and the Estado Novo under Getúlio Vargas, the evolution of the Brazilian case was quite different. Although some of the leaders of the dictatorship, high-ranking members of the state apparatus and individuals/organisations from civil society defended the above-mentioned anti-Semitic and hegemonic ideology and practice, other regime leaders, members of the state apparatus and individuals/organisations from civil society (including most representatives and members of the Jewish community) voiced alternative perspectives and interventions in the opposite direction.

Due to the differences between the two dictatorships, to the two civil societies and the two Jewish communities between the mid-1930s and the immediate aftermath of the World War II and the Holocaust, many people of Jewish origin ended up in Brazil as immigrants or refugees. A significant proportion of these people ended up staying in Brazil and acquiring Brazilian citizenship. Conversely, the Marrano nuclei continued to receive little recognition. Brazil became a belligerent state on the side of the Allies, adopted an openly demolitionist regime with authoritarian overtones (1946-1964), critically revisited the anti-Judaism and proto-anti-Semitism present during the colonial period, condemned the genocidal anti-Semitism of Germany under the Nazi regime, and established diplomatic relations with Israel in February 1949. The situation was largely maintained during the military

dictatorship (1964-1985) and largely resumed after the establishment of a democratic regime (1985-...)¹¹.

Possible strategies for patrimonialisation and socio-cultural intervention

I agree with those who argue that the concepts, policies and practices related to cultural heritage – technological knowledge derived from historiography and other social sciences – have been introduced in each country since they were first structured as contemporary states (i.e. nation states or nation states with civil societies, political systems and state apparatuses). They consist of the more or less integrative or exclusionary,

¹¹ See, inter alia, J. AMEAL, João. *História de Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1940; J AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de. *História dos cristãos novos portugueses*. Lisboa: Livraria Clássica Editora, 1921; CARNEIRO, Maria Luiza Tucci. *O anti-semitismo na Era Vargas*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2001; FRANCO, Manuela. “Uma influência portuguesa no Levante? A diplomacia ao serviço da propaganda do prestígio da República”, *Política Internacional*, 2002, p. 187-206; “Diversão balcânica: os israelitas portugueses de Salónica”, *Análise Social*, n. 170, 2004, p. 119-147; HAWKINS, Mike. *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought (1860-1945)*. Cambridge: CUP, 1998; LIMA, Joaquim Alberto Pires de. *Mouros, judeus e negros na história de Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1940; LOFF, Manuel. *As duas ditaduras ibéricas na nova ordem eurofascista*. Florença: 2004, vol. 3 (policopiado); LOUÇÃ, António; PACCAUD, Isabel. *O segredo da Rua d’O Século*. Lisboa: Fim de Século, 2007; MARTINS, Jorge. “O moderno anti-semitismo em Portugal”, *Vária Escrita*, n. 11, 2004, p. 291-336; A.G. Mattoso, 1939; MEA, Elvira Cunha de Azevedo (Coord.). *Amílcar Paulo: o delfim do Capitão Barros Basto*. Colectânea da sua obra. Porto: CIP, 2018; MILGRAM, Avraham (Ed.). *Entre la aceptación y el rechazo. América Latina y los refugiados judíos del nazismo*. Jerusalém: Yad Vashem, 2003; _____, *Portugal, Salazar e os judeus*. Lisboa: Gradiva, 2010; NUNES, João Paulo Avelãs Nunes. “Neo-darwinism and politico-ideological concepts in Portugal during the first half of the 20th century”. In: PEREIRA, Ana Leonor et. al. (Ed.). *Darwin, evolution, evolutionisms*. Coimbra: IUC, 2011, p. 151-155; _____, “Darwinismo social e antisemitismo: o caso português”, *Cultura, Espaço & Memória*, n. 5, 2014, p. 117- 132; _____, “A memória histórica como instrumento de controlo durante o Estado Novo português: o exemplo do antisemitismo”. In: CARNEIRO, Maria Luiza Tucci; MONTEIRO, Maria Elizabeth Brêa (Org.). *O controle dos corpos e das mentes. Estratégias de dominação dos regimes fascistas e autoritários*. Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo: Arquivo Nacional e LEER/USP, 2019, p. 87-113.; _____, “Sobre a utilidade da teoria na historiografia: o exemplo da história dos regimes políticos no século XX”. In: DOCKHORN, Gilvan Veiga et. al. (Coords.). *Brasil e Portugal: ditaduras e transições para a democracia*. Santa Maria e Coimbra: Editora UFSM e IUC, 2020a, p. 47-71; _____, “Antijudaísmo e antisemitismo moderado, em Portugal, nas décadas de 1930 e 1940”. SENKMANN, Leonardo; MILGRAM, Avraham (Eds.). *Cultura, ideología y fascismo. Sociedad civil iberoamericana y Holocausto*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2020b, p. 305-342; PEREIRA, Ana Leonor. *Darwin em Portugal: filosofia, história, engenharia social (1865-1914)*. Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 2001; PHAYER, Michael. *The Catholic Church and the Holocauste (1930-1965)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000; PIMENTEL, Irene Flunser. “O anti-semitismo português na primeira metade do século XX: marginal e importado”. *História*, 3ª Série, n. 15, 1999, p. 42-53; REMÉDIOS, Joaquim Mendes dos. *Os judeus em Portugal*. Coimbra: F. França Amado — Editor, vol. 1, 1895; SAA, Mário. *A invasão dos judeus*. Lisboa: Libanio da Silva, 1925; SCHAEFER, Ansgar. *Portugal e os refugiados judeus provenientes do território alemão*. Coimbra: IUC, 2014; SEQUEIRA, Francisco Pereira de; PEIXOTO, José de Lemos. *Os planos da autocracia judaica: Protocolos dos Sábios de Sião*. Porto: Livraria Portuguesa, 1923; TURDA, Marius e GILLETTE, Aaron. *Latin eugenics in comparative perspective*. Londres: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016; WASSERSTEIN, Bernard. *On the Eve. The Jews of Europe Before the Second World War*. Londres: Profile Books, 2012.

consensual or violent management of memories and identities (based on sites, buildings, structures, objects and rituals of remembrance), and aim at the construction and intensification/dissemination of feelings of belonging to a nation and of difference – superior or otherwise – in relation to other nations or populations/territories.

At the traditional cultural heritage level, the hegemony of unitary, essentialist and historicist nationalist readings is almost universal, especially after the Second World War/Holocaust and in countries with democratic/multilateralist regimes. Attempts have been made to reconcile identification with the lowest common denominators, which are essential for the self-critical reproduction of national or federal patriotism, and the recognition of identities/memories upstream and downstream identities/national memories (new cultural heritage). It may be possible to consider that this approach corresponds to the recognition of the structuring multiculturalism of all individuals and all communities (different and similar characteristics, characteristics to be abandoned, maintained and introduced).

In terms of identity/memory vectors upstream of the national scale, I would mention those associated with different territorial scales (sub-local, local and regional), as well as with different criteria: ethnic and/or religious, socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-professional, political-ideological, sex, gender and the experience of sexuality, and age. With regard to identity/memory vectors downstream of the national scale, I would mention the affirmative spaces of civilisational complexes, the subcontinental and global or world spheres. In this context, I would mention the central role played by UNESCO and its journal, *The UNESCO Courier*, from the 1950s to the 1980s.

With the exception of the State of Israel (where we are dealing with history, memory and national identity), the study and subsequent preservation of memory and representation - through the dissemination of historiography, organisational culture, history teaching, cultural heritage, leisure and heritage tourism - of Portuguese and Brazilians of Jewish, Neo-Christian and Marrano origin, in the context of the Jewish diaspora and the Sephardic re-diaspora, will ultimately make more sense and has only become possible with this new historiography, this new cultural heritage and this new teaching of history. This is particularly true in terms of representation (through cultural heritage, organisational culture, leisure and heritage tourism, the dissemination of historiography and the teaching of history). This progress may be taking place, but at the same time it is not taking place, either in Portugal or in Brazil.

At least since the beginning of the 21st century, various Portuguese localities have seen the foundation of cultural heritage initiatives – routes to places, buildings, structures and socio-cultural practices; museums, museum centres and interpretation centres – whose main stated aims have to do with safeguarding memory and representing Portuguese of Jewish, New Christian and Marrano origin¹². Most of these projects are the work of local councils or Jewish communities, and to some extent incorporate the results of objective historiographical research and are linked to the project “Sephardic Routes: valuing Portuguese Jewish identity in intercultural dialogue” – Network of Jewish Quarters of Portugal. Several schools are organising activities on the subject, some of which are supported by Memoshoá - Associação Memória e Ensino do Holocausto [Holocaust Memory and Teaching Association].

However, it is also possible to identify less positive aspects. Some of the initiatives in question are excessively marked by ideological and/or religious proselytism, organisational promotion, territorial differentiation, the promotion of tourism as a mass culture, which ultimately leads to less historiographical rigour and to civic reductionism or Manichaeism. Some of these projects may not respect the privacy and wishes of the members of the Marrano groups. The Portuguese State has not yet assumed the responsibility of creating a heritage and museum offer (ideally with multiple centres) that continuously disseminates objective historiographical knowledge, promotes the multilateral transfer of knowledge and seeks to contribute to qualifying the civil debate on the Jews in the territory that is now Portugal, from Classical Antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages, on the New Christian Portuguese and the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the modern age, and on Jews and Marranos in contemporary Portugal.

Like many others, the so-called “minority issue” – or “divisive issue” or “difficult memory” – of the Portuguese of Jewish, Neo-Christian or Marrano

¹² E.g. the Sephardic Culture Interpretation Centre of the Northeast of Trás-os-Montes (Bragança), the Jewish Museum (Carção, Vimioso, Bragança), the Jewish Museum of Porto, The Holocaust Museum (Porto), the “Vilar Formoso Fronteira da Paz” Interpretation Centre (Almeida, Guarda), the Isaac Cardoso Jewish Culture Interpretation Centre (Trancoso, Guarda), the Jewish Museum (Belmonte, Castelo Branco), the House of Remembrance of the Jewish Presence (Castelo Branco), the Jewish Remembrance Centre (Vila Cova à Coelheira, Vila Nova de Paiva, Viseu), the future Aristides de Sousa Mendes Museum (Cabanas de Viriato, Carregal do Sal, Viseu), the “Jews of Coimbra” section of the Coimbra City Council Municipal Museum, the Abraão Zacuto Hebrew Museum (Tomar, Santarém), the Damião de Góis and Victims of the Inquisition Museum (Alenquer, Lisbon), the Jewish Community Interpretation Centre (Torres Vedras, Lisbon), the future Tikva – Jewish Museum (Lisbon), the Exiles Remembrance Space (Cascais, Lisbon), the House of the Inquisition – Jewish History Interpretation Centre (Monsaraz, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora), the Castelo de Vide Synagogue (Portalegre), the House of Jewish History (Elvas, Portalegre), the Jewish Historical Centre (Faro), the Hebrew Museum Ponta Delgada, São Miguel Island, Azores).

origin is not sufficiently addressed in the Portuguese non-tertiary education system, which continues to be primarily committed to preparing students for tests and exams, which by definition focus on the subjects and curricula considered to be the most important. There are no systemic incentives for schools to regularly organise extracurricular initiatives or activity clubs. The career statute, performance appraisal and in-service training do not encourage history teachers to make frequent use of links with local history and heritage, extra-curricular initiatives and activity clubs.

With regard to Brazil, despite the considerable size of its current Jewish community and the importance of Jews and New Christians in its historical development from the 16th century to the present day, there appear to be fewer initiatives in the areas of cultural heritage¹³ and non-higher education. While the weight of Brazilians of Ashkenazi or Oriental Jewish origin (who arrived since the second half of the 19th century) compared to Brazilians of Sephardic Jewish origin helps to explain the possible lower involvement of Brazilian Jewish organisations, the precariousness of the intervention of state and federal governments would require further contextualisation. The lack of knowledge and representation is even greater for Brazilians of Marrano origin.

To conclude this part of the article, I would like to draw attention to the ethical issues raised by historiographical research, scientific dissemination, heritage and the promotion, through leisure and heritage tourism, of the results of research on victims of discrimination, mass violence or genocide in general and, in particular, on individuals belonging to Portuguese or Brazilian Marrano groups (transitional processes). While the right to research is unquestioned and the subject matter is of great importance, the collection and use of oral history can only be carried out with the express consent of the people concerned.

There is also the question of the dissemination of research and, in particular, of the cultural heritage and the way in which it can be exploited, in the form of leisure and cultural heritage trips, to promote the experience and memory of individuals and groups of Portuguese and Brazilian Marranos. I would like to remind you that what is at stake is, first and foremost, the right to self-management of memory and privacy of individuals who are heirs to

¹³ I have identified the Kabal Zur Israel Synagogue (Recife, Pernambuco), the Abradjin Museum of the History of the Inquisition (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais), the Jewish Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the Jewish Museum of São Paulo, the Memorial of Jewish Immigration and Museum of Jewish Immigration (São Paulo), the Holocaust Museum (Curitiba, Paraná), the Marc Chagall Jewish Cultural Institute (Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul).

experiences of resistance and survival, but also of suffering, fear and disguise; of people who are perhaps immersed in syncretic and local popular cultures, less willing to be involved in global debates and sometimes characterised by a strong religious fundamentalism¹⁴.

Conclusion

After defining and attempting to demonstrate the contemporary relevance of the subject of this text, I began by explaining and substantiating my perspectives on the epistemological, theoretical-methodological and deontological aspects that frame current historiography in general and research on Portuguese and Brazilian Jews, New Christians and Marranos in particular. I then tried to summarise the information that has already been reconstructed and the perspectives of analysis that have already been put forward regarding the Jews, New Christians and Marranos who lived in Portugal and Brazil in modern and contemporary times. I drew attention to the possible presence of both anti-Judaism and proto-anti-Semitism from the 16th to the 18th centuries and to the actions of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

This was followed by a summary of the characterisations and interpretations that have been made of the ways in which Portugal and Brazil and their civil societies, political systems and state apparatuses have viewed and related to Jews and Marranos from 1820 and 1822 to the present day, both as representations of the past and the future and as individuals (citizens, exiles, refugees or immigrants). I have argued that the use of the theoretical categories of philo-Semitism, radical anti-Semitism and/or moderate anti-Semitism, social Darwinism and positive eugenics, religious fundamentalism

¹⁴ See, in particular, ARENDT, Hannah. *Homens em tempos sombrios* (translated from English). Lisboa: Relógio D'Água Editores, 2021; FRACAPANE, Karel; HASS, Mathias (Eds.). *Holocaust education in a global context*. Paris/Berlim: UNESCO Publishing/Topography of Terror Foundation, 2014; GUTERMAN, Marco. *Holocausto e memória*. São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2020; GUTTERMAN, Bella; SHALEV, Avner (Eds.). *To bear witness. Holocaust remembrance at Yad Vashem*. Jerusalém: Yad Vashem, 2005; JESUS, Carlos Gustavo Nóbrega de. *Anti-semitismo e nacionalismo, negacionismo e memória. Revisão Editora e as estratégias da intolerância (1987-2003)*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2006; LACAPRA, Dominick. *History and memory after Auschwitz*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998; NUNES, João Paulo Avelãs Nunes. "Modalidades de intolerância no passado e no presente: o exemplo do anti-semitismo", *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, v. 63, 2023, p. 167-188; SEN, Amartya. *Identidade e violência* (translated from English). Lisboa: Edições Tinta-da-China, 2007; TRAVERSO, Enzo. *O passado, modos de usar* (translated from French). Lisboa: Edições Unipop, 2012; WHIGHAM, Kerry. *Resonant violence. Affect, memory, and activism in pós-genocide societies*. Londres: Rutgers University Press, 2022.

and Zionism is appropriate for producing more objective knowledge about the subject in question.

Finally, the use and non-use of history and heritage education, organisational culture and leisure and heritage tourism in Portugal and Brazil to disseminate knowledge about Jews, New Christians and Marranos was reviewed and assessed. Despite the developments that have taken place in recent decades, which are primarily the responsibility of Jewish communities, local councils and higher education institutions, I have highlighted the precarious presence or absence of the Portuguese and Brazilian states (federal and state) in this area of transitional processes and memory and identity policies.

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Article received for publication on 11/07/2024

Approved on 16/09/2024.