

SEFARAD
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החברה לחקר יהדות ספרד ופורתה | סגידתו די אספודיוס ספארדיס
 Sociedad de estudios sefaradis | Society for Sephardic Studies

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 CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA
 UIDB/04311/2013

**The Ninth Annual Conference
 of the Society for Sephardic
 Studies**

***Sephardi Jews between the
 Mediterranean Sea
 and the Atlantic Ocean***



Image: Gutman Museum, Tel Aviv. The Drona and Pinchas Zackai Hanukkah lamp collection. Hanukkah lamp, Holland, early 19th century. The Moroccan and the Dutch Hanukkah lamps resemble one another due to the close ties maintained by the two Jewish communities in these countries. Reproduction authorized.

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RESUMOS /ABSTRACTS

KEINOTE 1

Aviva Ben-Ur, UMass Amherst, USA

From 'Portuguese' to 'Sephardi': The Transformation of Atlantic Jews

Over the course of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, Europe's Atlantic coast became devoid of Jews through massacres, forced conversion to Christianity, and expulsion. Jewish communities were gradually restored to the region starting in the 1590s and 1650s, when Amsterdam and London, respectively, removed residential bans against Jews. This keynote address will demonstrate that for roughly the first two centuries of Jewish resettlement on Europe's Atlantic coast, Jews of Iberian origin identified as "Portuguese," and not as "Sephardi." Their transition to "Sephardi" identity reflects their absorption of thousands of Jews from the Eastern Mediterranean, who, starting in the late nineteenth century, left the (former) Ottoman Empire for cities such as London, Paris, and New York. The change in nomenclature from "Portuguese" to "Sephardi" shows how Portuguese Jews of the Atlantic World lost their close ties with the Iberian Peninsula and created a new self-definition that encompassed virtually all non-Ashkenazi Jews. This address will consider both overarching patterns and specific examples drawn from the Dutch colony of Suriname in South America, London, and New York.

KEINOTE 2

Maria José Pimenta Ferro Tavares, Universidade Aberta/Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas-Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

A comunidade cristã nova de Tomar (secs. XVI-XVII)

Pretende-se analisar as relações familiares e a prevalência das tradições judaicas no seio delas, ao mesmo tempo que a família vai sofrendo uma miscigenação devido ao cruzamento com famílias cristãs velhas e a entrada de alguns dos seus filhos no clero secular e na vida religiosa.

KEYNOTE 3

Irene Flunser Pimentel, Instituto de História Contemporânea, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

Jewish refugees and anti-Nazis among the Portuguese during the Second World War

As soon as Hitler rose to power, in 1933, persecutions against Jews began. As the oppression and anti-Semitic laws toughened, the number of refugees seeking sanctuary in other European countries grew. In consequence, the latter closed their doors to the refugees. Portugal was no exception and also began to restrict its border policy namely to Jewish "emigrants". Although the Portuguese dictatorship of António Oliveira Salazar had some resemblances with the Nazi regime, the fact that the concept of biological racism – namely anti-Semitism – was not part of the Portuguese ideology or State allowed that some Jewish refugees entered in the country. Ironically, it was in an authoritarian and nationalistic dictatorship, where many refugees found temporary refuge. Before

discussing the subject of the sojourn of refugees in Portugal during the Second World War and their relationship with the Portuguese, we shall see how these three factors allowed Portugal to rescue many of those persecuted by German national-socialism: 1) reasons stemming from the structure of the regime itself, that reflect the character of the New State/Estado Novo and in particular the absence of anti-Semitism; 2) circumstantial reasons arising from Portugal's foreign policy during the Second World War, and 3) Difficulties that force us to look at how the Portuguese authorities behaved, namely the PVDE (Political and International Police) and Salazar, chief of Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

SESSION 1 - - *From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic*

Eliezer Papo, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

The Trans-Mediterranean/Trans-Atlantic Nature of the Sephardic Culture

After the Expulsion from Spain, in 1492, the Sephardic Jews established their new communities around the basin of the Mediterranean Sea. Most of the expulsions went to the Ottoman Empire, first to the two big port cities: Constantinople and Thessalonica, and later to the hinterland of the "European Turkey" (the Balkans), to Asia Minor (and its own city ports such as Smyrna) or to the Holy Land. Some expulsions opted for North Africa, while others referred to different Italian city-states, including the Papal lands. At the same time, for centuries to come, the descendants of the Jews forcefully converted in 1391 and 1492 kept leaving Spain and returning openly to their ancestral faith, mostly in the Protestant Holland (and its colonies) and later in Great Britain (and its colonies). Thus, new Sephardic communities were established on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, expanding the borders of "Virtual Sepharad" from a "Trans-Mediterranean Thalassocracy" to a "Trans-Mediterranean/Trans-Atlantic Thalassocracy". As a rule, Sephardim which went too far away from the (Mediterranean) Sea/(Atlantic) Ocean, within few generations assimilated into other Jewish ethnicities. Only those who stayed close to the Sea/Ocean could partake in the life of "Virtual Sepharad", maintaining close trade-related and cultural contacts with other sister communities. It was normal for rabbis from Northern Balkans to acquire their education in Venice's rabbinical academy and print there their books, for the Holland's communities of "returnees to Judaism", such as Amsterdam, to "import" rabbis from Thessalonica and for the Hakitia-speaking Jews of Morocco to keep printing their books in Livorno, until the modern times, due to the lack of printing houses in their own country. Many a time, Jews also played prominent roles in establishment of certain ports of international trade. Thus, for example, in 1592, an ex-*Converso*, Daniel Rodriguez, succeeded (with the authorization of the Senate of Venice), in establishing a free port in Spalato (today Split in Croatia), on the Adriatic Sea. Jewish merchants from the Ottoman Empire wanting to settle in Split were exempted from paying the residence tax; and immunity of person and capital was guaranteed to Jewish merchants traveling to Venice via Split. The free port prospered, undermining greatly the port of Republic of Ragusa (today Dubrovnik in Croatia). In striking opposition with the river-centered continental culture of the Ashkenazi Jews, in which the communities developed along the watersheds of the main rivers, the Sephardic culture was a sea/ocean centered one. This fact influenced greatly all aspects of Sephardic culture, as this lecture hopes to show.

Cynthia Seton-Rogers, The University of Texas at Dallas, USA
The Sephardim in the Age of Exploration and the Building of Empires

Prior to the “Age of Exploration”, there was the “Golden Age of Sephardic Jewry” in Islamic Iberia during the high medieval period. The advances made during this time in the knowledge and technology of navigation not only made crossing the Atlantic possible, they inspired it. This “Golden Age” ended at the end of the fifteenth century when the Jews of Spain and later Portugal were expelled. Some Sephardic Jews, however, were still able to make a place for themselves in the courts of other European countries, some of which had similarly expelled their own Jews. They did so by living not openly as Jews, but under the veil of conversion. These crypto-Jews solidified their place at court by serving their new sovereigns in varied capacities. For others, the New World presented an attractive alternative, as they hoped that it would provide a safe distance from the dangers of the Inquisition. Many retained their Spanish and Portuguese familial and mercantile connections, which placed them in a unique position of being able to serve as intermediaries for trade and diplomacy, while others used those associations to obtain and transmit valuable information. By placing themselves in these unique and strategic roles, these Sephardim were able to not only survive but at times also thrive within the constantly shifting political landscape of both the Old and New Worlds. While history remembers many of their names, their Jewish identities have traditionally been omitted from the standard history narratives. This paper seeks to remedy those omissions and will examine and redefine some of the contributions made by these Sephardic Jews and the ways in which they helped to shape world history.

SESSION 2 - Jews and conversos in Medieval and the beginning of the Early Modern Iberia

Ana Pereira Ferreira, Centro de História, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, CIDEHUS, Universidade de Évora, Portugal
Os Judeus na documentação medieval: o caso do fundo do Mosteiro de Chelas

Nem sempre é fácil encontrar documentação sobre judeus. Nesse sentido, é cada vez mais pertinente dar a conhecer o que os vários fundos medievais portugueses têm sobre o assunto: qual o tipo documental, a quantidade, os intervenientes, os tabeliães que lavravam a documentação, entre outras particularidades que nos permitem conhecer melhor a comunidade judaica medieval. Nesta apresentação, aquilo a que nos propomos é dar a conhecer o exemplo do mosteiro de Chelas, em Lisboa, cujo fundo está à guarda do Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo.

Guillermo López Juan, Universidad de Valencia, Spain
Conversos, Violence and Crime in a Mediterranean port city (Valencia, 1391-1420)

On July 9th 1391, a vast majority of the Jewish population of Valencia was forcibly converted to Christianity. Although being theoretically part of the Christian community, conversos were usually- although least frequently as time passed - identified as such in the Valencian sources til 1430. Epithets such as "conversus" and "neophitus" accompanying apparently Christian names has facilitated the identification, with relative ease, of the first two generations of converts.

Before the conversion, conflicts between Jews were dealt with by the royal bailiff. But, since conversos were Christian from both the legal and a theological standpoints, they immediately came under the jurisdiction of the ordinary justice. The family discords, personal rivalries and violent conflicts that had plagued the Valencian Jewry before 1391 resumed soon after, registered ever since in the records of the Justicia Criminal, the officer in charge of both public security and judging violent crimes within the city.

Through the examining of the court proceedings and the accounting records produced by the Valencian criminal court in the first thirty years after de conversion, it has been possible to study violence and crime involving conversos both qualitatively and quantitatively. The resulting analysis will be the subject of discussion of this paper.

SESSION 3 - *Conversos of Early Modern Iberia*

Maria Leonor García da Cruz, Centro de História/ Faculdade de Letras da
 Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal
Conversos and royal finances in Portugal in the 16th century: tensions, escape and solutions

The emotions of Old Christians and Conversos were aroused on the eve of the onset of the Inquisition in Portugal, provoking excitement and revolt, by way of words and deeds in the streets and in the Courts. This undoubtedly drew the attention of the royal household. In an area particularly sensitive to royal jurisdiction and social discipline that of public finances, sources also reveal tension in the 1530s.

Many of the finance agents spread over the Kingdom were conversos, occupying important positions in the treasury of the Kingdom or in the Lisbon Customs, or were just almozarifas (storekeepers), contadores (regional accountants) or recebedores das sisas (receivers) from different places.

The documents registered in the royal Chancellery reveal, among other phenomena, that of Jewish clandestineness and feelings of threat, fear and escape, denunciations, the prompting of inquiries and redistribution of professional posts, together with repercussions in social and economic fields, as well as in the field of justice.

The aim of this presentation is to point out gaps in historiography in the modern period to lead to the systematic and in-depth research of the history of the economy,

society and mindsets.

Claude B. Stuczynski, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Anti-Converso Propaganda, International Networking and the Portuguese Restoration

This lecture will underscore the real and imagined roles played by New Christians during the dynastical uprising of John of Braganza against the Habsburg. Partly, based in unknown archival sources I will show the place of Conversos in early modern political turmoils for being related to international networks.

Ana Paula Lloyd, King`s College London, United Kingdom

The Suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition 1674-81; The Female Perspective

This paper will use the unprecedented Suspension of the Portuguese Inquisition, 1674-81 as a prism through which to examine female New Christian agency. This was a European-scale political confrontation between the New Christians and Portuguese Inquisition, the denouement of a three hundred year-long political struggle between both groups. The crisis began in London with resistance from New Christian exiles. The focus then transferred to Lisbon, with a request for a General Pardon, or reprieve from inquisitorial persecution, with the final showdown playing out in Rome, ‘the theatre of the world’, where it grew into a full-blown crisis over the existence of Inquisition itself. The New Christians’ representatives were entrepreneurial risk takers who had honed their considerable cross-cultural negotiating skills building the Portuguese empire, trading across social and geographical borders. In 1673, with their families and community facing existential peril, a small group of New Christian merchants mobilised themselves to end the latest and most severe wave of persecution from the Inquisition. This was a group of men who had travelled widely with contacts across the Atlantic World, they were of flexible identity and highly adaptable, able to function in multiple environments. But what of their wives, daughters and mothers. If the experience of repression and social mobility galvanised their male relatives, what did it do to them? Are New Christian women to be absent from this story, merely voiceless victims? The evidence suggests not. Inquisitorial records show strong traces of mercantile activity and even political activity amongst the daughters and wives of a number of the powerful merchants who opposed the Inquisition during the period. Some of these women were even involved in the most feared of crimes, breaking open the secrets of the inquisition and disseminating them. Furthermore, to complicate the picture, not all New Christian women resisted the Inquisition at this crucial moment. As has been argued in relation to consistorial trials in France, legal attention empowered some women, allowing them to use the system to denounce and morally discipline men and women from their community. This can also be seen in Portugal. Using details from Inquisitorial trials and wills from these women, comparing and contrasting their experiences in Portugal, London and Rome, this paper will explore ways to conceptualise the agency of this overlooked group.

SESSION 4 - Conversos: ideological and cultural issues

Moisés Orfali, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Los judeoconversos portugueses: entre el acoso y la marginación

Durante el s. XVI en Portugal se agudizó el ya persistente problema de los judeoconversos. A partir de entonces se intensificó el acoso a estos últimos por parte de los que se decían cristianos de siempre, que se encargaron de crear y universalizar un clima hostil para lograr la muerte, si no física, sí social de los "peligrosos" cristianos nuevos.

Nuestra comunicación tratará de explicar el transcurso de este acoso y la marginación a que fue sometida la nueva "clase social" de los conversos portugueses. Este proceso como es bien sabido se inicia en Castilla a mediados del s. XV pero en Portugal a medida que avanza el s. XVI, tiende a relegar a la minoría conversa a los estratos de la más radical de las marginaciones. En ello, actuaron cómo no, intereses económicos, sociales y claros motivos políticos. Pero pesaban, más aún, las incompatibilidades de mentalidades religiosas sacralizadas, en las que la intolerancia era el componente sustancial y la pureza de fe el presupuesto de la conciencia de una misión divina.

Diversos son los escritos que, inmersos en esta situación socio-religiosa de características muy definidas, presentan ante el estudioso ejemplos del proceso segregacionista. Siguiendo los estudios impulsados por el mismo I. Révah sobre la literatura antijudía en Portugal, vamos a tratar también del más violento de una serie de autores portugueses o afincados en Portugal en el siglo XVII que transmitieron en sus libros el mensaje de desconfianza hacia los cristianos nuevos y sus descendientes llegando al extremo de proponer su expulsión.

Durante este último período, la fabulación pretendía confirmar en formas groseras el peligro permanente de los judeoconversos con todos los tópicos forjados anteriormente (conversión fingida, dedicación a oficios viles, peligrosidad social por sus actividades médicas, infiltración en cabildos y órdenes religiosas, etc.) En tierras lusitanas se decía que las relaciones de los cristianos nuevos con altas dignidades de la Iglesia, e incluso con el inquisidor general, don Fernao Martins Mascarenhas, habían sido muy estrechas; y que las juderías más famosas de los países que atacaban Portugal estaban llenas de fugitivos portugueses, que no sólo apostataban, sino que también enriquecían al enemigo y le aleccionaban. Una y otra vez se produjeron protestas de la Inquisición de Lisboa, dirigidas a la Corte, denunciando hechos semejantes. En diversas peticiones se manda a pedir que se tomen severas medidas contra los cristianos nuevos, que se hayan convictos en su totalidad -según los escritos- de traición y relaciones con los holandeses enemigos de Portugal, de engaños en sus tratos y de falsa religión, incluso cuando se trataba de frailes y de monjas. En uno de estos documentos se insistía con particular énfasis en el poder de los cristianos nuevos y en su judaísmo absoluto.

António Bento, Universidade da Beira Interior, Covilhã, Portugal

What Trade and Stock Market do to Religion: Weighing Averroism, Crypto-Judaism, and Atheism

The purpose of this presentation is to reopen the debate (notably of Yitzhak Baer, I. S. Révah, Benzion Netanyahu, Márquez Villanueva, Yosef Kaplan, among others) about the influence of Averroism in the conversion of Spanish Jews to Christianity after 1391 (Seville Matanzas) and 1413-1414 (disputation of Tortosa) and to evaluate its posterior metamorphose and impact on the elaboration of the economic principles of modern capitalism as put forth by the “Portuguese Nation” of Amsterdam. Indeed, from “court Jews” in Iberia during the first 15th century half to “new-Jews” of Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg and London in the 17th century, Averroes political teaching, with its cortege of heretical topics – substitution of the prophecy by the astrology, divine providence and immortality of souls refusal, relativization in the fulfilment of commandments, criticism of rabbi’s authority, progressive substitution of theology by philosophy, of certitude by fortune and contingency, the primacy of scepticism, materialism and individualism – impregnated modern Jewish diaspora in multiple aspects. From the anti-rabbinical and anti-Talmudic works of Spanish conversos of the 15th century (*Zelus Christi contra Judaeos*, Pedro de la Caballería, *Fortalitium Fidei*, Alonso de Espina) to the excommunications of Uriel da Costa, Juan de Prado and Baruch Espinosa in the 17th century, political Averroism of converse origin has continuously shown a powerful dissolution effect of normative Judaism in the diaspora while contributing at the same time in a decisive manner to the emergence of the first theoretical reflections about the functioning of stock market (*Confusión de confusiones*, José de la Vega). Iberian conversos were effectively the first who, in the course of three centuries (from 15th to 17th century), formulated in an extraordinarily persistent and audacious way the radical disbelief in the immortality and spirituality of the soul: «no hay sino nascer e morir como bestias»; «en este mundo non me verás malpasar, e en el otro no me verás penar»; «no hay infierno, y el parayso es tener dinero». This converso Averroism resulted all the more in Epicureanism as for rabbinic Judaism (which conversos challenged and even proudly disbelieved with «lozanía e empinación») the term «Epicurean» was always a clear synonym of apostasy. In its various expressions and unfoldings, converso Averroism was a powerful weapon against the scholastic tradition, both rabbinic and papist, and it was from this desperate and extraordinary daring that secularization of civil life was born as well as rational reasoning in modern politics and economy.

Axel Kaplan Szyld, Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Cristianos Nuevos y La Cuarta parte de la Introducción del Símbolo de la fe (1583): Razones de una afinidade

En el presente artículo se tratará la peculiar afinidad del publico judeoconverso hacia la Cuarta Parte de la Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe (1583) de Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588).

La labor de componer un catecismo para Cristianos Nuevos lleva consigo una serie de aspectos problemáticos: se recalcará la traducción al romance, extensiva y variada de fragmentos completos de la biblia, especialmente, del viejo testamento y sus profetas.

Asimismo, se expondrá el uso intensivo de las obras de Flavio Josefo, odiadas por la censura inquisitorial de su tiempo.

Sin embargo, como tesis principal del estudio, elaboraré la hipótesis que, no fue el fácil acceso a las sagradas escrituras en romance, o la sustracción de posibles datos relevantes al pueblo hebreo histórico, los causantes principales de la seducción por parte de los conversos (dentro de ellos los judaizantes) hacia la obra. Si no, que fue el modo de Fray Luis de elaborar la tensión existente entre el Viejo y el Nuevo Testamento, la actitud positiva adoptada con respecto a los primeros cristianos de origen judío, así como el papel soteriológico otorgado por Fray Luis al pueblo de Israel, los promotores de esta peculiar atracción.

En contra de la voluntad del autor, su manera judeocristiana de concebir el catolicismo, intencionada para atraer al público marginado de los Cristianos Nuevos, suscitó lecturas judaizantes y subversivas dentro de sus lectores Conversos.

SESSION 5 - Sephardic Jews: economic activities

Amândio Jorge Morais Barros, School of Education of Polytechnic of Porto, Portugal
Seaports, New Christians and the games of exchange in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. A glance rom the Northern Portuguese Ports.

In recent years, international historiography has looked more closely at the intervention of the Portuguese and Castilian agents in the construction of the first global age (15th to 19th centuries), noticing cooperation mechanisms and the breadth of business and entrepreneurship developed from the Iberian Peninsula. However, this attention still lacks elements that make it more intelligible and evident in the construction of historiographical narratives that move further away from traditional interpretations, which involved (and, in some ways, continue to involve) the actions of these agents in the perspective of central powers and the Crown.

In this sense, port studies constitute a good basis for more comprehensive assessments, capable of identifying the actors in these processes and the scope of their actions. Starting with defining the geographies of the business and its links, and with this, to introduce the question of the ports and the Atlantic trade, giving attention to other maritime spaces than Lisbon (albeit with it articulated), elites, rivalries and alliances that have marked their presence in these same ports, and identify their members, their dealings and their strategies.

In the case that I intend to study and to present, that of the intervention of the Portuguese ports in this process, the leading role of the New Christians is overwhelming. From the notarial documentation of the Northern Portuguese ports and the correspondence that these businessmen exchanged with European merchants and bankers, there are illuminating (and often unknown) data about their origins, their families, the relations they established with the main centers of the Early Modern economy, the networks they created and the companies and enterprises they directed and managed. These are fresh and essential data for the study of the history of these agents and the way they participated in the main economic and social constructions of this period.

Daniel Strum, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil.

Courts and diaspora: commercial cases involving traders of Jewish origin in sixteenth and seventeenth century Brazil, Portugal and Netherlands.

This paper argues that coercive and reputational mechanisms coevolved interdependently. It demonstrates that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the legal system could and did resolve commercial disputes among traders – including about agency services – across wide distance and different political units, even during wartime. Yet sources indicate that merchants filed hardly any commercial lawsuits in a lifetime on average. Moreover, if courts had been the primary governance mechanism, merchants would have notarized and collateralized more than just a handful of transactions in a lifetime to secure the best possible legal evidence and enforceable guarantees. Infrequent notarization suggests that merchants resorted to litigation after less costly reputational mechanisms failed and compensated the latter enforcement limitations. Hence, the legal system was not ineffective but rather designed to be a second-order mechanism and supplement reputational institutions. The paper also classifies the types of cases over which merchants litigated, and explains why, in those matters, costs entailed by litigation paid off. Powers of attorney and other sources referring to merchants of Jewish origin plying the sugar trade route, which allegedly constituted a cohesive trading diaspora, provide direct and indirect evidence to support those hypotheses.

Nimrod Gaatone, Bar-Ilan and Tel-Aviv Universities, Israel

Leadership in an Atlantic Sephardic community at the 18th century: The case of David Alexander from Bayonne (France)

Prominent researchers, such as Jonathan Israel and Francesca Trivellato, have described the Western Sephardim as border-crossers because of the world-wide business they conducted that were able to overcome geographic, political, ethnic and religious frontiers. Sephardic firms, such as Gradis from Bordeaux, and 'Ergas and Silveyra' from Livorno, took active part in commercial networks ranging from Western Africa to the Americas and across the Atlantic to Europe, in the Western Hemisphere, and from South-East Asia and India and across the Indian Ocean to the Middle-East, in the Eastern Hemisphere.

Some of the businessmen who headed these firms, had close ties with the authorities at their places of residence. For example, Abraham Gradis, the head of his family firm in the mid-18th century, was described by a French noble as "the patron of the city of Bordeaux".

In this paper, we will discuss the case of David Alexander, Gradis' nephew from Bayonne, at the South-West of France, who was the head of a family company and a prominent member of his local community. We will examine Alexander's role as both a business entrepreneur and a Sephardic community leader and ask whether he was a border-crosser. In this regard, we will pay special attention to Alexander's close ties with the Iberian Peninsula, and to his family and business relations with his powerful uncle,

Abraham Gradis, from Bordeaux. We will examine if and how these connections contributed to the political status of the Sephardim in Bayonne during the second half of the 18th century.

SESSION 6 - Sephardic Jews: intellectual life

Miquel Beltran Munar and Meritxell Blasco Orellana, Universitat de les Illes Balears and Universitat de Barcelona

An account of Abraham Cohen de Herrera's life from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Spaces

Concerning the second subject that the organizers of the Ninth Annual Conference invites us to consider, we have reminded that possibly one of the few Jews who resided in the three towns mentioned there –Hamburg, Amsterdam and London- was Abraham Cohen de Herrera, the only Kabbalist who wrote his work in Spanish. Besides, in *Puerta del Cielo* and *Casa de la divinidad* he named some other places in which he had been living, like Ragusa (Duvrobnik) where he met for the first time Israel Sarug and learned from him the Kabbalistic teachings of Isaac Luria. Our aim in this paper is to give an account of the astonishing life of Cohen de Herrera, between the Mediterranean- he confessed in one occasion that he was born in Florence, where he possibly acquired the astounding range of philosophical training he demonstrated to know in his Works- and the Atlantic sea. Concerning his life, he has been taken as a hostage by the Earl of Essex in Cádiz, whilst Herrera has working as a commercial agent for the Sultan of Morocco and travelled as a prisoner to Ware, near London, spending there several years. After his liberty, he has chosen the Atlantic towns of Hamburg and Amsterdam to spend the last years of his life. To give a detailed account of Herrera's extraordinary life will be interesting as an example of the mobility that characterized, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the life of many Jews across Europe and beyond. The issue of how Herrera was able to build the extraordinary syncretism of Neoplatonism and Lurianic Kabbalah in Spanish language could be in part explained by the travels that took him from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

Aron Sterk, University of Lincoln, United Kingdom

An early 18th century English Translation of the Spanish and Portuguese Prayer Book probably made for a Woman (Gaster MS 1596, John Rylands University Library).

MS 1596 in the Gaster collection of the John Rylands University Library is a handsomely bound and penned volume created in the early 18th century. The text is a translation of the Spanish and Portuguese liturgy of Amsterdam and London for the whole year except the High Holy Days - translated from the traditional Spanish text, rather than from the Hebrew. The text is remarkably similar to that described in another manuscript (location now unknown) described by Rev. S. Singer in 1896 and a manuscript in the collection of Bevis Marks Synagogue. On the basis of the comparison with these MSS and the internal evidence of the manuscript, the original translation may date to the mid-late 17th century, making it the earliest English translation of the complete Prayer Book. It also shows a number of characteristics that indicate it may have been made for a woman – possibly an English convert. This paper examines the manuscript in the context of the printed S & P Liturgy, of contemporary manuscript vernacular prayer books in the

Portuguese Jewish Diaspora, and Sephardic prayer books for women.

Yehonatan Elazar-DeMota, Asser Institute, The Hague (University of Amsterdam),
The Netherlands

Nação Legal Consciousness: Discussions on Slavery and Slave Trade in Seventeenth-century Amsterdam

In the seventeenth century, some conversos living in throughout Western Europe, who had been trained in the School of Salamanca, came to the Dutch Republic in search of religious freedom, where they reverted to the open practice of the Jewish tradition. A select few of them became scholars of Talmudic jurisprudence, while retaining their knowledge of Christian theology and Salamanca legal reasoning. As residents and foreigners in the Dutch Republic, these jurists and philosophers synthesized Greek philosophy, Iberian Roman law, Talmudic reasoning, Jewish and Christian philosophy, in light of the socioeconomic context of the Dutch Republic, to produce literature on behalf of reverted Jews. At the bedrock of Nação legal consciousness lies the jurisprudence of the Nação in seventeenth-century Amsterdam. The main focus of this research paper will be on the pressing issue: How did the Nação in seventeenth-century Amsterdam contribute to the legal-political discussions of natural law and nations as the “other within” the Amsterdam-Dutch Republic debate on slavery and the slave trade? While many have undertaken research on the development of natural law and nations, the contribution of the Sephardim in Amsterdam is insufficiently researched. Due to their ethno-religious identity, the narrative of the Nação was left in the periphery, allowing for others to become the sole central figures in the history and development of ius. The aim of this paper is to add to the discussion by examining the seventeenth-century Portuguese Hebrew Nation in the Dutch Republic and its colonies, whose ideas of potestas and libertas were central to the emergence of the Dutch Atlantic Slave Trade, as participants in, and contributors to natural law and nations. The goal is to reveal how the Nação in seventeenth-century Amsterdam participates in and contributes to the thinking, reasoning, and arguing about slavery and the slave trade, via the language, concepts, and notions of the time, which was dominated by the language of ius naturae et gentium. For that matter, this paper will entail a survey of the natural law theories of: Immanuel Aboab in his *Nomologia o Discursos Legales* (1629); Saul Levi Mortera in his *Tratado da Verdade da Lei de Moisés* (1659-1660); Abraham Pereyra in his *Espejo de la vanidad del mundo* (1671); and Isaac Cardoso in *Excelencia de los Hebreos* (1679). Finally, I will examine Menasseh ben Israel’s just war theory as expounded in his *Conciliator* (1632).

SESSION 7 - Issues in the Cultural Life of Sephardic Jews and Bnei Anussim

Judith Rita Cohen, York University, Toronto, Canada

“There will always be a gap” : Moroccan Sephardim in Montreal

The trans-Atlantic theme of this conference is reflected in the musical life of the Moroccan Sephardim who arrived in Canada, especially Montreal, beginning in the 1950s. In this paper, I discuss how my own participant observation research in the community over two decades metaphorically reflected the ocean that separates Morocco

and Montreal. More than one Moroccan Sephardic Jew said to me during interviews, "no matter how much you study, and no matter how well you learn our songs, there will always be a gap; you will always be separate from us."

Part of this gap was not simply my individual experience, but, rather, was part of the metaphorical ocean between Morocco and Montreal. At the time of the Moroccans' arrival, there were very few Sephardic Jews in Canada, they had not arrived from Morocco, had long stopped speaking any form of Spanish or Portuguese, and were more or less assimilated into the large majority of "Anglophone" (local terminology) Ashkenazi Jews, even, to a large extent, in the first congregation established in Montreal, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. The classic "if you don't speak Yiddish, how can you be Jewish?" attitude was prevalent. At the same time, during these first years of Moroccan Sephardic immigration, Montreal, together with the rest of the province of Quebec, was heading toward the "révolution tranquille", the "quiet revolution" of the 1960s, which saw a dramatic diminution in the Catholic church's role in daily life. One unexpected result was that a surprising number of Francophone Catholic young women converted to Judaism to marry Moroccan Sephardic men, whose good French, cosmopolitan appearance and general "exoticism" appealed to them just as they were feeling newly emancipated from Catholic upbringing. Eventually, it became more common for Moroccan Sephardim to marry local Ashkenazim, but they generally maintained their Moroccan Sephardic identity. The relatively small number of Sephardim from the former Ottoman lands often married Ashkenazim, but had little contact with the Moroccan Sephardim, who established a formal community structure and began to develop a Quebec Sephardic culture. The Spanish and *haketía* speakers among them were a minority, though a cohesive and active one; most were from south of the former Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, and spoke French and Arabic.

In the early 1980s, as an Anglophone Ashkenazi folksinger, I had begun to include Sephardic songs in my repertoire, and as a candidate for a doctorate in ethnomusicology, decided to focus on them for my dissertation, and to use the relatively new Montreal community for my main fieldwork. I was bemused to find myself not quite at home in my own home. Already, "la révolution tranquille" notwithstanding, Jews were not totally at home among "Québécois de pure laine" - and now, in this community, I both was and wasn't at home as a Jew. Fluency in French and Spanish helped reduce the gap, and when I became a founding member of the Canadian Moroccan Sephardic ensemble "Gerineldo", participant observation, using both French and Spanish, became a central part of my research and fieldwork.

Still, several Sephardim told me, "there'll always be a gap!" Being the only non-Moroccan, non-Sephardic member of Gerineldo served as a kind of microcosm of the Morocco-Montreal encounter. Wanting to incorporate Ottoman region songs into our Moroccan repertoire resulted in often uncomfortable dialogues, exacerbated by my perceived identity as "nuestra hippie", my Anglophone and Yiddish background, my Québec identity - and also my involvement with medieval, i.e. Christian-based, music.

In this paper, I analyze my own experience with the "gap", through years of musical meetings, conjunctions, disjunctions, collaborations, misunderstandings - both felicitous

and uncomfortable – to shed light on the metaphorical ocean in this trans-Atlantic context of Morocco in Montreal.

Jonathan Hirsch, Selma Stern Zentrum Jüdische Studien Berlin Brandenburg,
Germany

The Shar HaShamayim Synagogue - A Temple for Paris on the Nile

At the turn of the 20th century Cairo's Sephardi elite envisioned a new synagogue building that would serve the highly heterogeneous and rapidly growing migrant community as a representative showcase of the Jewish community and its advanced and self-confident status within the broader Egyptian society.

Joseph Cattawi Pasha - brother of the head of community – and Eduard Matasek - Austro-Hungarian architect and designer of the Egyptian pavilion at the World Exhibition 1893 – constructed the Shar HaShamayim Synagogue (1899-1905) in a Neo-Pharaonic style in the midst of the newly developed European neighborhood that Khedive Isma'il envisioned as 'Paris on the Nile'.

The allusion to a glorious ancient past as foundation myth for an emerging Egyptian Jewry in the beginning of the 20th century, has not been limited to the Jewish community at that time. The multifaceted project of modernizing Egypt during the transition from empire to nation state was associated with the imagination of an enduring ancient Egyptian past by a liberal national elite that tried to locate the nation in proximity to Europe. At the same time, the evocation of an unbroken ancient tradition not only created a shared heritage of a larger 'Mediterranean civilization' with Europe but also distanced itself from the medieval Arab-Islamic history and its heritage.

The article explores the self-representation of the Sephardi elite through the construction of the Shar HaShamayim Synagogue in downtown Cairo. The architectural Neo-Pharaonic design can be read as a means to imagine the emerging nation's inclusiveness of non-Muslim minority communities. Since the origins of Judaism go back to the Nile Valley where Jews found refuge and the Israelite nation was putatively formed, the evocation of ancient Egypt's past offers an all-embracing language for an imagined, sovereign community of Muslims, Christians and Jews. The centrally located synagogue serves simultaneously as a site for self-representation towards the urban population of Cairo as well as an attempt for a self-conception of the heterogeneous Jewish community under a shared narrative of belonging(s).

The article analyses voices and reactions to the synagogue construction from within the Jewish community of Egypt (community documents and Jewish press) as well as inclusive imaginations of the emerging nation as homeland for Muslims, Christians and Jews alike from contemporary Egyptian national discourse.

Moacir Aparecido Amâncio, Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil
Ladino, identity and expression among the Bnei Anussim

Ladino, a language struggling for survival, is worshiped among descendants of Judaizing New Christians in Brazil. Odmar Braga, one of the leaders of the community

of Recife, Pernambuco, uses it in his poetic writing, while in Rio, the second seder of Pesach in 2018 was celebrated entirely in Ladino, accompanied by the congregation. What does this mean for the identity building of communities?

SESSION 8 - Sephardic Jews: welfare and health care

Hugo Martins, Centro de História, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

Assistência Social e Instituições Caritativas na comunidade judaico-portuguesa de Hamburgo (1652-1682) - a análise de um caso particular~

A presente comunicação centra-se na temática da assistência social e das instituições caritativas na comunidade judaico-portuguesa de Hamburgo entre 1652 e 1682. Para o efeito, serão analisadas várias instituições fundamentais a nível social tais como a Hebra de Bikur Holim, a Guemillut Hassadim, a Ets Haim e aprofundadas as suas contribuições na assistência aos pobres e enfermos da nação, no enterro aos defuntos, assim como na preservação da harmonia e do tecido social da comunidade. Em particular será aprofundado a natureza, âmbito e actuação de cada uma destas instituições e a sua importância no contexto socioeconómico da comunidade ao longo do período considerado. Embora quanto a este ponto a comunidade de Hamburgo seguisse largamente a prática existente em outras comunidade da diáspora portuguesa, há contudo a salientar importantes diferenças no tipo e qualidade da assistência prestada, decorrentes não somente das condições específicas demográficas e socioeconómicas, mas da própria orientação seguida pelos líderes comunitários quanto à organização do sistema de assistência social. Intimamente correlacionadas com este último ponto revelam-se as políticas seguidas no âmbito da assistência promovida por sociedades privadas e as dificuldades particulares que preveniram o seu desenvolvimento lado a lado com a assistência patrocinada pelo governo.

Emília Maria Rocha de Oliveira, Centro de Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas da Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal

A prescrição de alimentos de origem animal e vegetal nos comentários médicos de Garcia Lopes

No século XVI, os médicos europeus, apoiados na doutrina humoral desenvolvida pela escola de Cós, acreditavam que a preservação da saúde e o tratamento de doenças dependia da qualidade e da quantidade dos alimentos ingeridos.

No livro que o médico cristão-novo Garcia Lopes (c. 1520-1572) dedicou ao comentário sobre doenças várias e seu tratamento – *Commentarii de varia rei medicae lectione* (Antuérpia, 1564) – encontramos, de forma avulsa, a prescrição (ou o desaconselhamento) de certos alimentos no tratamento de enfermidades. Nesta coletânea de epístolas, porque é disso que se trata, o humanista portalegrense, baseado no seu saber e longa experiência clínica, expõe o seu parecer sobre as propriedades e o uso terapêutico de alimentos de origem animal e vegetal, confrontando-o com a opinião de colegas de profissão seus contemporâneos e a auctoritas de ilustres médicos da Antiguidade, como Hipócrates e Galeno.

É do olhar do médico humanista sobre a integração do regime alimentar na prática médica que procuraremos, pois, dar conta, a partir da tradução e análise de excertos da sua obra.

Florbela Veiga Frade, CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas-
Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

The medical controversies and doctors of the Portuguese Nation of Hamburg in the seventeenth century

Portuguese doctors in the Seventeenth Century followed the medical evolutions and disputes between the two great currents of medicine, namely the millenarian Galenic and Hippocratic medicine and the emerging medicine based on the principles of Paracelsus and Van Helmont. The Seventeenth Century marks precisely a turning point in medical thinking that some historians consider to have been a scientific revolution, but it is simultaneously a century of the diaspora of the new Christian-Portuguese doctors due to inquisitorial pressures.

The Portuguese Nation of Hamburg hosted some of these doctors who were forced into exile and there stood out for their practice of medicine and for their contribution to the advancement of medical knowledge. The Portuguese doctors gained prestige among their peers with whom they exchanged missives and advised themselves, serving simultaneously the community as well as the principal princes and aristocrats.

This success of Portuguese New-Christian doctors in the diaspora assured them a certain aversion on the part of the local doctors and gave rise to a series of controversies that spread by pamphlets. The Portuguese doctors were obliged to respond by letters and even printed works to face the discredit that many wanted to impute to them.

The present study deals with the physicians of the Portuguese Nation of Hamburg and their contributions to the community and to the advancement of Medicine. At the same time, it seeks to verify the strategies of discrediting used and the capacity of response taken by individuals or by the community.

SESSION 9 - Sephardic Jews: citizenship and regulations

Julia van der Krieke, Asser Institute, The Hague (University of Amsterdam), The Netherlands

Sephardim as negotiators for citizenship in the early modern Dutch Republic

This paper will discuss the Sephardic community of Amsterdam's attempts to achieve a legal citizenship status in several cities in Holland in the first decades of the seventeenth century, including being allowed public worship in synagogues. The citizenship status of Amsterdam's first Jews was being developed in the early 1600s through negotiations for legal rights between Sephardim and Dutch city authorities. The Portuguese Jews or Sephardim of Amsterdam were building their community there, rediscovering their Jewish heritage and traditions, through reverting to Judaism. This paper will differentiate

between two levels: that of official regulations, and that of informal participation in Amsterdam society, zooming in on Sephardim as a foreign migrant group in early modern Amsterdam and considering whether the Dutch Republic regarded them as (full) citizens. Additionally, the paper will briefly look at the apparent dissonance between the official regulations or laws for Jews, and the laxity on the side of the authorities to make sure these laws were abided. As the magistrates of the city of Amsterdam frequently remained silent in voicing privileges or restrictions for Jews, the paper explores the possible reasons for this curious reluctance. Surprisingly, members of the Sephardic communities in Amsterdam were at the same time able to enter into a debate with high Dutch officials, and were granted many of their wishes, such as the right to a synagogue in several Dutch cities. As notary deeds from the Municipal archive in Amsterdam show intensive contact between Jews and non-Jews, as well as relative tolerance towards Jews from the Amsterdam authorities, there was more going on under the surface of the law. Some of the preliminary findings of this research will be included to illustrate this point and present a fuller picture of Jewish integration into early modern Amsterdam society. The main sources studied for this research are part of the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, the Ets Haim library and the City Archive of Amsterdam (all based in Amsterdam).

Carla Vieira, CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas-Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

The Ascamoto of the Kahal Kados Sahar Asamaim (London, 1663-1785): the evolution of a Sephardic community in the light of its regulations

The forty-two Ascamoto prepared by the Parnasim David Abrabanel Dormido and Eliau de Lima and the Gabay Moseh Baruh Louzada in 1663 formed the first regulations of the newborn Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews of London. Originally based on the bye-laws of the Amsterdam and Venice congregations, the Ascamoto of the K. K. Sahar Asamaim were subject to continuing reformulations and additions. Therefore, they tended to depart from their initial models and acquire particular features, which mirrored the specific characteristics of the Jewish community of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the challenges posed by its evolution and interaction with the surrounding context. “A noble monument of Jewish piety happily combined with political and social wisdom”, in Lionel Barnett's words (*El Libro de los Acuerdos*, Oxford, 1931), the Ascamoto regulated not only the organisational structure and financial sustainability of the congregation, but also the ritual, the relation with other Jewish communities, the potential conflicts between its members, the welfare, the censorship, and other issues related with the daily life of the community. This paper will analyze the first Ascamoto of the London's Sephardic congregation and its following addenda and revisions until the publication of a new code in 1785: Ascamoto, para o Governo da Congrega de Saar-Ahamaim de Londres (London, 5545). These bye-laws will be confronted with the entries of the Mahamad minute books, where the reasons for such alterations and additions can be found. Based on these sources, we will try to trace the portrait of a changing community from its first times to the consolidation after the Sephardic influx from Portugal in the 1720s and 1730s and its exponential demographic growing.

SESSION 10 - *Between the Past and the Present*

Ana Gabriela da Silva Figueiredo, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

O movimento internacional de apoio à “Obra do Resgate” dos criptojudéus portugueses (1926-1938). The Portuguese Marranos Committee.

The resurgence of Judaism in Portugal in the twenties and thirties of the last century was only possible due to the intervention and financial assistance of the international Jewish community, in particular, the Sephardi. To talk about the “work of Redemption” and its success or failure is to speak of a project that compromised important names of the Jewish international community who understood it as a responsibility and even a moral obligation to the descendants of those who remained in a country where, for centuries, the social environment was one of coercion and religious persecution.

As per the request of the Israelite Community of Lisbon, the Anglo Jewish Association, Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Spanish & Portuguese Sephardi Congregation chose Lucien Wolf, a journalist and politician specialized in minority rights, to come to Portugal to study the situation of Portuguese Crypto-Jews. On his return to London on 7 March 1926, Wolf made his first statements on the Council of the Anglo Jewish Association. At a meeting that discussed the aggravation of anti-Semitic movements in Eastern Europe, religious education in Russia and the pogroms, the discovery of the Portuguese crypto-Jews was a matter considered of the greatest interest, to which no scholar of Judaism should remain insensitive.

Following his "Report on the "Marranos" or Crypto-Jews of Portugal", a London Committee was set up to support the rescue movement, "the Portuguese Marranos Committee", which was composed of prominent personalities of political and academic standing with emphasis on the figure of its honorary secretary, Paul Goodman.

The Committee launched several actions aimed at publicizing the movement and raising funds to support the "Work of Redemption" led by Captain Artur Carlos de Barros Basto.

Having as sources of study the periodicals, book of minutes of meetings and letters that are part of the Portuguese Marranos Committee, we propose to study this Committee, the support provided and the many difficulties that have arisen in the meantime.

Esther Mucznik and Rita Manteigas, Comissão de Instalação do Museu Judaico de Lisboa, Portugal

"The Last Days of Shylock": a long history between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean

The communication will be based on a book acquired by the Jewish Museum of Lisbon (under constitution) entitled "The Last Days of Shylock".

Written by Ludwig Levinsohn (1882-1955) writer and professor at Brandeis

University and illustrated with magnificent drawings by the artist Arthur Szyk, it was edited by the renowned publisher Harpers & Brothers in 1931 in New York.

By fictionally prolonging the life of the Merchant of Venice, the author's aim was to frame Shakespeare's text in a time when the anti-Semitic stereotypes spread, which in one way or another also can be noticed at the work of the great playwright. Shakespeare, who wrote the play in the last decade of the sixteenth century, could never have known any "living" Jew insofar as they had been expelled in 1290 from England, and were only welcomed back by Oliver Cromwell in the seventeenth century.

Lewinsohn evokes the expulsion decrees and forced conversions in Spain and Portugal, the meeting of David Reubeni with King John III and the establishment of the Inquisition. Characters such as Grace and Joseph Nasi, and the role of both in the "last days of Shylock" are also greatly mentioned in this book.

The communication will focus on the analysis of the historical and social aspects of the book and on the iconography of the illustrations.

Silvina Schammah Gesser, The Salti Institute of Ladino Studies, Bar Ilan University; The Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Aesthetics, Politics and Sephardic Memories in Dictatorial Argentina: Resignifying the 1492 Exile in Ricardo Halac's Mil años, un día (1983)

The transnational circulation of Sephardic memories and narratives, as was the case of the paradigmatic 1492 Jewish Spanish exile, have had different receptions on both sides of the Atlantic and, as such, have been object to variegated strategies of transmission and elaboration of that past. If only because the past and its conditions and places of reception in more recent times always intermingle and are constantly being re-envisioned in multiple ways (Halbwachs 1992; Hirsch 2013).

By elaborating on the above perspective, the presentation discusses the resignifications that the famous dramaturge and filmmaker Ricardo Halac (b. 1935), the Argentinian son of migrant Jews from Damascus, makes of the legacies and memories of the 1492 Sephardic Exile in *Mil años, un día* (1983). The play selects and recreates images that intensify the tragedy that the characters endure as they are forced to face either conversion, expulsion or death. The drama's heartbreaking dialogues reveal unbearable despair that leads the protagonists to disorientation and dislocation as much as to mysticism and supernatural interpretations of reality. However, while Halac unveils the Jewish 1492 exile as a paradigmatic universal condition, he nonetheless prioritizes a dialogue with the Argentine national literature, local aesthetic developments as much as with other roiling issues in Argentine politics and society at the time.

SESSION 11 - Panel "Constructing Sephardi Political, Genealogical, and Identity Spaces: 'Genealogías de Sefarad' Research Group Lines of Investigation"

Ricardo Muñoz Solla, Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

Dr. Yahuda's travels: a Transnational Biographical Sketch

This paper aims to explore the intellectual and personal itineraries of Abraham S. Yahuda (1877-1952), a renowned orientalist, collector of manuscript and University Professor of Sephardi origin. Born in Jerusalem, he soon settled in Europe, where he developed his intellectual activity. Germany, Spain, Portugal, England, Egypt and Switzerland were some of his destinations shortly before he finally emigrated to the United States, establishing since 1941 in New Haven. This paper will analyze the different stages of his international journeys, considering his vital background as a transnational model of transmission of Sephardic culture and political activism that starts from the Mediterranean and reaches the Atlantic border.

Michal Friedman, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, USA

Abraham Shalom Yahuda: Sephardi Self-Fashioning between 'Sepharad,' Zionism and the British Empire

In a glowing letter of recommendation for his former student, Theodor Nöldeke, a leading expert in Islamic Studies of his time, described Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951) in the following manner: “a very capable pupil of mine. Dr. A.S. Yahuda, born in June 1878 at Jerusalem of a distinguished and well to do Baghdad family, came to Frankfurt when a young man and in a little more than 2 years not only completely mastered our language, which had hitherto been entirely un-known to him, but became an Occidental with a good scientific education.” This description of Yahuda as an ‘Oriental turned Occidental,’ foreshadows how Yahuda’s public identity would become widely perceived and influenced his own self-fashioning of his public and academic persona.

Taking the paradigm of a perceived bridging of Orient and Occident as a point of departure, this paper examines Yahuda’s Sephardi self-fashioning in the Iberian Peninsula, Palestine, Britain and North America, by illustrating the ways in which A.S. Yahuda (1877–1951) mediated this divide, as he stood at the intersection of multiple and often conflicting scholarly and ideological movements and alliances, including Wissenschaft des Judentums, Sephardism, Zionism and British imperialism.

While Yahuda hailed from a well-established Jerusalemite family of mixed Baghdadi and Ashkenazi origin, upon his settlement in Spain where he was appointed chair of “Rabbinical Hebrew Language and Literature” at the University of Madrid in 1915, he embraced a narrative of distinguished Iberian-Sephardi lineage dating as far back as the twelfth century, even claiming a maternal ancestor in the service of the Court of Alfonso VIII of Castille (1166-1214). He also engaged in advocating for Jewish causes, including Zionism. Yahuda who was a British national moreover positioned himself as a colonial player and a scholarly authority on ‘the East’—a role which on one occasion brought him to Lisbon to negotiate the release and transfer of Mesopotamian antiquities from Portugal to Britain.

Through discussion of his various interactions with Jewish and Spanish scholars, leaders of the Zionist movement and British colonial officials, I will demonstrate how Yahuda profitably engaged in these relations, as he merged his sensibilities from the world of powerful Sephardi oligarchs in the Yishuv that lasted until the 1920s, and what has been rendered the “politics of notables” of the late Ottoman period, with an Occidental scholarly orientation as he attempted to broker various imperial tensions and other divides along the Oriental-Occidental axis.

Asher Salah, Bezalel Academy of Arts & Design, Jerusalem / Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

Ben-Krimo: un intelectual judío anti-colonialista entre España y Marruecos durante la guerra civil

A pesar de los acosos, maltratos y vejaciones de todo tipo a las que fueron expuestas las comunidades judías residentes en los territorios del protectorado español de Marruecos por parte de las fuerzas falangistas, todavía se da por sentado, basándose sobre datos parciales y descontextualizados, como las donaciones de la comunidad judía de Tánger para el bando sublevado o el papel de Jacobo Benmaman como banquero de Franco, que la mayoría de los judíos residentes en España y en Marruecos apoyaron al golpe de julio de 1936.

En realidad, muchos fueron los judíos sefardíes inscritos a logias masónicas o pertenecientes a formaciones políticas de izquierdas, cuyo destino no ha sido objeto de atención particular por parte de la actual historiografía, con la excepción de algunas de las víctimas de la represión falangista en Marruecos en los meses de julio y de agosto de 1936, entre las cuales figuran los doce ejecutados judíos en Melilla o el exalcalde de Ceuta, José Alfon, que falleció por las consecuencias de las palizas recibidas.

Mi investigación se propone analizar la figura y la obra de Ben Krimo, seudónimo literario de León Azerrat Cohen, articulista revolucionario y anarco-sindicalista originario de Tánger, cuyas reflexiones sobre la cuestión judía en España, el colonialismo europeo en Marruecos, el teatro popular español, atestadas en su imponente producción periodística en la Fragua Social, La Vanguardia y en otros periódicos de los años treinta, presentan un grande interés para estudiar un aspecto todavía largamente desconocido de la contribución de judíos sefardíes del Norte de África a la causa republicana durante la guerra civil.

A través de su correspondencia con el secretario general de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) en Cataluña, Mariano Rodríguez Vázquez (1909-1939), utilizando las fichas políticas de Ben Krimo conservadas en el Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica de Salamanca, además de sus artículos en la prensa y de sus conferencias públicas, presentare su original programa de 1938, anterior a la conferencia de Evian, finalizado al rescate de los judíos perseguidos en Europa y en Marruecos. Este trabajo también se propone de arrojar luz sobre la incomprensión y el antisemitismo latente con los que Ben Krimo se enfrentó en sus relaciones con el liderazgo de los movimientos anarquistas españoles.

Mi ponencia por lo tanto trata del primer punto de la convocatoria “The presence of

Jews and conversos in Portugal, Spain and their colonial spaces: religious and cultural affiliations.

Rina Benmayor and Dalia Kandiyoti, California State University Monterey Bay
/College of Staten Island, City University of New York, USA
New Iberians/New Sephardis? An Oral History of Applicants for Spanish and Portuguese Citizenship

This paper is based on some 30 oral histories with Sephardi descendants in the Americas who are seeking or have received Spanish or Portuguese citizenship under the 2015 laws. It focuses on the genealogical, cultural, historical, and imaginary constructions of origins and the meanings that the new dual citizenship laws have inspired. The laws have led to unexpected discoveries and claims, also compelling us ask about, rather than take for granted, the differences and overlaps between descent and identity. Through concepts of genealogical, historical and identity consciousness, we look at how the narrators themselves view official invocations of an encounter with historical errors.

Along with driving an expansion of Jewish and Iberian identities, the Sephardi nationality laws are producing renewed, more visible, and new Sephardis, among them the converso descendants of the Americas whose genealogical and historical narratives connect the two sides of the Atlantic to the skepticism of some and the delight of others. As the laws are based on traditional ideas about bloodlines and genealogy, it is important to understand whether and how these concepts shape the descendants' presentations of self to the state and to themselves. Oral history narratives illustrate varied responses to the modern state's demand to adopt a fixed genealogical and biological identity. They underscore the diasporas and historical gaps in Sephardi trajectories, often in contrast to state discourses that claim a continuous peninsular identity and nostalgia throughout five and half centuries of Sephardi exile. Overall, the narratives make us question the boundaries of ethnicity, religion, and race, making malleable the seemingly fixed, biological descent that is a staple of citizenship and, sometimes, cultural belonging.

SESSION 12 - Sephardic Jews and South America

José Alberto R. Silva Tavim, Centro de História/ Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal
The attraction of Dutch Brazil: a new diaspora of the Jews of the Old World

The conquest and domination of Recife by the Dutch Republic (1630-1654) led to a considerable flow of Jews from all social strata belonging to the Portuguese community of Amsterdam to a territory where they enjoyed more rights than in the Old World.

However, the colony was targeted by Jews from, for example, other communities in France and Italy, as well as people from the Ottoman Empire and even from Ashkenazi Jews. Our aim with this paper is to prove that Dutch Brazil has become an "El-Dourado" for other Old World Jews and not just those under the leadership of the Netherlands.

Victor Tiribás, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Italy

A Thinking Diaspora: how printing, poetry, and family forged a transatlantic connection between Pernambuco and Livorno (1645-1658)

This article is about the Jewish Diaspora from Pernambuco to Livorno in the seventeenth century as a result of the insurrection against Dutch occupation of Brazil (1645-54). In the first part I will briefly explore how Livorno was the logical option for these refugees to resettle given the international context. In the second part I will analyze the biography of Elias Nuñez Bernal, a Jew who left Brazil and was tried by the Holy Office in Livorno (1657) for smuggling the "Elogios que zelosos dedicaron a la felice memorià de Abraham Nunez Bernal." In the third and fourth parts I will elucidate who were the printer and the authors of the Elogios, showing that behind this transatlantic connection there was much more than merchants and goods circulating: there were also poets and books, which nourished a thinking Diaspora.

Yitzchak Kerem, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

The Death of George Maduro in the Holocaust and the Demise of the Portuguese Nacion in Curacao

While the Holocaust in the Portuguese Sephardic community of Amsterdam has been somewhat portrayed in research and publications, the demise and assimilation of its satellite community in Curacao, the gem of the Caribbean, has been hardly analyzed. The death of the scion of the Maduro family was an additional loss to its leadership, continuity, and deterioration.

George John Lionel Maduro (15 July 1916 – 8 February 1945) was born in Williamsted, Curacao, was a scion of the noted wealthy Maduro philanthropists of the Portuguese Jewish community of Curacao, and was a Dutch law student in Leiden who served as an officer in the 1940 Battle of the Netherlands and distinguished himself in repelling the German attack on The Hague. Maduro was 23 and a law student at Leiden University when Germany invaded The Netherlands on 10 May 1940. By a royal order on 21 November 1939 Maduro had been previously appointed to second-lieutenant-reserve in the Dutch Cavalry. On 15 May 1940, upon the capitulation of the Dutch military, Maduro was captured by German troops and jailed in the Oranje Hotel in Scheveningen. When he was released a half year later, the German occupation forces had required that all Jews wear the Star of David. Maduro refused to do so and joined the resistance movement. He became active in smuggling Allied pilots into the United Kingdom via Spain. After much success Maduro was eventually captured by Nazi forces and placed in jail again. After a daring escape he rejoined the Dutch resistance but was ultimately betrayed by a Belgian collaborator and captured again, this time by the German Gestapo, who jailed him first at Saarbrücken, and then transferred him to the Dachau concentration camp. In February 1945, barely three months prior to the liberation of the camp by American troops, Maduro died of typhus. After WWII, Maduro's parents memorialized their only son by donating money to build the miniature city Madurodam. Since the mid-19th century, the once prolific Portuguese Sephardic Jewish community

had begun dwindling. With the introduction of Reconstructionism and the organ the community became much less religious and lost most of their Portuguese Sephardic traditions. Reform Judaism became the main sponsor of the community with its supply of rabbis instead of the traditional Sephardic educated rabbis sent for hundreds of years from Salonika and Istanbul. In the second half of the 19th century most of the community began migrating to Panama. Both in Panama and Curacao assimilation and intermarriage set in. Jewish marriage partners, whether Portuguese Sephardic or even Ashkenazi could hardly be found and when the island became independent from the Dutch, its economic base suffered. Younger generations have migrated mainly to the United States for studies and to maintain economic affluence.

SESSION 13 - Genetic Studies

Adam Brown, Avotaynu DNA, Israel

The Genetic Study of Western and Eastern Sephardic Jewish Men

The Avotaynu DNA Project is an academic collaboration engaged in an ongoing survey of the Y chromosomes of long-established Sephardi, Italian, Persian, and other non-Ashkenazi communities worldwide. Under the supervision of Dr. Karl Skorecki of the Technion, a Project team of geneticists, statisticians, anthropologists, demographers, archaeologists, and historians has discovered hundreds of new Y chromosomal ancestors of the contemporary Jewish community and has shed light on the connections between the descendants of Iberian Jews on six continents, including living descendants of conversos across the Hispano and Lusitano worlds. The Project has also explored the longevity and geographic spread of Sephardic surnames. In its next phase, the Project will utilize Next Generation Sequencing (NGS) to develop highly precise phylogenetic trees that will offer a fuller picture of migratory movements and anthropological and historical analysis of Jewish communities and provide further insight on how Sephardic lineages developed over the last three millennia.

Michael Waas, University of Haifa; Avotaynu DNA, Israel

From Tudesco to Portuguese: A case study on the Waas-Levie (Vaz Lopes) of Amsterdam

Genetic testing for genealogy has been around since the early 2000s when FamilyTreeDNA began offering Y-DNA and Mitochondrial DNA testing. The Waas-Levie family had been well-documented genealogically in the Amsterdam archives as one of the Ashkenazi families of the city, but there was a brick wall in the early 18th century when the founder of the family Abraham and his wife Rachel Krant, arrived to the city and had a son named Moses, who was the first to be known by the name “Waas (Levie)”. In 2014, as the family genealogist, I was interested to see if I might be able to help break through that brick wall, incorporating my historical, archaeological, and anthropological training and tested my father using FamilyTreeDNA’s Y37 panel. The result? Unlike most Ashkenazi families who tested, my father came back with a single genealogically close match: a man from the Marcos Lala family of Aleppo. This result has sparked more than 4 years of ongoing, extensive historical and anthropological research, identifying first that the Waas-Levie family was originally the Vaz Lopes family of the Portuguese

community in Amsterdam. Two circumcision records from the 1760s provide the strongest evidence in the archive as they match what is known about Moses Waas-Levie/Vaz Lopes's two sons: Jacob and Abraham. Through extensive and careful historical research, the Waas-Levie/Vaz Lopes family has been identified to originate in the small village of Alemendra, near Vila Nova de Foz Côa, at the northern edge of the Guarda District in the mid 16th century. Their travels mirror much of the Portuguese Jewish Nation. Furthermore, as part of the historical research, the Y-chromosomes of members of both the Waas-Levie and the Marcos Lala families have been fully sequenced, providing the most likely time to the most recent common ancestor with high confidence. This case study shows that by performing careful, interdisciplinary research, combining both traditional sources and new sources, a fuller picture of the Sephardic Diaspora may be produced. Without the Y-DNA result, there would have been no reason to suspect a Portuguese origin.

SESSION 14 - Sephardic Jews of North Africa: socio-economic issues

Gila Hadar, University of Haifa, Israel

Window to the Atlantic Ocean: Jews Christians Muslims and Conversos on the Africa Shores

On August 25th, 1471, after 5 days of siege and battles, Arzila (a fortified town on the northwest tip of the Atlantic coast of Morocco) was conquered and became a Portuguese fortress.

The conquest was cruel. Out of 10,000 inhabitants, 5,000 Muslims were taken captive and 250 Jews were sold into slavery. 80,000 dollars in gold and silver were plundered. Out of the 250 captive Jews who were sold into slavery, Don Yitzchak Abarbanel was able to ransom 220 captives.

Did the exiles from Spain join them in 1492?

What happened to the Jews and Conversos of Portugal who moved to Arzila?

We can find partial answers in Bernardo Rodrigues' work *Anais de Arzila 1471-1550*.

He tells of the Jews and the Muslims wandering on the roads, of the religious life of the new Christians (Jews and Muslims), lovingly and emotionally portraying life between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in his small, beloved city that is under constant attack.

The main goal of this lecture is to study the book *Anais de Arzila* within the context of the recent research that relates to religion, gender, border towns and the historical approach of Michel de Certeau *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

The everyday life in this small fortified town illuminate life in a small frontier town fighting for its religious, social, and physical existence, enlighten the religious and cultural relationship between Jews, Christians and Muslims and prove us that identities also transcend boundaries and challenges any unified concepts of self.

António Jorge Ferreira Afonso, Centro de História, Faculdade de Letras,
Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

The arrest of the Portuguese brig Intrépido. An inter-religious business in the Sephardic World

In the year 1811, in the waters of the Madeira Island, the Portuguese brig Intrepido, loaded with colonial products from Brazil, has been captured by Algerian privateers. Navigation problems forced the ship to the British colony of Gibraltar where after the necessary repairs she should have sailed to Algiers to negotiate de seized goods.

Instead, conditions still unknown today led her to get stuck into a sandbank near the battery of Zocca, one of the several bastions that defended the British fortress. The incidente caused a process of arrest by the Portuguese cônsul at Gibraltar. Indeed, the vessel destination was the port of Lisbon and the goods in her holds mainly belonged to Portuguese merchants.

It was a process in which José Agostinho Parral, consul at Gibraltar, acted as Portuguese representative following instructions emanating from Lisbon; by the Algerian side the famous Abraham Cardozo, Portuguese Shephardic, ambassador of the Regency, representative of the dey Hadj Ali-Pacha (1805-1815), supreme authority of the Turkish oligarchy of Hanafi rite that ruled the destinies of Algerian power; by the British interests, the Gibraltar authorities which have faced appeals by the parties to the dispute to the political power and the superior courts in England; any eventual charges incurred by Portugal were guaranteed by the Benoliel family, main creditors of Portuguese crown and representatives of Mulei Suleiman, the Moroccan Sultan.

The arrest of the Portuguese brig, attempted by the Portuguese diplomacy was refused and the dispute was resolved in London where the British Admiralty decided in favour of the Algerian power, reflecting the importance of the North-African Sephardic world and its wealthy businessmen as well as the interconnections with the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of the world. Business pragmatism mitigated many of the inter-religious conflicts among the Ahl al-Kitab (Peoples of the Book).

Ângela Sofia Benoliel Coutinho, IPRI, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: Jewish merchants from Morocco and Gibraltar in the archipelago of Cape Verde (1860 – 1900)

By 1860, almost a hundred jewish merchants from Morocco and Gibraltar lived in the archipelago of Cape Verde, then a portuguese colony, where they have dedicated themselves to international commerce. Most of those who settled in the islands have also successfully invested in other economical activities, namely in the production and exportation of coffee.

The abolition of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1821 has certainly favoured this migration movement, as well as the growing importance of the liberal ideas in the portuguese society of the ninetheenth century. On the other hand, according to the

historian Valentim Alexandre, the project of a new empire, the African one, was assumed from 1825, after the recognition of Brazil's independence.

By the consultation of the Historical National Archives of Cape Verde, of the National Archives in Portugal, of the Archives of the Jewish Community of Lisbon and of the genealogical studies already published, it is possible to rebuild some aspects of the trajectories of these Jewish merchants. By rebuilding their multiple trips in the archipelago and in the Mediterranean and Atlantic ports, a commercial and familiar network of relations with Portugal, Brazil and with other territories that integrated then the Portuguese Empire is put into light.

On the other hand, by comparing with the studies already made on the community of Moroccan Jewish merchants in the Azores archipelago, in the 1820s, it is verified that the strategies of insertion in the geographical economic space under Portuguese political domination, or having Portuguese as the official language, were mainly the same, and that they were supported by this network of international trade.

In this communication, by analyzing these many trajectories, we will try to reach a deeper understanding on how and in which contexts these merchants and their families moved from a Mediterranean space to an Atlantic one, where they have fulfilled their professional and family lives, and also which connections they have maintained with the Mediterranean, from where most of them were originary.

SESSION 15 - Sephardic Jews of North Africa: cultural issues

Simão Draiblate, Luzern Academy, Switzerland

Um Amzalak , o modelo para uma cena da opera Carmen

Nesta curta apresentação tenciono desenvolver a tese, que foi a figura de uma personagem real judaica residente em Gibraltar, que serviu de modelo a um personagem que encontramos no livro *Carmen* de Merimée , e subsequentemente a uma cena da célebre opera de Bizet.

Tendo com plano de fundo a situação política e económica de Gibraltar pós tratado de Utrecht (1713) , será delineado um perfil da comunidade judaica local e da actividade dos membros do ramo mais importante da família Amzalak.

Apresentarei umas rápidas palavras sobre o escritor, arqueólogo e historiador Prosper Merimée.

Mais citarei as frases e circunstâncias, além do escrito no livro, que me levaram à conclusão que cheguei , e creio firmemente que qualquer outra pessoa também chegará, depois de estudar e comparar essas mesmas provas.

Filipe Amaral Rocha de Menezes, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brasil / University of Antwerp, Belgium

The exuberant Amazon: Jews and caboclos in the works of Leão Pacífico Esaguy

The presence of the Jews in the Amazon, coming mainly from North Africa, promoted, through solitude and exposure to the Amazonian culture, changes in the way the first individuals and groups of immigrants and their descendants began their lives and experiences in that new world: the Amazon forest. This movement of assimilation and cultural exchange between the Jewish immigrants and the local population, the caboclos, allowed the appearance of people like Chunito, who would be known as “the last Jew of Itacotiara” and had inspired several of the characters of the writer Leão Pacífico Esaguy. In his five books, Esaguy created stories such as the farmer Isaac Benchaia and the traveling salesman Jacob Benathar, and several biographical episodes in which the author himself is characterized as a hunter passionate about the forest and its people, the cultura cabocla. These books have in common as protagonists, however, the exuberant Amazon forest, sung in prose and verse. This communication aims to offer an overview of the works of Esaguy and how the exuberance of the Amazon rainforest is characterized and offers the background conducive to the development of the plots and their characters, Jews and caboclos.



Hanukkah lamp, Holland, early 19th century

Cut tin brass, cast brass

Lily-patterned backplate in openwork, after Spanish stylistic motifs.

On the back of the Hanukkah lamp – a tin brass plate designed for enhancing the effect of the light emitted by the candles

**חנוכייה, הולנד, תחילת המאה ה-19, סח-פליז
בזר, פליז יאנק.**

דופן הירוק כמבויבת פתחים בדגמי הצלול בהשפעת
מאייכות פנוניים ספרדיים בצב החנוכייה – לח סח פליז
נעסך המעוד להגברת אפקט האור הנקט פתרות