

‘Spanish’ *but* ‘Jewish’: Race and National Identity in 19th and 20th century Spain

Maite Ojeda-Mata*

Department of Humanities, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain

Sephardim in contemporary Spain were and are thought to be a historical-cultural “mix” of “Jewish” and “Spanish”. This ambivalent conceptualization was formed at the intersection between Spanish late colonialism in North Africa and Spanish nationalism and the (re)thinking of Spain’s Jewish and Muslim past. The ambivalent conceptualization that emerged had also an impact on Spanish policies towards the Sephardim. In this article, I approach these questions from an anthropological perspective and through historical ethnography and archival research. I conclude that the mixed notion of Sephardic Jews in contemporary Spain was an ideological construct that allowed both the socio-political inclusion as well as the exclusion of Sephardim in the Spanish national state.

Keywords: Sephardim, modern Spain, nationalism, colonialism, ambivalent identities.

I love you because you’re of my race and you’re not; because you speak my language although your blood is not my blood. You have the grace and beauty of a Spaniard, but there’s something more in you, something exotic that speaks of far away countries¹

The article presents an often neglected part of Jewish history: Jews and Judaism in contemporary Spain and, in particular, Sephardim – the descendants of the Iberian Jews expelled in the 15th and 16th century.² This topic only raised the interest of scholars, particularly in Spain, from the establishment of relations between Spain and Israel (1986), and, especially, with the celebration of the 5th Centenary of the Castilian “discovery” of America (1992), a discovery that coincided with the expulsion of the Iberian Jews from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón (1492). Since then, interest in Spain in the Jews in general, and Sephardim in particular, has grown considerably beyond the Medieval and Oriental studies that began in the mid-19th century,³ and the

*Email: maite.ojeda@upf.edu

studies on Jewish converts and their persecution by the Spanish Inquisition Courts until the mid-18th century.⁴ Historians, above all, have been the ones who have dived into the recent history of Jews and Sephardim in the contemporary Spanish state with most of their studies focusing on the boom of anti-Semitism in Spain and its consequences with respect to the flow of Jewish refugees during World War II,⁵ and, to a lesser extent, on the situation of the incipient Jewish communities in Spain or the Jewish population in contemporary Spain in general.⁶ The Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) has been working on Sephardic studies for several decades, mainly in the areas of linguistics and literature.⁷ We can also find historical studies on the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire,⁸ and on the Jewish populations of the Maghreb,⁹ among others.

However, with few exceptions,¹⁰ scholarship on Sephardim has not adequately addressed the historical emergence in Spain of the notion of Sephardim as an ambivalent mixed category between “Jew” and “Spaniard” from the middle of the 19th century. Perhaps, it is general obliviousness towards Jews in contemporary Spain which helps explain this situation. However, maybe it is also because most of the authors do not question the false dichotomy it is based on, thereby accepting its supposed naturalness: in other words, a Sephardic Jew would be a “mix” between a “Spaniard” and a “Jew”. It is pertinent here Marcel Mauss' warning: things that seem natural are actually historical and possess a symbolic dimension, that is, they are social and cultural, rather than natural, facts.¹¹

I try to demonstrate that far from being natural or cultural realities resulting from a crossing of two original identities – perhaps the reason for the scarce interest in this issue shown by historians who have studied the Sephardim –, the notion of a mixed identity has to be examined regarding the specific historical, socio-political, and ideological context as well as the hegemonic system of social classification. Historical anthropology and ethnography are theoretical and methodological tools that allow us to approach this issue in contexts where these notions of supposed mixed identities arise. In this case, the general historical context in which the ambivalent identity of the Sephardim was formulated is that of European modernity which proclaimed ideas of order, progress and liberty and the political emancipation of previously excluded groups by allowing them access to citizenship. Notwithstanding, only in the nation-state were the political rights of the members of the state – its citizens – guaranteed. It was a new and different 19th century phenomenon, the result of the tension between the demand for universal human rights and the particularity of national sovereignty which

circumscribed the rights of those who belonged to the national state. It is not clear why, but Jews were trapped in this conflict. As human beings, they had universal rights, but as a "people" with their religion and customs, they were considered to be different from a nation-state perspective. This not only affected the Jewish population, but virtually all minority groups in Europe.¹² The dominant political-legal context was based on the idea of one territory, one government, one people. Then, why in the Spanish case an idea of mixed identity in relation to Sephardim was developed? Who would want the mix in a context where there was no room for mixed identities? Before starting to celebrate the apparent goodness of the Spanish case, it is appropriate here to be mindful of Hutnyk's observation, namely: that the celebration of mixing does not always involve a suppression of inequalities and exclusions.¹³

To approach these issues, this article tackles the under-studied question of the Spanish state's historical relationship to the Sephardim, both within peninsular Spain and in Spanish colonial territories mainly in North Africa. It further analyses the idea of Sephardim as a socio-cultural 'mix' between Jews and Spaniards and its legal and political consequences. I present three case studies: the Moroccan-Sephardic community of Melilla, a hitherto quite unknown Turkish Ottoman Sephardic community of Barcelona, and the persecution of Sephardic Masons during the early Francoist regime. Therefore, the article also covers widely neglected aspects of Spanish-Jewish history, like Jewish life during the Civil War or the treatment of Jewish masons, being the first contribution to the history of Sephardic masons in Spain.

Mixtures and colonialism

The notion of "mixing", be it in terms of biological kinship or cultural history, is not universal. Very present in the Spanish colonial context where the Iberian system of bilateral kinship affiliation was imposed, this idea of mixed identity is absent in other sociocultural classification systems, for example in the Arab genealogical model of patrilineal lineages, or the Jewish matrilineal system. This question is crucial, because the membership or exclusion of lineage comprises a number of economic and socio-political rights.¹⁴ It is for this reason that the idea of mixed identity of Sephardic Jews is not a mere cultural curiosity of these or a Spanish romantic projection, on the contrary it has or can have important social and political consequences as the recognition of the rights of citizenship because of their Spanishness, or the denial of these rights because of their Jewishness.

Stolcke and Coello¹⁵, noted that the category “Métis”, like other mixed social categories in Hispanic colonial America, was not due to pre-existing biological or cultural differences between their parents, but to a political attempt to exclude the fast increasing number of the offspring of Spaniards and Indians from political and socioeconomic benefits reserved to those coming from Spain. Similarly, the notion of “Sephardic Jew” in contemporary Spain is not the result of biological or cultural mixing but of a particular system of social and political classification in a particular historical context and framework of specific social relations that has its origin in the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón in 1492. The process of separation between Christians and Jews and the following identification of Spanishness with Christianity was a complex and *longue-durée* phenomenon. It was fed by the permanent suspicion, stirred up by the Spanish Inquisition, of the Jewish converts who remained in Spain after the expulsion and of their descendants who were relentlessly persecuted, because it was believed they were Christians only in appearance, until it was made sure that they were good Christians. The doctrine of “purity of blood” legitimated the resulting social hierarchy between “old” and “new” Christians. The quick and until now unstudied supposed assimilation during the 19th century of a part of the crypto-Jews who survived the Inquisition and managed to preserve their Jewish identity¹⁶ and the weight that Catholic traditionalism continued to have in nineteenth century Spanish politics contributed to heavily tying Spanish national identity to Catholicism. This further implied that being a Jew, or not being a Catholic, in 19th and 20th century Spain was equivalent to being a foreigner.

On the other hand, the elite Sephardim that had settled in the various Mediterranean ports on both sides from the time they were expelled from Spain and Portugal created an extensive and dynamic system of commercial and family relations between the 16th and 18th centuries.¹⁷ This extensive system of social and commercial relations established by the elites of the Sephardic Diaspora with the Muslim world attracted the attention of European colonialists throughout the Maghreb and the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 18th century.¹⁸ Then European pressure to Morocco's economic opening to the world market increased, arguing that the economic opening of the country and modernization was the best solution to all the sultanate problems (economic, political, social, military, etc.).¹⁹

Far from being understood as a consequence of the terrible historical process of the expulsion of the Hispano-Jews, the strategic situation of the Sephardic elites in the

Mediterranean and Atlantic ports on both sides was thought of as a “natural” characteristic of the Jews, and in particular, of the Sephardim. French, British and other European 19th century colonists, including Spanish, thought of the Jews in those territories as intermediaries *by nature*, not only because of their “aptitude” for trade and languages, but also because they were considered to be more “reliable” than the “Moors” as stated by José María de Murga y Mugartegui who travelled throughout Morocco in the early 1860’s acting like a Muslim as he said.²⁰ This argument hid the fact that this privileged position of mediators had been granted by the governments of the colonial powers themselves in order to wear down the power of the Muslim governors. Many Jews took advantage of and benefitted from this opportunity the historical period provided them.²¹

However, in the 19th century Spain was already a second rate colonial power and so it resorted to several strategies in order to assert its supposed colonial rights against the other European powers, in particular in neighbouring Morocco. One of these strategies was provoking a war with Morocco in 1859-60 which culminated in the Spanish occupation of the city of Tetuan in northern Morocco. Furthermore, in the Spanish case, an argument of shared identity between Spaniards and the Sephardim was developed with several purposes: to contribute to legitimate Spanish colonial ambitions in Morocco by alleging cultural and historical ties and to attract the Sephardim to the Spanish colonial objectives. A shared identity which, nonetheless, had to be reinforced in light of the French cultural advance resulting from the activities of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Morocco and the abandonment of the Judeo-Spanish language in benefit of the French for the youngest generations.²²

This idea was defended by key figures of the liberal Spanish political reform movement who fostered a reconciliation of the Spanish state with the Sephardic Diaspora, known as Philosephardim, whose leading figure was the doctor and senator, Ángel Pulido. Pulido headed the rapprochement between Spain and the Sephardic Diaspora worldwide. He remarked the importance of the Sephardim from the Balkans and the former Ottoman Empire, mainly because of their numbers and good preservation of Judeo-Spanish or Ladino language, particularly in the Balkans. Nevertheless he realized that were the Sephardim from Morocco who will be called upon to play a more important role for Spanish interests.²³ However, we can find this idea already at the beginning of the war between Spain and Morocco in the writings of Ruperto de Aguirre²⁴ and, later, with Joaquín Costa, as well as among several Spanish

diplomats and intellectual figures interested in the Sephardim from the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire as Núñez de Arce, Diego de Quesada, etc.

Spanish rapprochement to the Sephardim, mainly in Morocco before the creation of French and Spanish protectorates in 1912, was done through a common practice among the colonial powers: the abusive use of consular protections. The protection system, which was also used in other Mediterranean contexts, consisted of a bilateral agreement between one European country and the Sultans, which initially granted fiscal and judicial immunity to Christian traders in Muslim territories.²⁵ Over time, this regime was extended to the native religious minorities. In Morocco, the protection system began with the Moroccan-British Treaty of 1750 and increased after the French bombardment of Larache and Sale in 1765, reputed as place of refuge for Moroccan privateers. In the absence of a native Christian minority as was the case in the Ottoman Empire, the religious protection effort targeted the Jewish minority which was the major indigenous religious minority. The Jewish population in Morocco – the *tochabim* – had at least two millenniums of history in Morocco. But the protection efforts were not fundamentally aimed at this Jewish population but rather at the so-called *meghorachim* or expelled people who arrived in Morocco from the peninsular Iberian kingdoms during the 15th and 16th century fleeing the expulsions and who constituted the core of the Sephardic Diaspora in Morocco.²⁶

However, neither the construction of the idea of mixing nor consular protection policies were a call to the Sephardim to return to the patria their ancestors were expelled from. Many Philosephardim, such as Ángel Pulido himself, were aware that bringing the “Spaniards without a homeland”, the “Sephardic race”,²⁷ back to Spain was not possible. Until the 19th century there was officially no other religion than Catholicism in Spain and, although this situation was gradually changing with the liberal reforms, there was an extremely controversial century in regard to the separation of church and state. Liberal reformers were forced through the 19th century to make concessions, such as linking the emerging citizenship in Spain to Catholicism, denying equal religious rights to non-Catholics, etc.

The experience of the Sephardim related to contemporary Spain was marked by these essentialist dichotomies. Dichotomies that were the result of a collision between Spanish colonial interests in the North of Africa and a desire to keep the central core of the nation-State – peninsular Spain – nationally and culturally pure. This is why the Philosephardism of the liberal Spanish political reform movement, which was so active

in the colonies, was practically absent in relation to the new Jewish communities – whose members were mostly Sephardic as in Melilla and Barcelona until 1933 – that were being created in Spain. Thus, whereas the Sephardic communities beyond Spanish borders, especially in territories of colonial interest in the Mediterranean Muslim world, were welcomed by Spanish colonizers who constantly reminded them of their Hispanic identity, the Sephardic communities that were timidly created in Spain were forced to live in anonymous identity, both as Jewish and Spanish, as they were denied religious rights equal to the Catholic population while occulting their Spanish identity. Being a “Spaniard” and a “Jew” was thus possible, but far beyond Spanish borders so that it did not pose a threat to the integrity of the Catholic identity of the Spanish nation. The most important political consequences for the Jewish populations in Spain of this ambivalent affiliation were revealed during the Spanish Civil War and the first few years of General Francisco Franco's dictatorship, as well as with the persecution of the Jews by Nazi Germany during World War II.

Now we shall examine some of these different geopolitical contexts in detail through three case-studies: the border city of Melilla, the peninsular city of Barcelona and the particular experience of the Sephardic Masons.

From rhetoric to practice

Ambivalence in a border town: the Jewish community of Melilla

The timid religious opening of Spain from the 1830's and the Spanish approach to the Sephardic communities in the Mediterranean Muslim territories favoured entry into Spain and the formation of new Jewish communities, particularly after the war between Spain and Morocco in 1859-60. Before the creation of the French and Spanish protectorates in Morocco in 1912,²⁸ some Jews emigrated to foreign sovereign enclaves near Morocco where they continued their businesses with the help of social and family networks. Gibraltar was one of these enclaves as were the Spanish sovereign territories in northern Africa: Ceuta and Melilla. Some also settled in England, France and peninsular Spain, but without abandoning their businesses in Morocco.²⁹ The creation of the Spanish protectorate in Morocco in 1912 blurred yet even more the already permeable border between the seats of Spanish sovereignty and the Moroccan kingdom.³⁰

The importance of the Jews to the city of Melilla was already publically well-known by the contemporaries. In 1910, *El Telegrama del Rif*, the most important

newspaper in Melilla, published an article that referred to the importance of the Moroccan Jews in the splendid urban development taking place at the former military garrison:

Before – some years ago – there were gardens with fig trees, cabbage and roses in this spot; the gallop of time has done away with the vegetables, flowers and fruit giving rise to a neighbourhood (Queen Victoria) that the people came to call ZION because the Israelite colony was the builder.³¹

The Queen Victoria neighbourhood, which contained the most emblematic buildings of the urban splendour of Melilla at the beginning of the century, owes many of its works to the modernist Gaudí school architect's Enrique Nieto, who signed some of the most emblematic Jewish buildings in Melilla such as "Casa Melul" and the neo-Islamic Great Synagogue of Melilla.³²

The situation of the Jewish populations in the northern African Spanish enclaves was privileged if compared to the situation of the peninsular communities. The Jews had a public dimension, were socially and culturally visible, fulfilled important economic roles for these cities, could legally constitute religious schools and synagogues, have their own cemeteries, etc. In other words, they could legally and publically be born, grow, get married and die as Jews. But their "Spanishness" was not praised here nor was their nationalization facilitated (except for distinguished Sephardim).³³ This is why the Jews of Melilla were still defined and defined themselves as a "colony" upon the arrival of the Republic in 1931. As far as education, Melilla was also a typical border area. Although the educational division by socio-religious groups was not as pronounced as in the protectorate, a correlation between "nationality" and religious identity was in fact established. According to the school censuses "without any expression of nationality", the division was as follows: "Christian", "Hebrew", "Moor", "foreign". However, according to the school censuses "with expression of nationality", the division was as follows: "Spanish", "Hebrew", "Moor", "foreign".³⁴ Notice the correspondence between the category "Christian" from the census "without expression of nationality" and the category "Spanish" from the census "with expression of nationality".

However, with the triumph of Franco's rebellion, which it happened to start in the city of Melilla, conquered by the rebels as early as July 1936, this more symbolic

segregation acquired a more practical dimension with open discrimination. For example, in order to hold public office, "certificates of affiliation to the regime" provided by priests and members of the *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.* (the Spanish fascist movement or Spanish Phalange) were required;³⁵ they were excluded from certain associations and clubs where the Spanish elite socialized such as the Military Casino of Melilla;³⁶ they were made invisible by the local press as articles related to the high Melilla-based Jewish society disappeared; etc.³⁷ Notwithstanding, the Jews attempted to fight their exclusion and avoid this discrimination in different ways. On the one hand, the less elitist Spanish Casino from which they were not expelled and continued to have many Jewish members, invited Melilla army commanders and officers to the parties it organized via public announcements. On the other hand, distinguished Jews from Melilla were the first to make significant contributions to the benefit collections organized in the city between 1938 and 1945. The names of the donors and the amounts donated were published in the local press overcoming the otherwise new disappearance from the newspapers pages.³⁸

The invisibility of the mix: Jews and, therefore, foreigners in Barcelona

The experience was very different during the same period for the Jewish communities in Barcelona. Three factors made it different: 1) the majority came from territories of the former Ottoman Empire where Spain could not aspire to a regime of colonial domain as was the case in Morocco; 2) they did not settle in a border territory such as the North African Spanish city of Melilla but rather in peninsular Spain, that is, in the proper national territory, in the city of Barcelona; 3) most of them had a very humble socio-economic status. Those that lived in the Poble Sec, Raval and San Antonio Market area were mostly (94%) dedicated to peddling at the San Antonio Market and auxiliary tasks (tailors, longshoremen, boat cleaners, etc.).³⁹ Unlike in Melilla, these geopolitical and economic circumstances prevented the members of this informal community from being able to openly profess their religion, open synagogues, have their own schools, etc. The Jewish associations that were created had to do so as cultural, foreign associations. The Israelite Community of Barcelona (CIB) was founded in 1917, and brought together the most well-off Sephardic sectors settled in Barcelona, and, in 1926, several members of the Sephardic population settled near the San Antonio Market decided to create an economically more modest association, although with more members, which they called *Agudat Ahim*.⁴⁰ The purpose of both associations was to organize the Jewish ritual

religious cycle from the formation of a *minyán*⁴¹ to be able to pray on the Sabbath to large religious festivals such as Yom Kippur, Passover and Rosh Hashanah. These associations also fulfilled assistance functions, especially *Agudat Ahim* which received numerous requests for aid. Therefore, this help – although modest – was an important part of the services offered by the association.⁴² On the other hand, the alleged Spanishness of the Sephardim was not politically recalled in the case of Barcelona to oppose the emergence of Catalan nationalism, as it was happening in the North of Africa, the Balkans and the Middle East where it became a cultural, political, and colonial weapon of Philosephardism.

The Spanish Civil War had an important but different impact on the Jewish communities in Spain depending on the geopolitical location of these communities as well as of the economic position of its members. In the case of Barcelona, while the war provoked the temporal migration of many wealthy members of the CIB and the reduction of community life,⁴³ the members of *Agudat Ahim* mostly remained in the country and the community kept as active as in previous years.⁴⁴ In the beginning, as can be determined by the existing documentation (the records of *Agudat Ahim*, population census and administrative records), there were no signs among the members of this association and the San Antonio Market community of a mass intent to leave the country. Requests for aid continued as before, mostly due to economic reasons similar to those up to that point. Moreover, requests for assistance to start up or help keep one small business or another also continued, possibly for the acquisition of goods for peddling.⁴⁵ Although *Agudat Ahim* did not cease its activities during the Spanish Civil War, the worsening of the economic circumstances due to the conflict forced them to ask for assistance from several Jewish communities outside Spain in order to maintain the same rhythm of activity. For example, aid was requested from the Jewish communities in Antwerp to cover the expenses of the Jewish Passover festivals in 1938. Some members dropped out and a few on the Board resigned such as someone named Alberto Toledo or the rabbi himself. *Agudat Ahim* also received aid requests for subsistence or repatriation to Turkey. But at the same time, new members were proposed and accepted. Plus, not all the members of the association were going through a difficult time as proven by the fact that the members continued making donations to *Agudat Ahim*. For example, Elisa Esquenazi made two donations in March 1938, one of 68.50 and another of 25 pesetas. In the summer of 1938, *Agudat Ahim* suffered an internal crisis when part of the Board resigned and it had to call an extraordinary

assembly. But, it was still possible to find new candidates and reorganize the Board from among the 45 members with voting rights who attended the extraordinary assembly. The most pressing cause was the celebration of the Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur festivals after the summer for which significant donations had even been received from outside Spain. The final minutes in the Minutes Book for this association was dated as late as January 1, 1939. The board members themselves, who were gathered, had no idea it would be their last meeting. They discussed the preparations for the 1939 Passover festival which was to take place in the spring of that year.⁴⁶ On January 26, 1939, Franco's troops entered Barcelona and there would be no more minutes.

The censuses are another important source in following the trail of this community. According to the 1940 Population Census, 341 people born in Turkey still lived in Barcelona. Added to these would be the descendants who had been born in Barcelona meaning the number of people of Turkish ascent in 1940 in Barcelona exceeded 400.⁴⁷ Given the similarity of the figures extracted from the 1930 Barcelona residential records, it is very likely that these people were the group of Turkish-Ottoman Sephardic peddlers from the San Antonio Market area. According to oral testimonies such as that of Avner N., the bulk of the San Antonio Market Sephardic population left the country along with the stateless refugees, mostly Jews flying from Nazi occupied Europe, for the refugee camps in Northern Africa and, above all, Palestine, beginning in 1943. Prior to that, American refugee assistance organizations had to intervene in order to remove some of them from Spanish concentration camps.⁴⁸ Their detention may have been due to their political affiliations, belonging to the masonry, or to having been assimilated with the thousands of stateless Jewish men of military age who arrived from Europe fleeing the Nazis. But the large part of this community did not immigrate to Northern Africa and Palestine for political reasons, but rather for economic reasons as the local authorities deprived the members of the community of their means of living.⁴⁹ Thus, they were forced to emigrate again.⁵⁰

The main mechanism used to expel the Sephardim of Barcelona's San Antonio Market from Spain during World War II was as effective as it was discreet, since it affected the way markets operated in the city of Barcelona. The *Reglamento General para el Régimen de los Mercados de la Ciudad de Barcelona* (General Regulation for the System of Markets in the City of Barcelona) approved by the Standing Municipal Commission in 1928 established three kinds of sales stands in the markets: permanent,

temporary and ambulant or street vending.⁵¹ In 1940, the Barcelona Town Hall approved the *Reglamento del Mercado de los Encantes* (Regulation on Outdoor Markets), article 9 of which states: “One must be a Spanish subject to sell in the market, in both permanent and temporary and ambulant stalls”.⁵² The unique feature of this regulation if we compare it to other regulations referring to the other markets in the city of Barcelona is that it is the only one that mentions the requirement to be a Spanish subject. Bearing in mind that 90% of the Sephardic community in Poble Sec worked in street vending in the *Encantes* outdoor market of San Antonio and that they did not leave during the Civil War, this regulation must have had a devastating impact on their means of earning a living, which had already been precarious enough. This is assuming that the regulation was not passed in an effort to remove them and the Jewish refugees who had been arriving in flight from Germany since 1933 and later from Austria and Poland, and who might have also tried to earn a living as street vendors. In any event, the first wave of new refugees from Western Europe had not yet arrived, as this happened when Nazi Germany invaded Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and northern and western France one month later. Therefore, this regulation was clearly targeted at the foreigners who were already in Barcelona when Franco’s troops entered it in 1939. Although the high functionaries did not ignore they were Sephardim, they were also Jews, and their Jewishness was weighing more for the new national-catholic dictatorship than their Spanishness.⁵³

Masonry, citizenship and Catholic redemption

Franco’s Spain never ordered the collective expulsion of Jews from the country and Jews were not directly discriminated by any special anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic laws. However, there were other less direct ways to discriminate and exclude them as we have seen in the case of Melilla and Barcelona. The Jews were not victims of systematic persecution and genocide in Spain like in Nazi Germany, but the connection between religious and national identity had an impact regarding the conditions for Jewish life in Spain, including their socioeconomic exclusion. Moreover, harsh conditions were required to nationalized Sephardim in Nazi occupied Europe to help them to escape from Nazi persecution through their repatriation, as have shown Haim Avni,⁵⁴ Antonio Marquina and Gloria Ines Ospina⁵⁵ or Bernd Rother.⁵⁶ It was only thanks to international pressure that their entry was permitted, not to stay, but “in transit”, assimilated by Franco’s government to the other stateless refugees already in Spain.

Furthermore, if Jews were not systematically persecuted as such, two other socio-political categories were, and that, together with the imposition of national-Catholicism, had an impact on certain groups of Jews. Among the most persecuted enemies of the dictatorship were, the “reds”, which included practically all of the followers of the Republic, but mainly the political left; and the freemasons as another but related category. The persecution of the “reds” (socialists, communists, anarchists and republicans in general) had a much smaller impact on the Spanish Jewish communities than the persecution of the masons. We can find Jews in leftist and Republican parties in Barcelona, and, above all, in Melilla, but we mostly find very high Jewish participation in the Spanish masonry in Spain and the Spanish sovereign territories in the North of Africa and the protectorate.⁵⁷

The Jews in Spain, in the Spanish enclaves in Northern Africa, and in the Spanish protectorate in Morocco, were persecuted and suffered harsh repression like all the other masons, but with some peculiarities that differentiate them, in particular the strategy to denationalize and expulse them. First, because in relative numbers, the Jewish communities were more affected by the persecution of masons than the Spanish population in general. Jewish involvement in Freemasonry was important both in the peninsula and in Ceuta, Melilla and the protectorate of Spain in Morocco, proportionally higher than that of the Jews in the whole society. Although it is difficult to give an exact figure, if the percentage of Jews in Spain could have been around 0.02 %, the presence of Sephardim in Spanish Freemasonry was over the 3%. The high participation of members of the Spanish and North African Jewish communities in the masonry is largely due to the interest the masonry had for the middle classes, and in particular, for traders,⁵⁸ as it provided an extended network of social relations and, by extension, of commercial relations. Many Jews in the Spanish communities and in the Spanish protectorate in Morocco were a part of the middle classes and/or worked in trade. Of the cases against Sephardim for masonry consulted, 90% of the people implicated worked in trade or related activities such as trade employees or sales representatives.⁵⁹

Second, it can be gathered from the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism records that Franco’s government applied a systematic policy against the Jews that was different from that used against the rest of the Spanish masons at that meant their expulsion from the national territory and, where applicable, the loss of Spanish citizenship. It is possible that this policy was also followed against other

foreign masons of other religions or those who had acquired Spanish citizenship. The special characteristics of the orders of the loss of Spanish citizenship and the expulsion of the Sephardim is that at some point in the process it would come out that such a resolution was advisable because they were Jewish. In other words, there was a preference for Jews to be outside Spain and denationalized than in Spain even if they were locked up in a jail. This possibility would be suggested by the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism in several masonry cases against Jews to the Council of Ministers which had the power to pass this resolution.⁶⁰

Freedom, even if it implied expulsion from the national territory and the loss of Spanish nationality, compared with the long sentences for masonry, could seem like an obvious privilege. But, for the Sephardim who had been living in Spain for many years, where they had their families and businesses, and had acquired or began the process to acquire Spanish nationality, the commutation of their prison sentences for expulsion from the national territory and the loss of Spanish nationality did not appear to have seemed to them like a privilege. For example, it did not appear to have seemed a privilege to Manuel Coen Isael⁶¹ from Corfu (Greece) who arrived in Barcelona in the 1910's and who some years later married and had a daughter and a son, both born in Barcelona. Nor was it a privilege for Samuel Danon Danon from Bulgaria, who was even married to a Spanish Catholic woman, María Bretos, with whom he had two children. Neither long-term residence nor being married to a Spanish Catholic women helped release them from the expulsion order and, in the case of Danon, the loss of Spanish nationality, on the orders of the Council of Ministers.⁶² For this reason, the Sephardim affected by expulsion orders who had their financial, family and social life in some Spanish city resorted to the strategies they believed most effective in getting the orders of the Council of Ministers revoked and therefore be able to remain in Spain. The most frequent arguments were of a moral, religious, socio-economic or political nature on the one hand, and in emphasizing the peninsular origins of their ancestors, in other words, their shared "Spanish" identity, on the other hand.

As can be observed from the cases located, the first strategy was more or less successful based on the number of positive certifications one could obtain and of the people or institutions who provided these certifications. It became one of the primary ways to try to gain a pardon or reduction of the sentence. They were certificates of good conduct, affiliation with the regime, etc. Sympathy for the Glorious National Movement and the ideology of the political right were some of the main arguments used by the

accused to have their masonry convictions reduced or waived. Although many of them, but not all, manifested their sympathy with the conservative right, it was less frequent to find those who sympathized with the Fascists. Thus, the Jews who had contact with members of the regime's power groups, tried to obtain as many certifications as they could from people or institutions connected to the Francoist government. The abovementioned Manuel Coen Isael obtained certificates from the National Police Immigration Bureau stating, "The record on file at this bureau related to Mr. Coen shows nothing unfavourable meaning he may be classified as a person of renowned solvency."⁶³

Manuel Coen Isael also obtained certificates from the Deputy Mayor of Barcelona for District VI, from several Barcelona Spanish Falange's supporters (i.e. Raimundo Bundo Paretas, Rafael Garcia y Aroca, etc.), from Catholic church priests and from private individuals belonging to the Barcelona upper middle class. Likewise, Alfredo Saporta Magrizo also obtained certificates from Spanish Falange supporters'.⁶⁴ However, it was not always enough to have served the regime such as having served in the prestigious Regular Forces military unit, to prevent the Council of Ministers from commutating the prison sentence for the loss of Spanish nationality and expulsion from the national territory. This was the case of Abraham Chocrón Bittan from Melilla,⁶⁵ for example.

Manuel Coen Isael alluded to his Spanish patriotism, arguing in his defence that he had granted his son's emancipation so that he could acquire Spanish nationality (as he had been born in Spain) and could do military service.⁶⁶ But without a doubt, the most powerful argument was conversion, a strategy that was used by Jews both inside and outside of Freemasonry as have shown Gonzalo Àlvarez Chillida and Isabelle Rohr among others.⁶⁷ Whereas for Catholics, recanting before the religious authorities for participation in the "masonic sect" was considered extenuatory, the Jews had the option of converting to Catholicism. Although there were also those who excused themselves saying they had not abjured to the masonry as they weren't Catholic and therefore were not bound by their religious faith. This was the case, for example, of Jaime Levy Morely of Melilla. In the public prosecutor's report in the case opened against Levy Morely, it was placed on the record that the accused had not abjured from masonry "as he belonged to the Hebrew religion". Levy Morely regretted that, "... nobody had warned him that the Masonry was excommunicated, as he was not able to abjure before the Ecclesiastical Authority because he was an Israelite".⁶⁸

It is likely that Jaime Levy Morely, and many others, would have been more successful in their attempts to get the sentences imposed against them for masonry annulled or reduced if they converted to Christianity. Gabriel Perahia Cohen's criminal record, which was issued by the Spanish Falange of Barcelona, stated that it was not known whether: "he still maintained his Israelite religion".⁶⁹ If the accused had not converted, but were married to a Catholic or their children were Catholic, they also used these arguments to obtain a pardon. This was another of the arguments used by Manuel Coen to get his sentence repealed. Coen argued that he had authorized his daughter Yolanda to convert to Catholicism so she could marry in the Catholic Church.⁷⁰ And he himself said in his statement that he wanted to convert to Catholicism but had decided to wait so it would not seem as though he had done so to be released from the sentence for masonry and not by conviction:

Much more important than what I may say is what the Reverend Father Adolfo Roger Garcia, of the Pias Schools says [...]. This is a testimony that I always valued and do value and which undoubtedly shows my greatest sentiment and affection for the Catholic Church. This is why my daughter converted to Catholicism. This is why my grandson was baptized as soon as he was born [...]. I am sincerely deeply moved as I confess it, I am not already [...] as I believed it was wiser to wait.⁷¹

Emilio Hakin Murdoch, a resident of Barcelona and nationalized Spaniard, condemned to 12 years and 1 day of minor imprisonment and absolute perpetual incapacitation for the exercise of public office, also declared in his defence that although he was a Jew, his son was a Christian.⁷²

However, Alfredo Saporta Magrizo's sentence was not commuted for the loss of Spanish nationality and expulsion from the national territory. He only got a reduced prison sentence. And this, despite the fact that the Court suggested to the government that "given the nature and race of the accused", his prison sentence should be commuted for the loss of Spanish nationality and his expulsion from the country.⁷³ In this case, Alfredo Saporta Magrizo was a Catholic as was established in the case against him by the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism in 1943:

Although he currently professes the Catholic religion, the aforementioned individual of Jewish origin is not known to have been involved in any political-social activities prior to the Movement.⁷⁴

The Council of Ministers also did not agree to commute the sentence of absolute and perpetual incapacitation for the exercise of any State office, etc., for the loss of Spanish nationality and expulsion from the national territory as suggested by the Court in the case of Salvador Sabetay Sión who had moved to the Francoist lines during the Spanish Civil War.⁷⁵

The racial argument was not unknown to the Franco authorities and although it does not seem to have played a central role as it did in Nazi Germany, everything seems to indicate that it was used as a biographical descriptive data without further consequences. For example, the case opened by the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism against Herman Levy, mentions that he left Germany “for reasons of race”.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, this does not seem to have had any special role in the proceedings against him. But, using Sephardic identity as a defensive argument in some cases also does not seem to have had any impact on the reduction or repeal of sentences for masonry. Gabriel Cohen Perahia, who even personally knew the highest representative of Philosephardism, Ángel Pulido, obtained a certification from a professor of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Barcelona that stated:

he has known Mr. Gabriel Cohen Perahia, a physician, domiciled in Barcelona at Rambla de Cataluña, number 45, for 22 years because he was introduced to him by who was then the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Medicine of Madrid, Dr. Ángel Pulido Fernández; from the first day he spoke with Mr. Perahia, he [Perahia] did so in terms of sympathy and affection for Spain, whose language he spoke and was proud to be from a long-standing Spanish family.⁷⁷

For his part, Salomón M. Scialon Florentín said that he had come to Spain in 1920 “by virtue of the love of Spain his elders had instilled in him since he was a child”⁷⁸ in his native Greece. I do not know to what point this argument influenced Gabriel Perahia’s case. I am inclined to believe that it was not what weighed the most in the court imposing a relatively kind sentence. In another case, that of the rabbi Isaac Nahun Aladraque of Barcelona, the argument of being a Sephardic Jew was useless. Added to

him being a Jew was the fact that he was a rabbi; it was better to get him far from the country.⁷⁹

By the end of World War II, the primary and most effective argument used by the Jews to be released from their prison sentences was being of foreign nationality as it became legally effective in masonry proceedings. Thus, the proceedings against foreign masons after 1945, and against the Jews of the Spanish protectorate a bit earlier, in 1943, were either shelved by the State or after hearing the defendants. This was the case, for example, of the proceedings opened against Alberto Sagues in Barcelona, or against Alfredo Charbit Benhamu in Melilla, among others.⁸⁰ Beginning in 1945, 15 of the 48 cases against Jewish masons in Barcelona opened by the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism were shelved as they were foreign citizens.⁸¹ Later on, beginning in the 1950's, the persecution of former masons tamed down a bit and we can even find some cases where Jewish masons were absolved such as Jacob Lezra Garzón of Melilla.⁸²

For its part, on more than one occasion the *Dirección General de Seguridad*⁸³ apparently skipped both the judicial procedures as well as consultation with the Council of Ministers. For example, Alberto Adjiman Galimidi of Barcelona was placed in a concentration camp and expelled in 1944 to Northern Africa along with the groups of Jewish refugees from war-torn Europe. This process was parallel to the trial opened against Adjiman Galimidi by the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism which had to be provisionally shelved as the accused could not be located. Adjiman Galimidi had no idea a court case had been opened against him for masonry. It seems that he had no knowledge of this until 1950 when as a resident of Tel-Aviv and after having acquired Israeli nationality he contacted the Spanish Consulate in that city. Through the consulate, Adjiman Galimidi requested a reversal of the sentence in the understanding that he had to leave Spanish territory on the orders of the *Dirección General de Seguridad* after almost thirty years (1916-1944) of permanent residence in Spain (Barcelona).⁸⁴ The case of Rafael Mitrani Matalon is similar. Mitrani Matalon was also expelled by order of the *Dirección General de Seguridad* prior to the close of the judicial process initiated against him by the Provincial Court of Political Responsibilities first, and the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism after that. The *Dirección General de Seguridad* informed the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism of these facts on December 29, 1944, in the following terms:

Central Police Headquarters of Barcelona [...] notified this Centre that [...] lost his Turkish nationality upon taking French nationality to live in Spain. He would have done the opposite if he had lived in France. He is of Jewish origin and pertains to the Masonic sect, having been expelled from our Country after the liberation of the red horde.⁸⁵

Although not explicitly indicated, it is possible that this was also the case of Salomón M. Scialom Florentín.⁸⁶

Therefore, “origin” or “race” seems to have been even more relevant to the *Dirección General de Seguridad* and the Central Police Headquarters of Barcelona than to the courts and the government as they referred to this in the proceedings against the accused. For example, Menaheim Pardo was conclusively described in an official letter addressed to the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism by the *Dirección General de Seguridad* as: “...of Turkish nationality and JEWISH race who has resided in Spain for many years before the Glorious National Movement”.⁸⁷ Likewise, the *Dirección General de Seguridad* stated in the following official letter addressed to the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism in September 1941: “... having boasted during his stay in said capital city of being a leftist and belonging to the Jewish race”.⁸⁸

As we have seen, there is a correlation between Sephardic masons’ arguments to get released and the political, cultural and ideological Spanish context. That it seems clear is that, if the process reached the Council of Ministers, the government position was inspired by the dichotomy *Catholic* versus *Jewish* in religious terms, rather than racial or ethno-national classifications.

Conclusions

This article has aimed to be a contribution to the field of contemporary Spanish-Jewish history. It has tackled the under-studied question of the Spanish state’s historical relationship to the Sephardim, both within peninsular Spain and in late nineteenth century Spanish colonial projects in North Africa, and has analysed the resulting notion of Sephardim as a mixed social category, which became a central ideological instrument in liberal circles. The fruitfulness of a comparative analysis of Spanish politics towards Jews on the peninsula and in Spanish-Morocco or the Spanish enclaves in North Africa

has led also to a better understanding of the notion of “Spanishness” in contemporary Spain. Far from being “natural” realities, categories as “Spaniard” and “Sephardim” and the changing meaning attached to them, are the product of a specific historical, political and social contexts. The terms “Spaniard” and “Jew” became opposite categories in contemporary Spain as categories of socio-political belonging just as was the case of the prior opposition between “Christian” and “Jew”. But it was no longer a religious differentiation, but rather a national one. The fact is that being a Spaniard and not Catholic just was not structurally or politically possible in 19th and 20th century Spain. Therefore, the ideological construct of Sephardim allowed their inclusion and at the same time their exclusion of the Spanish nation

This ambivalent conceptualization in Spain was formed and undoubtedly served to Spanish late nineteenth and early twentieth century’s geopolitics. Therefore, the so very different situation, experience and legal and political consequences for the new Jewish communities which gradually began forming in Spain from the 19th century based on their proximity to the nucleus of national Spain as well as the particularities of the persecution and repression of Sephardic masons during the Franco years cannot be properly understood without taking into consideration how the notion of “Sephardic” was formed, what it characterized and what implications it had in contemporary Spain. The idea of “mix” only confirmed the new classification system in imagining the Sephardim as the product of two original, pure national identities – the “Jews” and the “Spaniards”. It was an ambivalent identity that allowed the self-interested use of the Sephardim in the Mediterranean Muslim lands while they were repeatedly denied equal rights with respect to Catholic Spanish citizens in mainland Spain.

The mechanisms for keeping the central core of national Spain pure varied depending on the different historical-political moments of Spain from the 1812-1813 Courts of Cadiz which mark the beginning of contemporary Spain. But, in general, different ways in how the Spanish state managed socio-religious differences depending on the geopolitical context can be observed irrespective of the political moment. Thus, it is possible to observe how Sephardic Jews’ ambivalence served, on the one hand, to use the Moroccan Sephardim settled in the border city of Melilla for Spanish colonial interests in Morocco. While, on the other hand, the Turkish-Ottoman Sephardic community of small traders and artisans settled in Barcelona since the early 20th century was⁸⁹, above all, a Jewish community and, therefore, foreign in accordance with hegemonic Spanish nationalist logic, which facilitated their assimilation to the

thousands of Jewish stateless refugees, mostly Ashkenazi but also Sephardic, that during World War II managed to reach Spain. The denationalization and expulsion of Sephardic Masons, following the orders of the Council of Minister, except for those who converted to Catholicism, is another example of the identity hegemonic logic in contemporary Spain due to its extreme by the Franco regime.

Note on contributor

Maite Ojeda-Mata received her PhD in Social Anthropology from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (2009) and a Postgraduate Diploma in Jewish Studies from the University of Oxford (2001). She is currently a Juan de la Cierva Postdoctoral Researcher at the University Pompeu Fabra of Barcelona. Her research interests fall primarily within the field of Historical Anthropology, ethnic minorities, the Sephardim and Spanish Colonialism in Morocco. She is the author of *Ambivalent Identities: Sephardim in Modern Spain* (2012, in Spanish).

Notes

¹ Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, *Luna Benamor* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janes, 1978 [1909]).

² According to the Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Spain, Sephardim are the "native Jews of Spain". Legend and reality collide when we refer to the first settlement of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula. But it really does not matter if they arrived before or after the birth of Christ or were indigenous populations who converted to Judaism, what matters is that in the fifteenth century Judaism had a presence of at least a dozen of centuries-long in the peninsula.

³ I.e.: José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos en España y Portugal*. (Madrid: S.N., 1876); José Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos en España* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fontanet, 1848); Luis Suárez Fernández, *Judíos españoles en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Rialp, 1980); José Luis Lacave, *Juderías y sinagogas españolas* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

⁴ Julio Caro Baroja, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid: Ediciones Arión, 1962); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los judeoconversos en la España moderna* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992).

⁵ I.e.: Haim Avni, *España, Franco y los judíos* (Madrid: Altalena, 1982); Antonio Marquina and Gloria Inés Ospina, *España y los judíos en el siglo XX: la acción exterior* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1987); Bernd Rother, *Franco y el Holocausto* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2005); Isabelle Rohr, "The use of antisemitism in the Spanish Civil War", *Patterns of Prejudice* 37, no. 2 (2003); Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews (1898-1945)* (Sussex: Sussex University Press, 2008); Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo en España: la imagen del judío (1812-2002)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2002).

⁶ I.e.: Danielle Rozenberg, *La España contemporánea y la cuestión judía* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010); Isidro González García, *Los judíos y la Segunda República (1931-1939)* (Madrid: Alianza, 2004); José Antonio Lisbona, *Retorno a Sefarad: la política de España hacia sus judíos en el siglo XX* (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 1993); Martine Berthelot, *Memorias judías (Barcelona, 1914-1954): historia oral de la Comunidad Israelita de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 2001); Martine Berthelot, *Cien años de presencia judía en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona: KFM Editorial, 1995); Jesús F. Salasfranca Ortega, *Historia de la población judía de Melilla desde su conquista por España hasta 1936* (Málaga: Algazara, 1995).

⁷ I.e.: Iacob Hassan, "¿Es el ladino judeoespañol calco?", *Quaderns de filologia. Estudis lingüístics* 9 (2004); Paloma Díaz-Mas, *Los sefardíes. Historia, lengua y cultura* (Barcelona, Riopiedras, 1986); Pilar Romeu, "'Sin memoria no ay avenir': memorias escritas por mujeres sefardíes en los últimos 20 años", *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 3, no. 2 (2008); among others.

⁸ I.e.: Aron Rodrigue, *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies Series, 1992); Aron Rodrigue and Esther Benbassa, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

⁹ I.e.: Mohammed Kenbib, *Les protégées: contribution à l'histoire contemporaine du Maroc* (Rabat: Université Mohammed V, 1996); Mohammed Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc, 1859-1948* (Rabat: Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines, 1994); Mercedes García Arenal (Coor.), *Judíos en tierras del Islam II. Entre el Islam y Occidente. Los judíos magrebíes en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2003); among others.

¹⁰ Isabelle Rohr, “Spaniards of the Jewish type’: philosephardism in the service of imperialism in early twentieth century Spanish morocco”, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (2011): 61-75.

¹¹ Marcel Mauss, “Les techniques du corps”, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1968 [1934]).

¹² Hannah Arendt, *Los orígenes del totalitarismo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974 [1951]); Richard J. Bernstein, *Hannah Arendt and the Jewish Question* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996); Verena Stolcke, “La ‘naturaleza’ de la nacionalidad”, *Desarrollo económico. Revista de ciencias sociales* 40, no. 157 (2000): 23-44.

¹³ Jonh Hutnyk, ‘Hybridity’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, no. 1 (2005): 92-93.

¹⁴ Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, “‘Pourquoi tu ne m’écris plus?’ Les rapports mixtes et les frontières sociales dans le Protectorat espagnol au Maroc”, *Hawwa. Journal of Women in the Middle East and the Muslim World*, 1, no. 2 (2003): 241-268; Josep Lluís Mateo Dieste, “Are there ‘mestizos’ in the Arab world? A comparative survey of classification categories and kinship systems”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 48, no. 1 (2012): 1-14.

¹⁵ Verena Stolcke and Alex Coello, *Identidades ambivalentes en América Latina (siglos XV-XVIII)*, (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2008).

¹⁶ Eugeni Casanova, *Els jueus amagats* (Barcelona: Columna, 2005).

¹⁷ Jean-Pierre Filippini, “La nation française de Livourne (fin XVIIe-fin XVIIIe siècle)”, in *Le commerce français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967): 235-248.

¹⁸ See, i.e., Kenbib, *Les protégés*.

¹⁹ J. L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l’Europe, 1830-1894*, T. II (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1961).

²⁰ José María Murga y Mugartegui, *Recuerdos marroquíes del moro vizcaíno José María de Murga (El Hach Mohamed El Bagdady)* (Bilbao: Imprenta de Miguel de Larumbe, 1868).

²¹ Arón Cohen, “‘Razas’, Tribus, Clases: acercamientos africanistas a la sociedad marroquí”, in *España en Marruecos, 1912-1956: Discursos Geográficos e Intervención Territorial*, ed. Joan Nogué i Font and José Luis Villanova (Lleida: Milenio, 1999), 183-224; Manuela Marín, “Los arabistas españoles y Marruecos: de Lafuente Alcántara a Millás Vallicrosa”, in *España en Marruecos, 1912-1956: discursos geográficos e intervención territorial*, ed. Joan Nogué i Font and José Luis Villanova (Lleida: Milenio, 1999), 80; Benito Pérez Galdós, *Aita Tettauen* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1995 [1905]): 17; Ricard Robert, “Cartas de Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti a Galdós acerca de Marruecos (1901 y 1910)”, *Anales Galdosianos*, año III (1968): 99-115 (Digital edition: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2005).

²² Maite Ojeda Mata, “¿Intermediarios ‘naturales’? Los judíos y el colonialismo occidental y español en el mediterráneo musulmán: el caso de marruecos”, *Intelectuales, mediadores y antropólogos. La traducción y la reinterpretación de lo global en lo local*, coord. M. Martínez Mauri and E. Rodríguez Blanco, E. (San Sebastián-Donostia: Ankulegi, 2008), 187-206.

²³ Àngel Pulido Fernández, *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (Madrid: Intereses nacionales, 1905), 36-39.

²⁴ Ruperto de Aguirre, *Expedición al Rif. Su importancia, necesidad y conveniencia* (Madrid: Impr. de José María Ducazcai, 1858).

²⁵ I.e., Greeks and Armenians in Ottoman Anatolia, Maronis in Ottoman Liban, etc. (Kebib, *Les Protégés*).

²⁶ Kenbib, *Les protégées*, 29; Kenbib, *Juifs et musulmans au Maroc*, 1-4.

²⁷ Àngel Pulido Fernández, *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí*, ed. María Antonia Bel Bravo (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993 [1905]).

²⁸ Spanish colonial ambitions in Morocco culminated in the 1906 Algeciras Conference where the bases were established for dissolving the Moroccan state. The creation of two protectorate zones was agreed upon at the Algeciras Conference, a French one and a Spanish one – a narrow section to the north of the country. In 1912, the French and Spanish protectorates were constituted in Morocco. The Spanish protectorate in Morocco was reduced to two disjointed territories: 1) a coastal section of approximately 24,000 km² to the northwest of the country, with a strong resistance to colonization which included the regions of Rif and Yebala; 2) and a 20,000 Km² section to the south of Morocco, in the region of Tarfaya (Cabo Juby), a colony acquired by Spain after 1859-60 war with Morocco.

²⁹ Cohen, “‘Razas’, Tribus, Clases: acercamientos africanistas a la sociedad marroquí”, 183-224; Marín “Los arabistas españoles y Marruecos: de Lafuente Alcántara a Millás Vallicrosa”, 80.

- ³⁰ José María Cordero Torres, *Fronteras Hispánicas: Geografía e Historia, Diplomacia y Administración*. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1960), 397.
- ³¹ *Telegrama del Rif*, March 30, 1910, quoted from Francisco Carmona, “El barrio de la Reina Victoria”, *La Voz de Melilla* (12 June 1994).
- ³² Maite Ojeda Mata, “Interview with David M.”, Melilla, June 12, 2007; see also Maite Ojeda Mata, “Glòria i oblit dels jueus de Melilla”, *Recerques* 61 (2010): 79-100.
- ³³ Maite Ojeda Mata, “Interview with Sol S.”, Melilla, July 30, 2003.
- ³⁴ Salafranca Ortega, *Historia de la población judía de Melilla desde su conquista por España hasta 1936*, 389 et seq.
- ³⁵ Maite Ojeda Mata, “Interview with Jacob B.”, Melilla, July 2003.
- ³⁶ Maite Ojeda Mata, “Interview with Sol S.”, Melilla, July 30, 2003.
- ³⁷ For a recent and more detailed study on Jewish discrimination in Melilla during the Spanish Civil War see María Elena Fernández Díaz, “Hebreos y musulmanes durante la guerra civil en Melilla. Violencia política y represión”, *Historia Contemporánea* 24, 2012.
- ³⁸ See for example, *Telegrama del Rif*, November 15 and 16, December 21 and 24, 1940, and February 22, 1941, among others. See also: Lisbona, *Retorno a Sefarad*, 70-71; Cordero Torres, *Fronteras Hispánicas: Geografía e Historia, Diplomacia y Administración*, 470; Ojeda Mata, “Glòria i oblit dels jueus de Melilla”.
- ³⁹ Arxiu Municipal Administratiu de Barcelona (AMAB), *Register of residents of the city of Barcelona*, 1930.
- ⁴⁰ The existence and history of *Agudat Ahim* in Barcelona at the beginning of the 20th century, was until now a widely unknown part of Spanish-Jewish history.
- ⁴¹ The minimum quorum of ten male Jewish adults required for prayer service.
- ⁴² AMAB, *Register of residents...*; General Archives of the Spanish Civil War (AGGCE), *Agudat Ahim Israelite Centre*, Minutes Book, Minutes number 1 to 44, 1926-1939, and Accounting Book, 1926-1939.
- ⁴³ Jacobo Israel Garzón, “Judíos en España en los años treinta: Segunda República y Guerra Civil”, *Raíces* 26 (1996); Berthelot, *Memorias judías: historia de la Comunidad Israelita de Barcelona*.
- ⁴⁴ Maite Ojeda Mata, *Identidades ambivalentes: sefardíes en la España contemporánea* (Madrid: Sefarad, 2012).
- ⁴⁵ AGGCE, *Agudat Ahim Israelite Centre*, Correspondence, see for example: Letter from Abraham Susskind to *Agudat Ahim*, Barcelona, March 29, 1937; Letter from Sara Lea Perahia to *Agudat Ahim*, Barcelona, March 15, 1938.
- ⁴⁶ AGGCE, *Agudat Ahim Israelite Centre*, Minutes Book, Minutes numbers 35, 36, 41 and 42, January 16, March 12, July 31 and September 15, 1938. The Passover was held in remembrance of the liberation of the Hebrew people by Moses in ancient Egypt.
- ⁴⁷ Municipal statistics of Barcelona according to the 1940 census, *Supplement to the Gaceta Municipal de Barcelona*, December 31, 1945.
- ⁴⁸ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Record Group 36.001M, collection from Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Spain (MAE): R 1716-5-219, Blickenstaff Letter to the MAE, September 19, 1944; Ety Kaufmann, “Interview with Avner N.”, Barcelona, September 1991.
- ⁴⁹ 1940 Encantes Market Regulations, *Gaceta Municipal de Barcelona*, April 1, 1940.
- ⁵⁰ See, for example, the testimony by Moshe Yanai, “Odisea de un israelí español”, *Iespana*, 2007.
- ⁵¹ *Reglamento General para el Régimen de los Mercados de la Ciudad de Barcelona* (General Regulation for the System of Markets in the City of Barcelona), reproduced in the *Gaceta Municipal de Barcelona*, 14th December 1942.
- ⁵² Regulation on Outdoor Markets from 1940, *Gaceta Municipal de Barcelona*, 1st April 1940.
- ⁵³ Ojeda Mata, *Identidades ambivalentes*.
- ⁵⁴ Avni, *España, Franco y los judíos*.
- ⁵⁵ Marquina and Ospina, *España y los judíos en el siglo XX: la acción exterior*.
- ⁵⁶ Rother, *Franco y el Holocausto*.
- ⁵⁷ See for example, the *Boletín Oficial de Melilla* for the period 1936-1945 and the cases of the Special Court for the Repression of Masonry and Communism (TERMC) in the AGGCE; see also Vicente Moga Romero, *Al oriente de África: datos para la historia de la masonería contemporánea en Melilla*, Doctoral thesis (Granada: University of Granada, 2003), 667-797.
- ⁵⁸ José A. Ferrer Benimeli, *La masonería española* (Madrid: Itsmo, 1996), 15.
- ⁵⁹ AGGCE, TERMC. 48 expedientes correspondientes a masons sefardíes de Barcelona y 14 expedientes correspondientes a masones sefardíes de Melilla.

⁶⁰ Ibid., see for example: Tribunal Number (onwards TN) 9410, Rene Danon Flor, among others. Rene Danon Flor appealed the sentence in 1944, and before there was a new ruling, the case was shelved and was deemed invalid in 1946 as it involved a foreign national.

⁶¹ Notice that on Spanish administrative record are usually stated both the paternal and the maternal family names of the accused, as it is the case with Spanish nationals.

⁶² Ibid., TN. 3836, Manuel Coen Isael and TN. 4126, Samuel Danon Danon.

⁶³ Ibid., TN. 3836, Manuel Coen Isael.

⁶⁴ Ibid., TN. 3836, Manuel Coen Isael; TN. 7024, Alfredo Saporta Magrizo.

⁶⁵ Ibid., TN. 353, Abraham Chocrón Bittan.

⁶⁶ Ibid., TN. 3836, Manuel Coen Isael.

⁶⁷ Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, “Zaragoza en la Guerra Civil. La memoria de un judío aragonés”, *Raíces* 54 (2003): 43-47; Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews (1898-1945)*.

⁶⁸ Ibid., TN. 13054, Jaime Levy Morely.

⁶⁹ Ibid., TN. 5149, Gabriel Perahia Cohen.

⁷⁰ Ibid., TN. 3836, Manuel Coen Isael. What is not alleged in the case is the fact that it was the only way his daughter could legally marry during the first few years of the dictatorship.

⁷¹ Ibid., TN. 3836, Manuel Coen Isael.

⁷² Ibid., TN. 6723, Emilio Hakin Murdoch.

⁷³ Ibid., TN. 7024, Alfredo Saporta Magrizo.

⁷⁴ Ibid., TN. 7024, Alfredo Saporta Magrizo.

⁷⁵ Ibid., TN. 5349, Salvador Sabetay Sión.

⁷⁶ Ibid., TN. 10124, Herman Levy.

⁷⁷ Ibid., TN. 5149, Gabriel Perahia Cohen.

⁷⁸ Ibid., TN. 1693, Salomón Scialom Florentin.

⁷⁹ Ibid., TN. 4238, Isaac Nahun Aladraque.

⁸⁰ Ibid., TN. 18634, Alberto Sagues; TN. 20115, Alfredo Charbit Benhamu.

⁸¹ Ibid., TN. 25632, Oradio Alfandari; TN. 12099, Isaac Ángel Alalouf; TN. 26345, Marinette Baruch; TN. 11672, Willy Behar Ruso; TN. 11773, Jacques Cario Squenazi; TN. 28098, León Esquenazi; TN. 59617, Albert Salomón de Jung; TN. 15266, León Levy; TN. 11732, Roberto Mitrani Mitrani; TN. 4238, Isaac Nahun Aladraque; TN. 3062, Menaheim Pardo; TN. 5149, Gabriel Perahia Cohen; TN. 14169, Isaac Revah Revah; TN. 16118, Miguel Saban; TN. 18634, Alberto Sagues.

⁸² Ibid., TN. 12636, Jacob Lezra Garzón.

⁸³ The *Dirección General de Seguridad* (translated as Directorate General of Security) was a Spanish autonomous body under the Ministry of Interior during Franco’s dictatorship that was responsible for public order and political control, becoming one of the main instruments of francoist repression throughout the national territory of Spain.

⁸⁴ Ibid., TN. 7036, Alberto Adjiman Galimidi.

⁸⁵ Ibid., TN. 11662, Rafael Mitrani Matalon.

⁸⁶ Ibid., TN. 1693, Salomón Scialom Florentin.

⁸⁷ Ibid., TN. 3062, Menaheim Pardo (his emphasis)

⁸⁸ Ibid., TN. 3062, Menaheim Pardo.

⁸⁹ The first arrivals date from late nineteenth, early twentieth century, some of them, mostly the middle classes, emigrated from France during World War I, but the bulk of the community emigrated from Turkey after the creation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.