

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF SPAIN

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This article examines the political dynamics of the contemporary Spanish Jewish community. First, the community's history, foundation, settlement and early development are introduced. Then its organizational structure and function are addressed in the countrywide, local (particularly Madrid and Barcelona), and international (relations with Israel) arenas. The community's legal status is explored next. The community's character emerges through an analysis of leadership dynamics; Jewish identity, assimilation, and integration; antisemitism and philosemitism. The study concludes with a look at current trends and directions.

Introduction

Today, after five centuries of Jewish invisibility and virtual absence, Spain is witness to a unique rebirth of Jewish life. The restoration of organized Jewish life in Spain is one of the most remarkable achievements of contemporary diaspora Jewry. The Spanish Jewish community is unique in its thoroughly contemporary Jewish nature and development set against its tremendous historical legacy. The history of the Jews in Spain is the source of great pride in the Spanish Jewish community, as well as the focus of attention in the international arena (especially in 1992). While Spanish Jewry is most widely known in its historical sense, the contemporary Jewish community offers a unique

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reflection of the modern Jewish experience. Although its reconstruction is a relatively recent phenomenon, the Spanish Jewish community incorporates a full range of organized Jewish life.

Modern Spanish Jewry was born in recent decades from a handful of immigrants trickling into Spain, mostly from harsher political climates. Finding practically no Jewish communal infrastructure, the new Spanish Jews faced the task of building a community with no foundation other than that which they imported from their own backgrounds. The result is a community reflecting diverse cultural experiences and identity, with a significant influence by individual leaders and personalities shaping the new Jewish presence in Spain. Spanish Jewry feels pride and connection to the historical accomplishments and contributions made by Jews to Spanish civilization prior to the 1492 Edict of Expulsion. The impact of Jewish history in Spain, both on the Spanish people and the Jews, is inescapable and undeniable. Despite the force of history in Spain, it is not the past but the present, modern-day infusion of Jews drawn from around the world which fuels Spanish Jews to propel themselves forward. This process is not an easy one. The reestablishment of Jewish communal structure and identity in Spain requires constant confrontation of both internal and external challenges.

Internally, the mosaic of contemporary Spanish Jewry combines elements of nearly all strands of Jewish tradition. This creates a climate of cross-cultural cooperation, as well as conflict and confusion. Although the organized Jewish community is predominantly influenced by Sephardi tradition, the Jewish population as a whole is a mixture of Ashkenazi and Sephardi people from Europe, North and South America, North Africa, and the Middle East. Spain is such a melting pot for Jews today that it is sometimes referred to as a "mini-Israel." Despite its relatively small size (Spain's Jewish population is estimated at 12,000),¹ this microcosm of the Jewish world generates a dynamic vitality, full of the promise and tension inherent in its multi-faceted nature, all set in a contemporary Spanish context.²

Externally, the environment surrounding the Jewish community also plays a significant role in the reestablishment of Jewish life in Spain. Jews coming to Spain this century found a society largely ignorant of contemporary Jewish culture and people, due to their relative isolation from Jews since the Expul-

sion. This lack of exposure for the Spaniards bred both misperceptions and curiosity about the Jewish people. As a religious minority in a Catholic state, the Jews have been instrumental in the development of religious freedom in Spain.³ Nevertheless, they are conscious of their minority status and cautious of how vocal or visible they should be.

Because the community is small, the organizational structure of Spanish Jewry centers around "inter-ketaric" congregations. This means that congregations span across the major domains of organized Jewish life, namely the *keter malkhut* (civil and socio-political domain), *keter torah* (rabbinic scholarship and religious educational domain), and *keter kehunah* (religious ritual and congregational domain).⁴

Historical Background (First-Eighteenth Century)⁵

The history of the Jews in Spain dates back to the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, when a number of Jews escaped to Spain. Initially, they settled and lived in relative freedom and security. However, by the early fourth century, the ancient Spaniards of the Council of Elliberis began to issue decrees limiting the rights of the Jews.

This trend was thwarted by the Gothic invasion (415 CE), when the new Arian rulers allowed the Jews to live in peace and engage in regular trade and social activity with both Goths and Spaniards. As the Gothic kingdom abjured Arianism for Roman Catholicism, the waves of restrictive measures for Jews returned at the end of the sixth century, to be intensified in the early seventh century.

Struggling to regain their liberty and security, the Jews assisted the Arabs in their invasion and eventual conquest of Spain (711 CE). Under the Moslem rulers, Jews enjoyed substantial tolerance and prosperity. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Jews were leaders in such fields as literature, the arts, science, philosophy and commerce.

Often trilingual and literate, the Jews were instrumental in translating works of literature, poetry, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine between the three cultures living in Spain. Great Jewish figures such as Maimonides, Solomon Ibn Gavirol,

Moses Ibn Ezra, and Judah HaLevi lived during this period known as “the Golden Age” in Jewish history, rich with cultural development and achievement.

In the Christian kingdoms in northern Spain, Jews were primarily engaged in agriculture, artisanry, commerce, and finance. As the Christians began to reconquer Moslem-ruled cities, anti-Jewish sentiment spread from the north. While Jews continued to live in Spain as contributing members of society, the end of the thirteenth century brought renewed anti-Jewish persecution. By fear and force, many Jews converted to Christianity, becoming known as *conversos*. The reconquests of the thirteenth century effectively destroyed the cultural coexistence and tolerance of the Golden Age in the peninsula. Moslem and Jewish minorities that remained unconverted in Spain were subjected to increasingly oppressive and violent acts. Jews were blamed for everything from economic hardship and social conflict to the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348.

By 1391, anti-Jewish fanaticism such as that espoused by Fernando Martinez (Archdeacon of Ecija) incited a massacre of 4,000 Jews in Seville. During the next four years, similar attacks erupted in Jewish neighborhoods (*juderías*) throughout Spain, resulting in the destruction of synagogues and Jewish life and property. Thousands of Jews died as the *juderías* of Córdoba, Toledo, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, and Lerida were nearly wiped out. Those Jews who survived the slaughters and did not flee Spain were forced to accept baptism, increasing the number of *conversos* to hundreds of thousands.

Early into the fifteenth century, the “Jewish problem” in Spain expanded into a “*converso* problem,” linking the “new Christians” with Jews as victims of suspicion and persecution. Severe anti-Jewish legislation, such as the Laws of Valladolid and those of anti-Pope Benedict XIII, included prohibitions regarding *conversos*. The branding of *conversos* as “judaizers” (secretly-practicing Jews) led to widespread discrimination. Eventually, the Holy Office of the Inquisition was established in 1478 to rid Spain of any false converts and ensure *limpieza de la sangre*, blood purity of Christian Spaniards.

After tortuous Inquisition tribunals, prosecuting Jews, *conversos*, and any person accused of blasphemy, the nightmare of Jewish suffering in Spain culminated in the 1492 Edict of

Expulsion. Under economic and social influences, the Catholic monarchy called for the expulsion of all non-Catholics from Spain, following a four-month period during which they had the option to convert.

Economically, the Expulsion allowed King Ferdinand to avoid repaying debts owed to Jewish financiers who had provided resources to carry out his costly military campaigns. Socially, Queen Isabella was captivated by the preachings of Alonso de Espinas, whose antisemitic philosophy convinced her to expel the Jews.

The expulsion launched the Spanish diaspora of Sephardi Jews, who developed traditions perpetuating their links with Spain, memories of their long history there, and the traumatic exile from their "second homeland." During the centuries following the Expulsion, several attempts to allow the return of the exiled Spanish Jews failed, while persecution of *conversos* in Spain continued. At the end of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, political leaders argued that to readmit Jews (and their presumed wealth) might alleviate economic hardship in Spain. However, the Decree of 1802 by Carlos IV, prohibiting Jews to enter Spain even for travel or trade, evidenced strict adherence to an exclusivist policy.

Nevertheless, the nineteenth century brought a wave of initiatives by Western European Jewish leaders and Spanish liberal intellectuals attempting to revoke the 1492 Edict. These efforts and their results set the stage for what would become Spain's contemporary Jewish community.⁶

Foundation and Settlement of the Modern Jewish Community

Jews began to settle and resettle in Spain during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the contemporary Jewish community in Spain was formed primarily by immigrants arriving in the twentieth century. In 1854, Spain took in Jewish refugees from the war between France and Morocco. Again, in 1859-60, Jewish refugees from the Spanish-Moroccan War were welcomed in Spain. These refugees were aided by the

local citizenry and even given stipends by the Spanish government.⁷

With the admittance of these Jewish refugees came an increase in Jewish businessmen traveling or trading in Spain. The Spanish government invited prosperous Jewish business firms such as the Pereires and Rothschilds to establish businesses in Spain.⁸ Jewish families from France, Great Britain, and Germany began to establish themselves in Spain.⁹

Between 1869 and 1875, twenty-five Jews were naturalized as citizens of Spain.¹⁰ The census of 1877 indicates 407 Jews residing in Spain, with over half living in Cádiz and less than 10 percent living in the province of Madrid. However, during this same period, the *Jewish Chronicle* refers to several hundred Jews (mostly German and French) living in Madrid itself, while Seville was thought to have about 30 Jewish families (mostly Moroccan).¹¹

There are reports of a synagogue built in Seville, where High Holidays may have been observed as early as 1860. Despite various attempts to establish synagogues in other cities, however, no other community was sufficiently successful in constructing a synagogue in the nineteenth century.¹²

In 1881, Alfonso XII invited persecuted Russian Jews to settle in Spain. However, upon clarification, the invitation was severely limited by restrictions. The handful of Jews who did come to Spain from Russia were ill-prepared for conditions there and soon left for other countries.¹³ By the end of the century, the estimated Jewish population in Spain was 2,000. Most Jews who lived in Madrid, Barcelona, Málaga, and Cádiz were affluent bankers, merchants, and entrepreneurs. The Jews living in Seville engaged primarily in small-scale trade, jewelry manufacture, and the import/export of dates, honey, and olive oil.¹⁴

The North African Jewish community of Seville was sufficiently developed by 1904 that when the King of Spain visited the city, the street where most of the Jews had settled was decorated with banners and even a sign reading "The Hebrew Colony," in Spanish and Hebrew.¹⁵ However, in 1914 the synagogue in Seville was destroyed by fire.¹⁶

The twentieth century marked significant advances in the development of contemporary Jewish life in Spain. An ardent campaign was launched to promote Spanish-Jewish relations

and the return of the exiled Sephardim, led by Dr. Angel Pullido, a distinguished Spanish physician and medical scholar. After encountering Sephardim in Turkey, Greece, and other Mediterranean lands who spoke Ladino and maintained Spanish traditions, the impressed Pullido wrote several works about the Sephardim which generated considerable public interest. To initiate Spanish contacts with the eastern Sephardim, Pullido helped establish an all-party committee, the Hispano-Jewish Congress.¹⁷

In particular, progress was made through initiatives in intellectual and cultural circles. In 1910, the first Jew was elected to the Cortes, and soon thereafter, another prominent Jew was elected as a member of the Madrid Academy of Sciences.¹⁸ In 1913, Prime Minister Count de Romanones established a professorship of Rabbinic Language and Literature at the University of Madrid. In 1915, Alfonso XIII, by Royal Decree, created a Chair of Hebrew Literature and Jewish Learning.¹⁹ Coinciding with these developments emerged an academic enthusiasm for Hebrew studies and related topics. The University of Madrid, the Ateneo of Madrid, and other institutions organized academic seminars, lectures, and publications on the Sephardim of different countries.²⁰ In 1920, a "Casa Universal de los Sefarditas" was founded in Madrid.²¹

During World War I, many Jews from the Mediterranean and Balkan states came to Spain to escape increasingly dangerous conditions.²² The wave of immigration, however, was circumstantial and temporary. Most of these Jews left for America or returned to their lands of origin.²³ By 1924, Spanish Jewry was still estimated at 2,000 Jews, with the majority split between Barcelona and Madrid. Barcelona had a synagogue from before World War I, and Madrid had a similar center for worship since 1917. The two communities were emerging as the centers of Jewish activity in Spain.²⁴

A Royal Decree of 1924 invited "all individuals of Spanish origin" to claim full civil and political rights as Spanish nationals. The long-term impact of the so-called "Primo de Rivera Law" proved to be more significant than the short-term results.²⁵ In fact, relatively few Jews came to Spain during the period for which the law was intended (through 1930). However, the practical extension of the law was to have profound influence on

the refugees of World War II, saving thousands of Jewish lives in the 1930s and 1940s.²⁶

The New Republic of 1931 simplified the process of naturalization of Sephardim (especially those made stateless where they were living) and extended Spanish protection to the Sephardim of Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and Morocco. In the 1930s, an estimated 2-3,000 refugees (mostly from Germany) were absorbed into Madrid and Barcelona.²⁷ During this period, the communities of Madrid and Barcelona began to organize and develop. Community life revolved around the synagogue and congregational membership. The first meeting of a Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain convened in Madrid, and a committee was formed under the presidency of Ignacio Bauer, the President of the Madrid community.²⁸ The community of Madrid had only 45 registered members, but it was said to meet the needs of at least thirty families.²⁹ Most of the community came from Central and Eastern Europe, but also from Western Europe (Holland, France, Switzerland, Greece), and some from Mediterranean countries (Turkey, Morocco, and Egypt) as well.³⁰

Under Franco's rule, Spain's policies toward Jewish refugees during World War II were extraordinary and unanticipated. Despite Franco's relationship with Hitler and the proliferation of antisemitic, Nazi propaganda in Spain,³¹ the dictator's efforts on behalf of the Jews of Nazi Europe were extensive and remarkable. In 1940, nearly one thousand Western European Jewish refugees came to Spain. For those who could cross the Pyrenees, Spanish and Portuguese posts served as escape routes from Nazi Europe, allowing 2,500 refugees per month to leave for the Americas. Approximately 12,000 Jewish refugees, however, remained in Spain where they were interned in refugee camps for the duration of the war.³² Relief work for Jewish refugees was organized in Barcelona (by mid-1941) and in Madrid (by the beginning of 1943).³³ During World War II, Franco's Spain helped save tens of thousands of Jews from France, Hungary, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, Romania, Greece, Egypt, and Bulgaria.³⁴ As late as 1944, Spain liberated over a thousand Sephardim from the Bergen-Belsen camp, and transported them to Barcelona.³⁵

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Jews of Madrid and Barcelona reopened the synagogues which had been closed

during the war.³⁶ The community's development resumed and continued to be centered around the synagogue. In 1951, the Jewish population was estimated at 8,000.³⁷

Between 1955 and 1960, a significant wave of Sephardi immigrants came from Morocco to settle in Spain, especially to Madrid. This immigration of Spanish Jews surrounded and followed the independence of Morocco in 1956. These Sephardi Jews from North Africa rapidly became absorbed and involved in community life, rising to positions of leadership through the 1960s and to a large extent dominating the organized community in the 1970s and 1980s.

The 1970s brought another wave of Jews to Spain, predominantly Ashkenazi Jews of Latin America who came mostly from Argentina and Ecuador, but also from Chile and Paraguay.³⁸ The Latin American immigrants became more integrated in secular activities, and developed Jewish cultural and intellectual circles outside the organized, religious community.

Especially since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel in 1986,³⁹ a number of Israelis have moved to Spain. The Israelis often come for diplomatic, commercial and academic work. Some are Latin American *olim* who decided to move to Spain after several years in Israel. The Israelis tend to form social groups with each other and with other Spaniards as well. Few become involved in organized community life, although some teach Hebrew or send their children to the Jewish school.

The current population of the "official" Jewish community (that is, registered or affiliated members of synagogues or other organizations) in Spain is estimated at 12,000.⁴⁰ Barcelona and Madrid are thought to have up to 3,000 affiliated members, and a "considerable number" of unaffiliated Jews as well. In addition, about 3-4,000 Jews are thought to be scattered among Seville, Málaga, Cádiz, Valencia, Granada, and other cities.⁴¹

Most Spanish Jews have visited Israel, often several times. Emigration to Israel is high among young adults (individuals and couples in their 20s), leaving a young leadership gap between the youth (students) and the established leaders. The aliyah of Spanish Jews, however, is often temporary, with Jews returning to Spain after living in Israel for up to ten years. Among the Sephardim especially, there is an apparent tendency

for the younger generation to spend several years studying at French, British or American universities. This also contributes to a young leadership gap, as professional opportunities or marriage abroad lead to an out-migration of young adults.

Countrywide Jewish Community: Structure and Function

The structure of Spain's Jewish community is predominately based around local congregations, especially in the two largest communities, Madrid and Barcelona. These and other congregational communities of Spain coordinate and communicate with one another directly and through countrywide organizations.

The largest, most established countrywide organizations are the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain, the Federacion WIZO España, and B'nai B'rith. Each is based in Madrid but covers all of Spain in scope. The Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain (FCI)⁴² is a government-like institution which serves as a coordinating and representative body for all the Jewish communities of Spain. Federacion WIZO España and B'nai B'rith are general purpose, mass-based organizations. These countrywide structures are based in Madrid for the most part. This is not only a function of initiatives by individual Jewish leaders of Madrid, but also due to the nature of the capital city itself. All the relevant government ministries are based in Madrid, as are embassies (including the Israeli Embassy), so the city is a practical center for countrywide activity.

Countrywide Government-like Institution: The FCI

The FCI is a countrywide government-like institution created in 1964 to represent the different Jewish communities of Spain. Apparently there was a previous attempt to establish a similar federation in 1934.⁴³ Each community remains an autonomous entity in the local arena, while represented by the FCI in other arenas. The FCI represents the communities to the Spanish government, and in the international arena to international Jewish organizations and to Israel. The FCI is also respon-

sible for countrywide communal welfare and community relations. As such, it acts as the primary institution of the *keter malkhut* in Spain.

As the advocate of the Jewish communities of Spain to the Spanish government, the FCI in recent years has initiated, promoted, and is achieving an important degree of cooperation between the government and the Jewish communities of Spain.⁴⁴ This initiative regarding the legal status of Jews in Spain (see below) emerged to a large extent due to the extraordinary efforts of FCI Secretary-General Samuel Toledano.

The Secretary-General of the FCI is elected from among the local community leadership. The position tends to be filled from the Madrid community, which helps facilitate coordination with the Spanish government and with the Israeli Embassy (both based in Madrid). The current Secretary-General, Mr. Toledano (an influential leader of Moroccan Sephardi origin who resides in Madrid), also serves as a member of the Commission for Religious Liberty, an advisory commission for religious affairs of the Spanish Ministry of Justice. In this way, the FCI's Secretary-General is able to advocate and represent Jewish interests directly to the government.

The FCI is directly affiliated with the World Jewish Congress (WJC), as well as with the World Zionist Organization (WZO). In 1976, the WJC held its annual conference in Madrid for the first time. For Spanish Jewry, this event symbolized international acceptance and recognition of their achievements in the reestablishment and development of a Jewish community in Spain.⁴⁵ The relationship between the Federation and the WZO is unusual in that most constituents of the WZO are countrywide "Zionist" organizations, and the Federation is a countrywide "community" organization.⁴⁶ This direct affiliation with the WZO may contribute to the generally strong Zionist orientation of the communities, reflected in Zionist education programs, aliyah, and visits to Israel.

Because the Jewish communities represented by the FCI are essentially religious congregations, the FCI is, in effect, the network of congregations in Spain. As such, it serves as an institution of the *keter kehunah* and *keter torah*, in addition to the *keter malkhut*.

An important function of the FCI is to promote joint activities between the congregational communities in the *educational-cultural* and *religious-congregational* spheres. Accordingly, the FCI helps facilitate intercommunity programs such as seminars, conferences, conventions, and summer youth camps.

One of the biggest internal problems of the FCI, according to its Secretary-General, is how to reach the smaller Jewish communities of Spain. Communities of only 10-20 Jewish families, scattered around the country, are often isolated from Jewish resources and activity. In an attempt to extend the resources of the larger communities, the FCI has proposed to send emissaries to these isolated clusters of families. As such, leaders and junior rabbis from Madrid and Barcelona would visit the small communities, bringing religious, cultural, and Zionist education to the families in need of Jewish support.

General Purpose, Mass-Based Organizations: WIZO, B'nai B'rith

Both WIZO and B'nai B'rith are general purpose, mass-based organizations which fall under the *keter malkhut*, addressing political, social and cultural issues. The two organizations are gender specific, offering women and men separate social and leadership opportunities. The activities of both organizations span *communal welfare*, *Israel-World Jewry*, and *educational-cultural* spheres.

The Spanish Federation of the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO)⁴⁷ is a countrywide, Zionist, public service organization for Jewish women in Spain. The Federacion WIZO España has over 600 paid members, and several additional participants who attend activities. The Federacion WIZO España has a president with central authority for Spain, and three local WIZO committees, each with a president, in Madrid, Barcelona, and Málaga. The Federacion WIZO España maintains direct affiliation with the Executive of WIZO International in Israel.

The function of the Federacion WIZO España is to support Israel by providing assistance for social and cultural develop-

ment projects, raise public awareness and education among the Jewish community, and provide Zionist and social activities for Jewish women in Spain. In Israel, the Federacion WIZO España supports several welfare institutions: children's centers in Ness-Ziona and Kiryat Motzkin, a youth club in Kiryat Bialik, and a women's club in Mishmar Hayarden. In Spain, the Federacion WIZO España provides an important organizational structure for women, who are underrepresented in general community leadership.⁴⁸ Young women are recruited for leadership development and organizational participation. Aside from educational programs and social welfare work in Israel, the Federacion WIZO España offers social events for women such as bimonthly teas, fashion shows, festival celebrations (Purim, Hanukkah), conferences and seminars, and annual youth competitions on Bible and Jewish history.

Another countrywide Jewish women's group in Spain is the Consejo Español de Mujeres Israelitas (CEMI).⁴⁹ CEMI is the Spanish affiliate of the International Council of Jewish Women (ICJW), providing cultural programs (about three times a month) and organizational meetings (once a month) through the local communities. CEMI activities include guided tours and trips to museums, galleries, and studios; lectures and discussions on a wide range of Jewish and intellectual themes (the Jewish woman, Jewish folklore, Freud, theatre montage, the Holocaust, Latin American painting, Jewish holidays, Jewish cooking).

B'nai B'rith, the Jewish men's organization, has been functioning in Spain since 1975. Its countrywide Chairman, Max Mazin, struggled for years to get the government sanction necessary to organize a Spanish chapter of B'nai B'rith. With the support of foreign pressure, Mazin finally obtained permission to establish the organization (also based in Madrid). There are two local chapters of Spanish B'nai B'rith, one in Madrid (also chaired by Mazin) and the other in Barcelona, each having about 100 members. The Madrid chapter was founded in 1978, the Barcelona chapter in 1980. B'nai B'rith in Spain functions as a cultural and social organization for Jewish men. It does not seek to compete with other organizations, although there does seem to be some overlap in objectives and programs.

One of the more successful and significant programs of B'nai B'rith was an educational initiative in 1985, the Spanish "Year of

Maimonides." B'nai B'rith, in coordination with the Ministry of Education, produced educational material about "Maimonides and his Times" which was distributed to over 5,000 secondary schools across Spain. The pedagogical material included information about Jewish life and contributions to Spain prior to the Expulsion. For the first time, Spanish students learned positive images and aspects of Jews in Spain. The project culminated in competitions about "Maimonides and his Times," resulting in impressive student projects and knowledge of the topic.⁵⁰

Local Organization: Congregations and Cultural Centers

In the local arena, organized Jewish communal life revolves around the synagogue, which serves both as a house of worship and as a community center. These congregational community centers provide facilities for most of the organized Jewish activity spanning all spheres. As such, the congregations are *inter-ketari*c institutions which provide religious ritual services, Jewish education and training, social and welfare services, and political-civic management of the Jewish community.

Both Madrid and Barcelona offer Sephardi and Ashkenazi religious services in the synagogues, with each congregation having a rabbi and *hazzan*. The communities also have kosher butchers, and both congregations offer a range of educational, social, Zionist and cultural programs.

There are Jewish schools in Madrid, Barcelona and Málaga, attended by schoolchildren from various ethnic and traditional backgrounds. There are also two Jewish summer camps and two cemeteries, outside Madrid and Barcelona.

The term "Jewish community" refers to the organized group of Jews who belong to the synagogue as paid members or as regular participants in community activities, be it through religious services or organized congregational activity. Yet there are many Jews living in Spain today who do not fit into this definition of "the Jewish community." According to the communal leadership, these are "lost" Jews, assimilated and unidentified as Jews. However, many of these so-called "lost" Jews have found alternative ways to identify and express themselves as

Jews, or are seeking to do so. In particular, Jews who are not involved with religious or congregational activity but seek to maintain their Jewishness often do so through intellectual and cultural activity organized outside the congregation. As a result, there are at least two streams of Jewish life in the local arena. The first and more developed stream is the congregational community structure, centered around the synagogue, and dominated by those Jews who built (or whose families built) the community structure and institutions, basically since the middle of the twentieth century. The second and less established stream is highly decentralized, characterized by intellectually and culturally-oriented individuals and groups that have emerged in Spain during the last two decades.

The Jewish Community of Madrid

To a large extent, the Madrid Jewish community considers itself to be the center of Spanish Jewry. This self-perception is augmented by its predominance in countrywide Jewish organizations and by its involvement with the Spanish government ministries and with the Israeli Embassy located in the capital city.

Religious-Congregational Sphere

As early as 1917, a synagogue was opened in Madrid on Calle del Principe, no. 5. The synagogue, which was really a converted apartment, was called Midrash Abarbanel and was consecrated with a *bar mitzvah*. It was large enough to accommodate about 100 people, and its members came from eighteen different countries.⁵¹

The community began its early organizational development in the 1930s, but the onset of World War II suspended much Jewish activity in Spain. Consequently, the real progress in creating an organizational infrastructure for the Jewish community occurred after World War II. In the 1930s, the official membership of the Madrid synagogue was only 45 people. The synagogue served as the center of the community, but had very

few resources. There were not even sufficient funds for a rabbi or *hazzan*. During World War II, the synagogue was temporarily closed, however services continued privately in individual homes. In 1949, the government gave permission to reopen the synagogue, which was consecrated in a sub-basement of Calle Cardenal Cisneros, no. 62. By 1958, another synagogue opened in a second floor apartment on Calle Pizarro. Services were strictly private, but the congregation had a rabbi (Jose Cuby) and lay leadership as well.⁵²

Community Relations

These synagogues were not officially recognized as such, but were incorporated as private associations, and in this way were tolerated by the government. In 1967, a constitutional amendment granting limited religious freedom for non-Catholic religions in Spain paved the way for a new synagogue to be built and registered as such a year later. The new synagogue, on Calle Balmes, which remains today the center of Madrid's organized Jewish community, was the first officially sanctioned synagogue built in Spain since 1350.⁵³ Its consecration came two days after a historic decree issued by the Spanish government which formally recognized the synagogue as a non-Catholic religious association and acknowledged the repeal of the 1492 Edict of Expulsion.⁵⁴ The decree was achieved in no small measure by the personal influence of the community's president at the time, Max Mazin, a prominent businessman and Jewish leader of Polish Ashkenazi origin. Having arrived in Madrid in 1951, Mazin served as President of the Comunidad Israelita de Madrid (CIM) for eighteen formative years, from 1952 until 1970. Through meetings with the Ministers of Justice and of Foreign Affairs, Mazin insisted that constitutional religious freedom was "a farce" without a government statement recognizing the formal repeal of the 1492 Edict. Faced with Mazin's threat to cancel the imminent inauguration of the synagogue, and the likelihood of a subsequent international scandal, the government agreed to send the requested statement two days before the synagogue opened.⁵⁵

Toward the end of Mazin's presidency, controversy arose surrounding the power balance within the community's leadership. The influx of Moroccan Sephardim during the 1950s and 1960s had fundamentally changed (and to some extent established) the organized Jewish community in Madrid. Some of the Moroccan leaders challenged the degree of centralized authority and of interfaith cooperation and involvement in the CIM. After political struggles within the CIM, Mazin resigned in midterm in 1970, stating that he had "completed what he set out to achieve" for the establishment of Jewish life in Madrid.⁵⁶ Mazin's resignation left a power vacuum, which remained unfilled for three years, during a drawn-out struggle between rival factions of the CIM. Finally, a new president was elected in 1973. Despite the controversy, it was under the leadership of Mazin that major efforts were made to strengthen the image of Jews in Spain and to promote Jewish-Christian friendship and cooperation. In 1967, an unprecedented joint service was held in a church, celebrating Jewish-Christian harmony and shared spiritual bonds.⁵⁷

External Relations-Defense

In the 1960s, the Amistad Judeo-Cristiana (Association of Jewish-Christian Friendship) was established in Madrid. The organization was founded largely at the instigation of the Sisters of Zion, a philanthropic Catholic society of nuns devoted to Israel, the Jewish people, peace, justice and improving Jewish-Christian relations worldwide.⁵⁸ The Amistad Judeo-Cristiana launched a campaign with the Ministry of Education and Science to edit Spanish textbooks in order to remove antisemitic and derogatory references to Jews, who had been portrayed as evil, corrupt, and untrustworthy heretics. This important revision of textbooks and dictionaries was carried out successfully, with far-reaching effect for future generations of Spanish-educated children.

Education

In addition to this work, the Amistad led to the establishment of a Center of Jewish-Christian Studies (Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos) in 1967. The Center works to combat anti-semitism and ignorance through education.⁵⁹ The Center houses a library with resources and literature on Jewish-Christian themes. It also offers courses, lectures and seminars, as well as Hebrew classes. The Center works through universities to promote writing and reflection on Jewish-Christian themes. It also organizes guided tours to Jewish historic sites in Spain and to Israel.

In 1940, the Instituto de Benito Arias Montana, an academic institute dedicated to the study of Hebrew, Arabic, and Sephardi culture, was established in Madrid by the government.⁶⁰ The institute functions within the framework of the prestigious Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas. The Instituto Arias Montana maintains the largest library devoted to Hebrew and Sephardi studies in Spain.⁶¹ It has published a well-respected, scholarly journal since 1940, entitled *Sefarad*. In addition to its own research activities, the institute maintains close contact with the Hebrew Department of the Universidad Complutense in Madrid.⁶²

Adult Jewish educational opportunities are offered by the CIM (at the synagogue), the Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos, the Universidad Complutense, and the other organizations and institutions mentioned above. A Jewish day school also provides Jewish education for youth until about the age of *bar mitzvah*.

The Jewish day school Colegio Ibn Gabirol was established in the 1960s to meet the needs of the Jewish community, which had grown considerably with young families since the independence of Morocco in 1956. Aware of the growing needs of the young community, two new leaders from Morocco, Stella and Joe Lasry, were instrumental in establishing and developing the day school as well as the first Talmud Torah. In the early 1970s, another Jewish leader from Morocco, Mauricio Hatchwell, financed the relocation of the day school, which was renamed the Estrella Toledano school (after his grandmother, the matriarch

of an important clan of Moroccan Sephardi families in Spain, the Toledanos and Hatchwells).

Today, the Jewish school in Moraleja, a suburb of Madrid, has children from diverse ethnic backgrounds. In addition to Spanish-born children of Moroccan immigrants, the school teaches children of South American, Israeli, and European origins as well. The school also has non-Jewish students who are attracted by the school's reputation as one of the best non-Catholic private schools in Spain. The school welcomes these students, who are exempt from Hebrew and Jewish religious studies, for several reasons. Firstly, the non-Jewish enrollment is a sign, to some extent, of the prestige and acceptance of the school among the general population in Spain. Secondly, the "integration" fosters Jewish-Christian friendship, breaking down stereotypes and barriers. Lastly, the school does not want to "create a Jewish ghetto,"⁶³ raising children in an environment artificially isolated from the Spanish society in which they live.

Culture

The wave of Jewish immigrants coming to Spain from Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s began to develop loose organizational structures outside the synagogue-centered community in the 1980s. Of those few who did turn to the synagogue and the organized community, even fewer found this to be a comfortable framework in which to express or explore their Jewish identity.

Out of an intellectual and cultural (but not necessarily religious) desire for Jewish identity, the new Jews in Spain formed very open, flexible *Círculos de Reflexión*, small groups that meet semi-regularly to consider topics and themes relating to contemporary Jewish identity. The *Círculo* in Madrid is coordinated by Dr. Arnoldo Liberman, an Argentinian Ashkenazi psychologist, writer, and philosopher. The *Círculo de Reflexión* has been reluctant, almost resistant, to organize a formal structure or even develop a definition for itself. The groups are open to Jews from any background and orientation, and are also receptive to interested non-Jews as well. The topics addressed are of intellectual, cultural and political relevance to the contemporary Jewish experience.

A Spanish Jewish cultural magazine, *Raíces* (Roots), was launched from Madrid by an Argentinian Jew, Horacio Kohan, in the mid-1980s. The magazine has a circulation of several thousand, many of whom are non-Jews, and is distributed across Spain and (by subscription) to Israel, Europe, and America. *Raíces* provides an important forum for diverse Jewish voices and points of view. The magazine includes articles, essays, reviews and interviews on topics of intellectual and cultural Jewish interest, similar to the *Círculo de Reflexión*.

The Jewish Community of Barcelona

From Barcelona's perspective, the potentially dominant position of Madrid in countrywide affairs is a subject of sensitivity, if not slight resentment. The Jews of Barcelona are eager to identify themselves as equal co-founders of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain. Furthermore, the distinctive features of Jewish life in Catalán Spain reinforce Barcelona's pride and self-image as a leading Jewish community, in no way subordinate to Madrid. Catalán cultural identity is strongly asserted throughout Barcelona and the region. Because of their vibrant spirit against oppression and discrimination, the Catalán people sometimes call themselves "the Jews of Spain."

Religious-Congregational Sphere

Before World War I, a synagogue was opened in Barcelona on Calle de Provenza. By the 1930s, it had about 250 registered members, largely newcomers from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as France, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, and Egypt. Many other Jews living in Barcelona preferred not to associate with the synagogue and with organized Jewish activity due to traditional fears or indifference.⁶⁴

During World War II the synagogue was closed and services transferred to private homes, as they were in Madrid. Largely due to its geographic proximity to the Pyrenees and the sea, Barcelona became the center of activity for Jewish refugees in

Spain. As a result, the contemporary community was initially shaped by those entering Spain during this time.

Two congregations were formed in the early 1950s, one Sephardi and the other Ashkenazi. To house the congregational services and activities, Synagogue Maimonides was inaugurated in Barcelona on Rosh Hashana in 1954.⁶⁵ The synagogue building and the organized community are referred to as the Comunidad Israelita de Barcelona (CIB). The synagogue was built as a private building and not officially as a synagogue, in accordance with the Spanish laws at the time. Nevertheless, it served as a synagogue and the Barcelona community is proud to claim it as the "real" first synagogue of contemporary Spanish Jewry, preceding the Madrid synagogue by several years. The wave of Sephardi immigrants from Morocco in the 1950s and 1960s reinforced the synagogue's central importance to Jewish community life, as this was the traditional practice of the Moroccan Sephardim. Today, the synagogue continues to function as the center for Barcelona's community organization and activities. The CIB elects a president and an executive committee every three years. CIB facilities include two sanctuaries for Sephardi and Ashkenazi services, a *mikve*, the CIB administration, a library, a small auditorium, a center for documentation and research, and a Department of Education.

Education

The Department of Education at the CIB provides *bar* and *bat mitzva* preparation, post-*bar-mitzva* classes, and courses in Hebrew, Talmud, and Jewish philosophy. In 1989, the Barcelona and Madrid Departments of Education collaborated to produce a booklet about the Spring holidays (Pesach, Yom Hashoah, Yom Hazikaron, Yom Haatzmaut, Lag B'omer, Yom Yerushalayim, Shavuot).⁶⁶

Academic courses on Jewish topics are also available from the Universidad Autonomia de Barcelona and from the ARCCI.⁶⁷ The University has a Hebrew Department within the Faculty of Philology which teaches Hebrew literature, philosophy, and Jewish history. The ARCCI teaches modern Hebrew and sup-

ports seminars, exhibitions, and events on contemporary Israeli and Jewish culture.

The Barcelona community has a Jewish day school, the Sefardi School. Despite its misleading name, the school teaches Jews of all backgrounds, until the age of 12-13 years old. In addition to the standard Spanish curriculum, the Sefardi School also offers courses in Hebrew, Zionism, and Jewish history and culture. The school has an excellent reputation for high academic achievement, and teaches four languages: Spanish, Catalán, English and Hebrew. The enrollment of the school (about 125 students) has declined in recent years, leading to financial difficulties.⁶⁸

Community Relations

Initially as a response to the Sefardi School's financial problems, a study of the Jewish community was undertaken to investigate the causes of declining enrollment. By the time the study was actually carried out, its scope had expanded considerably to include an overall assessment and analysis of Barcelona's community, its needs and identity. The study, carried out through the Department of Psychology at the Universidad Autonomia de Barcelona in 1989, revealed a controversial picture of the CIB and, in particular, highlighted several internal, structural problems. The common public perception of the CIB was of an organization that did not sufficiently respond to the needs nor the contemporary reality of the Jewish community. The main problems identified were: (1) the relative invisibility and low profile of the CIB in the society at large, (2) the "excessive presence" of religion in the programs offered,⁶⁹ (3) stagnation and inflexibility, (4) incongruity with contemporary, secular, social progress (particularly with regard to unequal representation of women in community leadership), and (5) the tendency to treat the community as a homogeneous group, overlooking the heterogeneous cultural diversity of the contemporary Jewish community.⁷⁰

Not surprisingly, the study was severely criticized and rejected by the established Jewish leadership of the CIB who interpreted it as a challenge, if not an affront, to their positions

and style of leadership.⁷¹ Furthermore, the political motives of the study were questioned. The study had been initiated by a prominent, young Jewish leader, David Grebler, who sought changes for the Jewish community. Grebler's ambition to fundamentally change the CIB was not unrelated to his (successful) candidacy for its presidency in the 1990 community elections. Under his leadership as incoming president, he envisioned an updated structure and image for the CIB, one which would appeal to a wider cross-section of Jews living in Barcelona. He considered this vision to be a "survival plan" for the Barcelona Jewish community, which he worried would otherwise dwindle away.⁷²

Culture

The intended renovation of the CIB was designed to coincide with the opening of the Baruch Spinoza Jewish Cultural Center in 1990. Another project of Grebler's, the Spinoza Center was created to promote Jewish culture to the public at large by providing exhibitions, seminars, and information on contemporary Jewish topics. The Spinoza Center is managed independently from the CIB and is maintained through funding from private foundations. It was designed to improve the image of Jews in Spain, and to provide an accessible, non-religious alternative to the CIB for all Jews and interested members of the public by celebrating and exploring Jewish culture in a facility independent from the synagogue.⁷³

As in Madrid, the wave of immigrants coming to Barcelona from Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s led to the emergence of independent study groups to explore aspects of contemporary Jewish identity — the *Círculo de Reflexión*. The *Círculo* in Barcelona is also entering a formative stage in its organizational development. Up until the beginning of the 1990s, the *Círculo* resisted conventional structure and definition. Recently, however, the group began to consider issues of its organizational direction. The *Círculos* are organized independently from the synagogue by Benjamin Glaser, an Argentinian architect. The monthly meetings are open to intellectuals from all backgrounds.

Other Spanish Jewish Communities⁷⁴

In addition to the relatively large and developed communities of Madrid and Barcelona, there are also Jews living in several other cities spread across Spain, including: Málaga, Marbella, the Canary Islands (Tenerife, Las Palmas), Valencia, Alicante, Seville, Cádiz, and Granada. These Jewish communities, or rather clusters of 10-20 Jewish families, are small and diverse. As mentioned in the context of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain, the communities are relatively isolated from Jewish contact and resources, with little communal infrastructure to meet the needs of the few families they might serve. Each "community" has its own characteristics, generally reflective of the overall circumstances of the town or region. For example, Granada is largely a university town. Its Jewish residents are a handful of young adults and families, graduates of the university, who came to Granada for academic study or professions.

Málaga's Jewish community is largely comprised of wealthy English (and Continental European) Jews, who come seasonally for the warm weather. They maintain homes in Spain, but a significant part of the community is transient. Still, Málaga (together with nearby Marbella) is the third largest Jewish community in Spain, with a synagogue, a Jewish school, and some organizational development.⁷⁵

While Córdoba and Toledo are not significant centers of contemporary Jewish life, their historic and symbolic importance are noteworthy in the context of contemporary Spanish Jewry. Twentieth century Spanish interest in Maimonides has directed attention toward Córdoba, the home of Maimonides, as an important historic and symbolic city for Spanish Jews. Córdoba has a statue of Maimonides, erected in 1964. Countrywide commemorations celebrating the achievements and contributions of Maimonides to Spanish civilization were held in 1935, 1985 and 1988. An ancient synagogue also exists in Córdoba.

Toledo is often referred to as the "Jerusalem of Spain" because of its historic and symbolic importance to the three cultures of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. Today, Toledo is the home of "el Museo Sefardi," a museum devoted to Sephardi history and culture, which is attached to the beautiful and

recently renovated Transito Synagogue and *mikve*.⁷⁶ The museum also contains a Sephardi study center and library with a collection of literature and rare texts. No Jews live in Toledo today, although a kosher restaurant exists in the *judería* (the old Jewish neighborhood), largely as a tourist attraction. The kosher restaurant is run by a man claiming to be "the last Jew of Toledo." In fact, he lives in Madrid and commutes to the restaurant for work.

Organizational Relations with Israel

Spanish Jewish relations with Israel are organized in an inter-*ketic* way, with overlap between the domains of organized Jewish communal life. Political and welfare activity are facilitated through institutions of the *keter malkhut*, and cultural and educational activity through institutions of the *keter torah*.

Until 1986, cultural relations served as the primary political channel between Spain and Israel. As such, the institutions developed to facilitate cultural exchange played significant roles in the political and diplomatic relationship.

Cultural-Educational Activities

Prior to the establishment of an Israeli Embassy in Madrid, a great deal of Spanish-Israeli relations were carried out through the Jewish communities themselves, and through independent organizations promoting Spanish-Israeli friendship and cultural exchange. As an organizational legacy, these associations still exist and continue to provide a framework through which Israeli-Spanish cultural relations are actively promoted. The associations are under the coordinating umbrella of the Instituto Cultural Israel Ibero-America, based in Jerusalem under the direction of Netanel Lorch, President, and Gabi Levy, Director General, both former Israeli Ambassadors to Latin America.

The most active associations in Spain are the Asociacion de Relaciones Culturales Cataluña-Israel (ARCII), founded in Barcelona in 1973, and the Amistad España-Israel, founded in Madrid in 1982. In addition, there are similar but smaller asso-

ciations for cultural relations between Israel and Valencia, las Canarias, Baleares, and Navarra. The associations are officially headed by noted Spanish cultural figures, partly in order to gain them cultural clout and secular appeal, if not legitimacy. The honorary president of the Amistad España-Israel is Don Camilo Jose Cela, a Nobel prize-winning Spanish author, though somewhat of a figurehead.⁷⁷ The ARCCI, however, was founded by a very actively involved individual, Jordi Cervello, a Catalán composer.⁷⁸ The ARCCI publishes a bulletin including articles about culture and current events in Israel and world Jewry, and includes information on activities in different regions and cities.

Political Relations

Political and social activities are carried out through the organizations mentioned above (FCI, WIZO, B'nai B'rith), as well as through congregational community involvement in diplomatic relations. *Shlichim* (emissaries from Israel) were first sent to Spain in the mid-1970s.

Now that Spain has formal diplomatic relations with Israel (since 1986), Spanish-Israeli relations have developed through government channels. In 1989-90, Spain received diplomatic visits from several Israeli Ministers, including Yitzhak Shamir, Moshe Arens, Ezer Weizman, and Ariel Sharon. Several agreements have been reached between the two countries covering cultural exchange, scientific and technological cooperation, and free trade. In Spain, Israel is perceived as a technologically advanced country with considerable scientific resources from which Spain could benefit. In recent years, Israel has attempted to improve its media image in Spain, which has been traditionally unfavorable. Due to the relative ignorance about Jews by Spanish society, the Israeli Embassy finds itself engaged in public relations and general education about Jewish culture and Israeli society.

Legal Status of the Jews in Spain

The nineteenth century brought several attempts by Western Europeans and Spanish intellectuals to revoke the famous 1492 Edict of Expulsion. While the Edict itself was not formally repealed, progress was achieved when the "Holy Office" of the Inquisition formally ceased to exist in 1834. Impressed with socio-political changes in Spain, Dr. Ludwig Philippson, a German rabbi and prominent Jewish leader, initiated a petition to the Spanish government which demanded general religious freedom and the repeal of the 1492 Edict.⁷⁹ The petition was referred to a parliamentary committee which drafted a charter for religious liberty in 1855. The proposed legislation, however, was not approved. Opposition to religious liberty was maintained by the Queen and supported by a wave of conservative clericalism.⁸⁰

An incident involving the persecution of Moroccan Jews in Saffi (in 1864) attracted the attention of Jewish leaders abroad. The concern was sufficient to prompt action from Sir Moses Montefiore, who was at that time President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Through negotiations with the Spanish court and his personal prestige, Montefiore obtained redress for the Moroccan Jews.⁸¹

The 1868 Spanish Revolution encouraged European Jews to appeal again for religious liberty in Spain. This time, French Sephardi Jews submitted a petition to the provisional government.⁸² Haim Guedalla, a prominent London Jew, used his friendship with the liberal revolutionary leader and prime minister of the provisional government, General Juan Prim, to promote religious freedom for Jews and to facilitate the reentry of exiled Spanish Jews.⁸³

Positive initial responses to these initiatives generated optimism, and attempts were made to open synagogues in Madrid and Cádiz.⁸⁴ By now the British, French, and American Jewish communities were joining forces in their appeal to the Spanish government. The liberal party advocated freedom of conscience and religious freedom in the manifestos of the provisional government and the proclamations of its leadership.⁸⁵

To legalize this *de facto* recognition of religious freedom, this principle needed to be incorporated into the constitutional law of Spain. Despite the fervor of the liberal movement, opposition to religious freedom by conservative elements delayed many of the progressive initiatives of the provisional government.

The outcome of the constitutional deliberations between the liberal and conservative factions was a compromise. Catholicism was reaffirmed as the religion of the state, but freedom of conscience and limited freedom of religion were established in the Constitution of 1869 (Articles XI, XXI-XXIII).⁸⁶ The effect was to grant the theoretical right to dissent from Catholicism without persecution and the right to exercise other religions, publicly or privately, while ensuring Catholic religious supremacy.

Despite the achievement of (albeit limited) religious freedom in 1869, the Constitution of 1876 reversed some of this progress, prohibiting non-Catholic religious practices in public and confining religious freedom to the boundaries of "the respect due to Christian morality."⁸⁷

As noted earlier, in 1924 a Royal Decree was passed which was to serve as the legal basis for Franco's efforts to save Jewish refugees during World War II. Known as the Nationality Decree of 1924 or the "Primo de Rivera law,"⁸⁸ the edict allowed people of Spanish origin living abroad to claim Spanish nationality or protection in the countries where they resided.⁸⁹ The Primo de Rivera law had direct implications for Sephardim, especially those in Greece and Egypt, who were entitled to receive Spanish citizenship and with it Spanish protection through the nearest Spanish consulates. According to the law, the period during which Spanish nationality could be claimed was between 1924 and 1930. However, diplomatic and procedural confusion in the consulates resulted in relatively few Sephardim taking advantage of the opportunity afforded them. By 1930, despite a clarification of the law in 1927 intended to expedite the process of naturalization, many Sephardim remained without Spanish nationality.⁹⁰

In 1931, another Nationality Decree further simplified the naturalization process in an attempt to give Spanish citizenship to all Moroccan Jews at once. This initiative was abandoned, however, due to strong opposition in the Maghreb.⁹¹

Nevertheless, while the Primo de Rivera law officially expired in 1930, in practice it was extended through the 1940s.⁹² In 1940, about 4,000 Sephardim living in France were saved under the protection of this law, as were some Jews in Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary. In 1942, the Spanish diplomatic representatives in Paris took explicit action to protect the Sephardim there, who were to be treated as Spaniards, not as Jews, "in accordance with Spanish law."⁹³

After the war, a decree was issued in 1948 confirming the legal status of Sephardi families as Spanish nationals. The decree was accompanied by a government memorandum known as "El Sefardismo," which emphasized the importance of the Sephardic communities abroad to the Franco regime in Spain.⁹⁴

In 1967, a law on religious freedom was approved, recognizing religious liberty "as a fundamental right of the dignity of the human person."⁹⁵ The law also guaranteed the "public profession and practice of religion," as well as the right to choose the faith of one's child, and equal marriage and burial facilities for non-Catholics as for Catholics.⁹⁶

Now that the right to publicly practice Judaism was assured by the new law, the first officially sanctioned synagogue was opened in Madrid. In honor of the occasion (and under considerable pressure from CIM President Max Mazin, as noted above), the government issued an historic statement recognizing the Hebrew Congregation of Madrid and the "rights of citizenship conferred on the Jewish religion," as well as repealing the 1492 Edict of Expulsion.⁹⁷

There is some controversy over the actual legal significance of the 1968 government statement regarding the Edict of Expulsion.⁹⁸ The statement is either interpreted as an official repeal in and of itself of the 1492 Edict, or as an acknowledgment that the Edict in effect no longer applies. At the time, the statement was widely regarded as an historic breakthrough providing at long last "legal redress for the grave injustice committed against the Jewish people."⁹⁹ As such, the statement was considered to have the legal significance of revoking the Edict. Those who adhere to the second interpretation claim either (a) that since the statement acknowledges that the Edict was already void, it had been revoked, in effect, long ago; or (b) since the statement is merely

an acknowledgment of *de facto* tolerance, the Edict therefore remains "on the books."

A ceremonial Repeal by Royal Decree was held on the 500th anniversary of the 1492 Edict of Expulsion, on 31 March 1992. Depending upon the interpretation of the 1968 government statement, the symbolic significance of this event was more related to the activities of Sefarad '92¹⁰⁰ and media publicity than to an actual change in the legal status of the Jews in Spain.

Soon after Franco's death, the new Constitution of 1979 was proclaimed, establishing full religious equality. The Constitution reaffirms religious freedoms and prohibits all differential treatment of Catholics and non-Catholics before the law.¹⁰¹

The most recent initiative regarding the legal status of Jews in Spain is the Agreement of Cooperation between the Government and the Jewish Communities of Spain. The 1990 draft of the "Acuerdo de Cooperación," officially between the State of Spain and the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain, covers fifteen areas of cooperation, spanning the auspices of eight Spanish ministries. The areas provided for in the 1990 draft include: protection and preservation of the Jewish historic, artistic, and cultural heritage in Spain; Jewish exemption from work, military service, and public exams on Shabbat and holidays;¹⁰² sanction of *kashrut* and protection of *kashrut* labelling; the direct entry of Jewish marriages into the civil registry; tax exemptions for Jewish social services, charitable, and community donations; recognition of rabbinical certification, facilitation of rabbinical services for the military and for the penitentiary system; and support for Jewish education in all arenas.¹⁰³

Political Dynamics of Spanish Jewish Leadership

The early leaders of Spain's Jewish community were European. For the most part, they came to Spain under adverse circumstances as refugees. Needless to say, these Jews were strong-willed individuals; after all, they were "survivors." Their leadership style reflected their personal drive and determination. In the aftermath of World War II, a Jewish organizational and communal infrastructure in Spain was established with a deep-rooted desire to preserve the remnants and the future of

European Jewry. The efforts made by these European leaders to improve and develop the legal status of Jews in Spain (and to promote the cause of religious freedom in general) reflected a primary concern with Jewish security in their new country.

The Europeans were both Sephardi and Ashkenazi, without too much conflict between traditions. Sub-groups existed and tended to stick together (according to national and linguistic origin), but there was no major division between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Their emphasis seemed to be on consolidating security and power, establishing communal structures, and getting on with their lives.

After this first wave of European Jewish immigrants, Spain absorbed its second wave of Jewish immigrants from Spanish Morocco. The influx of affluent and influential Moroccans marked a Sephardi shift in the direction of development for the Spanish Jewish community. The Moroccans were almost entirely Sephardi and with strong ties to Spain. For many, there was a sense of "returning home" to Spain, about which they felt a mixture of familiarity, righteousness, and uncertainty. They integrated quickly into what there was of the European-established Jewish communal structures, and soon challenged the authority of the early leaders. Here marks the beginning of what is sometimes referred to as a division between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in the small but diverse Jewish community of Spain. However, this is neither an accurate nor adequate description of the political struggles which developed. The struggles for communal power were more reflective of historical circumstance, individual ambition, and family pride. Among the Moroccan Sephardim were several prominent families whose ancestry boasts direct lineage to the Golden Age of Spain, followed by a long list of Jewish leaders ever since. The heritage they brought with them in their "return" to Spain also included a good deal of rivalry, competition, and passion for Sephardi life. By the time the Jewish community was more or less dominated by Moroccan immigrants, political clashes were rampant, not only between the early European leaders and the new Sephardim, but also between different families and feuding sub-groups from Morocco. Although the self-proclaimed motto of one Jewish leader is "unity above everything,"¹⁰⁴ the political reality is far from it.

While the European and Moroccan Jewish leaders came to Spain with different, often conflicting, orientations, the arena for political struggle remained within the congregational community structure surrounding the synagogue. With the third wave of Jews coming to Spain, the almost entirely Ashkenazi Latin Americans, a new political dynamic was thrust into the scene. The different approaches to Jewish communal organization between the most recent Jewish arrivals to Spain and their predecessors reflect cultural and circumstantial differences. Unlike the Jews fleeing religious persecution in other parts of Europe, and those Sephardim "returning" to Spain from potentially dangerous conditions in Morocco, these Jews left Latin America primarily for political reasons having little to do with their Jewish identity.¹⁰⁵ For the most part, they came to Spain because of the language and the promise of economic opportunity. The Latin American Jews came from secular, integrated, upper-middle class families; mostly educated and professionally successful in academia, science, psychology, architecture, and the arts; with little hesitancy about intermarriage or active Jewish involvement in a non-Jewish world. When they arrived in Spain, they found a Jewish community centered around religious tradition, dominated by Sephardi Moroccan families, and beset with internal political struggles for power. The Latin Americans did not see where or how they could fit into the Jewish community as it was structured, nor did they particularly desire to do so.¹⁰⁶

The political orientation of the Latin Americans had been to oppose the rigid (and, in their experience, oppressive) structures of authority. As a result, they were inclined to avoid the established, formal Jewish organizational life and to pursue more individual, cultural and intellectual forms of Jewish identity.¹⁰⁷ To the Latin Americans, the newly established Jewish community appeared close-minded and unwelcoming to alternative ways of being Jewish. To them, the religious community seemed firmly set in its ways, hesitant and unreceptive to outsiders, and ultimately insecure about its status in Spain and cautious in its relations with non-Jews.

Likewise, the established Jewish community saw the Latin American Jews as disinterested, distant, and assimilated. One Jewish leader said, "They have no interest in us, they never come

to synagogue." For the established Jewish leadership, congregation equals community. The perception of Latin American Jews as "outsiders" to the Jewish community is not only reinforced by their relative absence at religious services but also by assumptions about their political orientation. Comments from the community leadership about the Latin Americans include: "They are very left wing and so they have lost their Jewish identity," and "The Argentinians are not Zionist; they are communist!"

Towards the end of 1989, a breakthrough meeting occurred at the CIM, bringing together for the first time leaders, organizers, and participants of both the CIM and the *Círculo De Reflexión* in Madrid. The event was a cultural evening to discuss Jewish intellectuals of the twentieth century. Events such as these may help break down stereotypes, apprehensions, and divisions between different groups of Jews living in Spain. In this way, the community structure might adapt to reflect the more pluralistic views of the diverse Jewish community.

Jewish Identity, Assimilation and Integration

The congregational community leadership defines a Jew, in accordance with *halakhah*, as any person born of a Jewish mother. In practice, the definition is more narrow, excluding Jews outside of the more traditional patterns of participation in the religious and congregational spheres. The "Jews of Spain" usually refers only to those Jews who are registered as paid members of the synagogue and organized community. These Jews express their identity through religious observance, practice, education, and family life.

The Sephardim, in particular, express their Jewish identity through traditional religious observance and strong commitment to Jewish history. This drive to conserve and preserve traditional forms of Jewish identity reflects the Sephardi experience and religious orientation. Among the Sephardim, there is little incidence of intermarriage with non-Jews. They are integrated with Spanish society through professional involvement (primarily in trade, commerce, and business), yet social integration is limited. This is due largely to Jewish social opportunities

resulting from family involvement in the synagogue and with other Jewish families.

Outside of the Moroccan Sephardim, the patterns of participation are very different. High rates of intermarriage occur, reflecting wider social and professional integration in Spanish society. In most cases, intermarriage and integration into Spanish society does not necessarily indicate assimilation or repudiation, as many intermarried Jews maintain Jewish identity through community involvement, organizational affiliation, Jewish education and culture.

The Latin American Jews tend to pursue intellectual and cultural forms of expressing and pursuing Jewish identity. They were very integrated in Latin America, and have adapted quickly to Spanish society. Many are intermarried but send their children to Jewish day school. Very few are members of the synagogue or organized Jewish community. The pursuit of Jewish identity through cultural and intellectual channels reflects their current struggle to reconcile their Jewish heritage with a contemporary, secular context. The initiatives of *Raíces*, the *Círculos de Reflexión*, and the Baruch Spinoza Center are manifestations of this struggle for alternative but meaningful Jewish identity.

From outside the Jewish community, Spaniards know very little about contemporary Jewry. The impression of the contemporary Jewish community in Spain is that of a closed, secretive, ritualistic community of very wealthy, politically influential Jews. Since the Spanish word for Jew, *judío/a*, is often used interchangeably with *israelita* (meaning literally "Israelite"), there is confusion about the distinction between Jew and Israeli.

Almost all Spaniards claim to have some Jewish blood in their ancestry. Often, Spanish individuals will reveal that one of their ancestral names is a Jewish name, and that they are therefore Jewish! It is sometimes considered chic for Spaniards to emphasize this ancestral identity, even though they may know virtually nothing about Judaism. Ironically, claiming Jewish ancestry has not only become fashionable, but is also a means to show how ancient and deep one's Spanish roots are. According to this logic, if a Spaniard is descended from a Jew, his or her Spanish ancestry must precede the Inquisition. Asserting "Jewish" identity becomes a way of authenticating true Spanish identity!

Antisemitism and Philosemitism

In the twentieth century, Spain not only experienced the development of its contemporary Jewish community, but also of both antisemitism and philosemitism. The emergence of antisemitism was neither unusual for Europe, nor new for Spain. Nevertheless, contemporary variations of antisemitism exist in Spain, along with philosemitism. The foundation for Spanish antisemitism is deeply rooted in Spanish history, dating back to Inquisition times. Indeed, one could argue that antisemitism is even embedded in the Spanish language. Historically, the word for converted Jews, *marrano*, means "filthy, dirty, pig, swine." Another word still used today, *judiada*, means "deceitful trick, foul or unfair play."

Early in this century, Jews became the subject of literary interest. Several books were published that were openly antisemitic (for example, the novels of Pio Baroja), simultaneously with a wave of philosemitic writings (by Rafael Cansinos-Assens, Carmen de Burgos, Gabriel Alomar, Rafael Altamira, and Francos Rodriguez).¹⁰⁸ Like antisemitism, philosemitism also singles out Jews as different on the basis of generalized assumptions and stereotypes. Although intended as a complimentary way to distinguish Jews, philosemitism may also be harmful. For example, a news article on the vastness of Jewish wealth and power in Spain, intended as a statement of admiration, may easily be interpreted as antisemitic propaganda.

In 1935, countrywide celebrations of the 800th birthday of Maimonides coincided paradoxically with the circulation of classic, antisemitic propaganda: *Mein Kampf*, "The Elders of Zion," and Henry Ford's "The International Jew."¹⁰⁹ Shortly after World War II, the American film "Gentlemen's Agreement," which addresses the injustice of antisemitism, was banned by the Spanish government. The explanation given by the Church censor was that "since Christians and Jews were portrayed as equals here, a dangerous poison was spread."¹¹⁰

Major strides in Jewish-Christian relations were taken under the impact of the Vatican Council II in 1962.¹¹¹ In the years that followed, the work of the Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianas and the Sisters of Zion concentrated on breaking down

antisemitism through education, especially with the much-needed revision of academic material and textbooks.

One Jewish leader described the situation today regarding antisemitism as follows: "The good news is that we have no 'social antisemitism' in Spain....The bad news is that it has been replaced with considerable 'political antisemitism!'" Social antisemitism, such as restricted membership in clubs, professions, or universities, is practically non-existent in Spain. However, contemporary antisemitism is complicated by the modern phenomenon of political antisemitism, or anti-Zionism. Anti-Zionism flared at the outset of the Intifada (the Palestinian Arab uprising in Israel) in the late 1980s, but has subsided a bit as diplomatic relations with Israel developed.¹¹² The confusion in Spanish between *Israelita* and *judío/a* reinforces the antisemitic implications of anti-Zionism.

Much of the antisemitism in Spain is the function of clear ignorance and misinformation. For example, an ignorant Spaniard might make stupid comments, such as "The Jews all left Spain because of crimes they had committed," or "who knows the truth about whether or not Jews died in the Holocaust? After all Jews own all the media." Yet the same Spaniard, when confronted with the offensive meaning of such comments, might be sincerely surprised that they were understood as antisemitic. After all, he might add, "I like Jews. I cannot be antisemitic, because I am Jewish," revealing his distant Jewish ancestry!

More disturbing expressions of antisemitism include the public poster campaign promoting a new edition of *Mein Kampf* on sale at a Spanish Book Festival (June 1990) in Madrid. Large portraits of Adolf Hitler were plastered on walls throughout the streets of Madrid, with the words: "Read Hitler's Bestseller: *Mein Kampf*!" A similar poster campaign celebrated Hitler's birthday. While these campaigns by no means represent mainstream public opinion (they were organized by extreme right-wing factions), what was perhaps most disconcerting was the response of silence and the absence of opposition to such virulent antisemitism. Not only was there no apparent response from the society at large, but none from the Jewish community as well. As the Jewish community becomes more confident to assert its identity and concerns publicly, perhaps the extent of ignorance, both antisemitic and philosemitic, will dissipate.

Conclusion: Current Trends and Directions

Without exception, when asked about the future of Spanish Jewry, Jewish leaders expressed concern about the coming generation. One Jewish leader summed up the sentiments of many when he said "We had the challenge of building a community. To our children we leave a more difficult task: maintaining it." The young generation of Jews, those born in Spain, has different motivations and opportunities than previous generations had, which influences its approach to the Spanish Jewish community. Unlike their parents and grandparents, the young Jews did not experience World War II, fascism, direct political threat or oppression, the need to seek refugee status or asylum, or even serious antisemitism. They are children of another age and, in some ways, another world. Young Spanish Jews are raised with greater opportunities for integration, assimilation, and non-traditional forms of Jewish identity. They have more possibilities of academic and professional training, Jewish education and aliyah, religious freedom, social acceptance and advancement, interdating and intermarriage (and a Spanish "EEC" passport as well). On top of this, advanced telecommunications and transportation put before them the entire spectrum of diaspora and Zionist choices. They are not directly motivated by survival, nor by the drive to salvage and preserve European Jewry in the ashes of the Holocaust. They do not look towards the "return" to Spain after a brutally imposed exile, nor to the (re)building of Jewish life in Spain; after all, they were born into it.

The motivating factors of young people for active involvement in the organized Jewish community stem primarily from religious commitment, family heritage, and Zionism. The religious commitment and weight of family heritage seem to be strongest among first-generation Sephardi Spaniards, descendants of the Moroccan immigrants. Family heritage also becomes important for young parents, who may not be very religious but want to pass on Jewish tradition to their children. Among those motivated by Zionism, many leave for Israel on aliyah or for extended periods of study. Of those who return from Israel, unless they are very religious, most do not reenter the organized Jewish community.

As it is currently structured and oriented, the Spanish Jewish community is, at best, not growing.¹¹³ High emigration (due to aliyah, as well as to professional or personal opportunities abroad) and diminished motivation of the youth are the main reasons behind a decline in numbers. But the community structure and orientation may be a cause of stagnation as well. The conventional community structures must be flexible enough to meet the changing needs of the Jews they seek to serve. The alternative threatens to be a stagnant institution which alienates Jews whose contemporary identity is no longer represented by the community leadership. The cultural initiatives of the Spinoza Center, *Raíces*, and the Círculos de Reflexiones may contribute to the alternative options available for Jews who want to affiliate and identify as Jews, but who do not fit into the conventional community mold.

Another initiative providing a wide range of opportunity for Jews in Spain was the historical significance of 1992 and all the commotion surrounding Sefarad '92. Not only was 1992 "The Year of Spain," marked by the Universal EXPO in Seville, the Olympics in Barcelona, and Europe's Cultural Capital in Madrid, it also marked the 500th Anniversary, the *Quinto Centenario*, of the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain.¹¹⁴ To commemorate the history of the Jews in Spain, the tragedy of the Expulsion, and the glory of Sephardi culture, many events were scheduled to celebrate Sefarad '92. Practically every Jewish organization (and leader) in Spain was involved in some way with Sefarad '92, or wanted to be. The opportunity for publicity, and educational, social and cultural programs, was tremendous. To coordinate and facilitate such activities, a governmental working group called Sefarad '92 was established under the interministerial commission of the "Quinto Centenario." Its first program to launch Sefarad '92 was the publication of a large book entitled *Sefarad, Sefarad*, which documents the history of Spanish Jews through photographs and introductory text.¹¹⁵

In addition to the Spanish Sefarad '92, an International Jewish Commission for Sefarad '92, headed by Mauricio Hatchwell, was also established. The International Jewish Commission was initiated as a coordinating body, together with the World Sephardi Federation and the Israel Ministry of Culture, to oversee worldwide programs and countrywide Jewish commit-

tees for Sefarad '92. Internal political quarrels among Spanish and international Jewish leaders hampered the effectiveness of the various groups aiming to realize projects for Sefarad '92. Nevertheless, many worthy projects undertaken made the year a memorable and historic one for Spanish Jewry. Projects included exhibitions, restoration of synagogues and historic Jewish monuments, guided tours of "Jewish" Spain, publications, concerts, videos, seminars, courses, and conferences.

Hopefully, Sefarad '92 led to greater public awareness of Jewish history in Spain, Sephardi culture, and contemporary Jewish life in Spain. The consequences of an educated, sensitized Spanish public might include a decrease in antisemitism and an increase in Spanish identification with Jews. In light of the Spanish rediscovery of its Jewish background, the likelihood of deepened identification with Jews is increased. Not only does this rediscovery and consequent identification have implications for Spain's contemporary Jewish community, but for the Jewish world at large as well. These trends may not only benefit the Jewish community of Spain, but may cast a favorable light on Spanish-Israeli relations, as well as on Spain's image among world Jewry.

Notes

- * This study was conducted for the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs during 1990, over a 10-month period of research and interviews, primarily in Spain, and in Israel as well, as part of the Center's ongoing worldwide Study of Jewish Community Organization. The author would like to thank the members of the Spanish Jewish community, the Israeli Embassy in Madrid, the Biblioteca Nacional, the Arias Montano Institute, the Center for Judeo-Christian Studies (in Madrid), and Beit HaTefutsot (in Tel Aviv).
- 1. No official census source exists. The following figures are compiled from secondary sources and interviews, documented in the bibliography following this study.
Estimated Spanish Jewish population figures range from 9,000 to 15,000. The lower estimate is based on synagogue membership affiliation, and the higher estimate includes other means of

affiliation (such as Jewish school enrollment, membership in secular and cultural Jewish organizations, etc.).

12,000 is the most widely accepted estimate. Two-thirds of the population is split between Madrid and Barcelona, with the remaining third scattered among various towns. More demographic information is included in further sections of this study.

2. One description of contemporary Spanish Jewry is as follows: "Jewish life in this country is rather a reflection of Judaism in a non-Jewish mirror, which is Spain" (author's interview with Mario Muchnik).
3. For a good treatment of this topic, see C. Aronsfeld, *The Ghosts of 1492, Jewish Aspects of the Struggle for Religious Freedom in Spain 1848-1976* (New York: Conference on Jewish Social Studies, Monograph Series Number 1, 1978).
4. For background to the *ketaric* models of Jewish community organization and the Jewish political tradition, see Daniel J. Elazar, *People and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of World Jewry* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989).
5. While this study analyzes the contemporary Spanish Jewish community, the historical background is essential to an understanding of Spanish Jews. For more historical background, see the Bibliography at the end of this study.
6. A good, scholarly history of Jews in Spain can be found in the 3 volume work by Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea*, 3rd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1986). Despite its title, the study concentrates on Jewish history in Spain before the nineteenth century.
For an in-depth study of nineteenth century initiatives, see J. Lichtenstein, "The Reaction of Western European Jewry to the Reestablishment of a Jewish Community in Spain in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1962).
7. Lichtenstein, p. 3.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
10. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews could be naturalized on any of five grounds: (1) marriage to a Spaniard, (2) the establishment of an important factory in Spain, (3) land possession which paid direct Spanish taxes, (4) the practice of a trade with one's own capital, or (5) providing important services to the country. Aronsfeld, p. 14. See also Lichtenstein, pp. 361-63, for an account of citizenship granted to nine Jews in Spain, by Royal Decree of King Amadeo.

11. Aronsfeld, pp. 18-19.
12. According to Aronsfeld, Seville also maintained a Jewish cemetery and a Jewish school. However, this was the only city with such active Jewish life at the time (pp. 18-19). In Madrid, Jewish services for the High Holidays were held in private homes, and there was a special section of the Catholic cemetery assigned for Jews. For a good overview of nineteenth century efforts to establish synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, see Lichtenstein, pp. 132-37, 140-47.
13. Aronsfeld, pp. 16-18; Lichtenstein, pp. 209-217.
14. Aronsfeld, pp. 18-19.
15. Baroja, pp. 222-23.
16. Baroja, p. 223.
17. Aronsfeld, pp. 19-25; Baroja, pp. 221-23.
18. Gustave Bauer (a Sephardi Jew) was elected to the Cortes, and Samuel Schwartz (of Russian origin) was elected to the Academy of Sciences. Aronsfeld, p. 25.
19. Dr. Abraham Yahuda, a prominent German scholar, was appointed to the Chair. Aronsfeld, p. 27.
20. Baroja, p. 226; author's interview with Don Jose Prat.
21. The "Casa Universal" was described as having "grand designs, but meager results." Baroja, p. 224.
22. Spain also offered protection to Sephardim in Macedonia, in an agreement between Spain and Greece in 1916 which recognized the Sephardim of Macedonia as Spanish nationals. C. Lipschitz, *Franco, Spain, the Jews, and the Holocaust* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1984), p. 9.
23. Baroja, p. 223.
24. For further information about the development, structure and functions of these communities, see section below.
25. See section on "Legal Status of the Jews of Spain."
26. It is unknown how many Jews took Spanish nationality under the decree, but the Spanish government claimed a "large number." Aronsfeld, pp. 32-33; Lipschitz, pp. 9-11; Baroja, pp. 224-225.
27. Aronsfeld, pp. 40-41; Baroja, pp. 229-230.
28. Aronsfeld, p. 39.
29. Aronsfeld, pp. 38-39.
30. *Ibid.*

31. Baroja, pp. 231-232; see section on "Antisemitism and Philosemitism."
32. Most were held at the Miranda de Ebro camp near Madrid, and in Barcelona, which served as the main center for rescue activity and relief work in northern Spain. Aronsfeld, pp. 48-49; Lipschitz, pp. 123-140.
33. In Barcelona, Dr. Samuel Sequerra operated as an official delegate of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; in Madrid, David Blickstein led a "Representation in Spain for American Relief Organizations." Aronsfeld, p. 48.
34. The estimates of the actual number of Jews who were saved by Franco's policies vary considerably, ranging from 30,000 to 60,000 (Yad Vashem estimates 30,000; AJDC estimates "upward of 60,000"). The middle figure of 45,000 is the accepted number in Lipschitz's study. Not only did Franco intervene on behalf of Sephardim, but also for non-Spanish Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. See Lipschitz, pp. 141-149.
35. For an account of this remarkable period and policy of Franco's regarding the Jews during World War II, see Lipschitz, pp. 141-149; Avni, "La Salvacion de Judios por España durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial"; also Baroja, pp. 231-234; Aronsfeld, pp. 47-51.
36. Aronsfeld, pp. 54-55.
37. Baroja, p. 235.
38. Jose Luis Lacave, "Los Judios de España: Presencia Historia y Cultural" (Madrid: Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, Sefarad '92, Quinto Centenario, 1990), p. 29.
39. Diplomatic ties were established in 1986.
40. Lacave, p. 29. See note 1.
41. Author's interviews with Ambassador Shlomo Ben-Ami and with Mr. Samuel Toledano.
42. In Spanish, "La Federacion de Comunidades Israelitas en España," hereafter referred to as "FCI." The FCI is also sometimes called the Council of Jewish Communities, or the Federation of Hebrew Communities.
43. The previous attempt in the 1930s was under the leadership of Ignacio Bauer, then president of the Madrid community. The author was not able to find any other reference to a countrywide federation until its official establishment in 1964. Presumably, World War II and related demographic shifts thwarted the first attempt at a federation, necessitating a new federation thirty years later.

44. The agreement sets out all the rights and privileges of the Jewish community in Spain. It is discussed in greater detail below in the section "Legal Status of Jews in Spain."
45. Juan Antonio Cabezas, *Madrid y Sus Judios*, pp. 201-202.
46. In the views of Samuel Toledano, Secretary General of the Federation, there should be an integration of Jewish "communal" and "Zionist" organizations to overcome a structurally imposed and artificial division between diaspora community and Zionist interests. (Author's interview with Samuel Toledano, 6/1/90, Madrid.)
47. Hereafter referred to as "the Federacion WIZO-España."
48. As does CEMI, the Spanish Council of Jewish Women, mentioned below.
49. In English, the Spanish Council of Jewish Women.
50. Author's interview with Max Mazin.
51. Most of the Jews had been refugees taken into Spain. Aronsfeld, pp. 29-30.
52. Aronsfeld, p. 54.
53. Other synagogues had been built previously (in Madrid, Barcelona, and Seville), however they did not have official, legal status as synagogues but rather as private associations.
54. The government statement was dated 14 December 1968, and the new synagogue was consecrated on 16 December 1968, during Hanukkah. Aronsfeld, p. 59; author's interview with Max Mazin. The government statement did not actually revoke the 1492 Edict of Expulsion, rather it acknowledged that the Edict was no longer in practice and that it had been effectively repealed by the Constitution of 1869 and subsequent legislation. See "Legal Status of Jews in Spain" below.
55. In an initial response to Mr. Mazin's request, the Minister of Justice replied, "Who am I to change a law decreed by the Catholic Monarchs?" To this Mr. Mazin replied, "I do not know. That is *your* problem. You are the Minister of Justice!" Three days before the opening ceremony for the synagogue, for which invitations had already been sent all over the world, the Foreign Minister (pressured by Mazin's threat to cancel the event) intervened with the Minister of Justice. Negotiations then began about the wording of the official statement, which was sent directly to Mr. Mazin and dated only two days before the inaugural ceremony. (Author's interview with Max Mazin.) See also Cabeza, pp. 199-200; Aronsfeld, p. 58.

56. Author's interview with Max Mazin.
57. Cabeza, p. 197; Aronsfeld, p. 57.
58. The Sisters of Zion, established in 1884, has approximately 1,100 members working in over 22 countries around the world.
59. Cabeza, p. 198; author's interview with Sor. Lionel Mihalón.
60. Aronsfeld, p. 52; Cabeza, p. 203.
61. Cabeza, p. 203.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Author's interview with Veronica Linder, school principal, and with Samuel Toledano.
64. Aronsfeld, p. 39.
65. Aronsfeld, p. 55.
66. "Fiestas y Conmemoraciones de Nisan, Iyar, y Sivan" (Madrid: Departamentos de Educacion de las Comunidades Israelitas de Madrid y de Barcelona, 1989).
67. Asociacion de Relaciones Culturales Catalán-Israelitas, mentioned below under "Organizational Relations with Israel."
68. According to interviews with leaders of the Barcelona community, estimated enrollment figures varied from 103 to 150.
69. Because almost all activity is housed and organized in the same place — the synagogue building — the study concludes that those Jews who are less traditionally observant feel that religion is imposed on all sectors of the CIB, with little alternative for individual religious choice.
70. "La Problacion Judia de Barcelona y la CIB," unpublished study by the Department of Psychology, Universidad Autonomia de Barcelona.
71. Author's interview with Simon Emergi, then outgoing President of the CIB, on the eve of the first public presentation of the study to the Jewish community.
72. Author's interview with David Grebler. Grebler replaced Simon Emergi as President of the CIB in 1990.
73. With due respect for the goals of the Spinoza Center and its official independence from the CIB, it should be noted that its link with the CIB President, David Grebler, is substantial. The Center is housed in the same building as Grebler's professional office and is funded largely from a private foundation of the Grebler family.
74. The Jewish communities of what was formerly Spanish Morocco are sometimes included in a discussion of "Spanish Jewish com-

munities." Due to the limited space and scope of this study, these communities (primarily Tangiers, Tetuan, Ceuta, Gibraltar and Casablanca) are excluded here. The Spanish-speaking Jewish communities of Morocco were well documented in an exhibition and catalogue by Beit Hatefutot (Tel Aviv, 1983).

75. As mentioned above, there is a chapter of WIZO in Málaga, as well as an Association of Cultural Relations with Israel, and B'nai B'rith. Málaga is a member of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain. Partly due to the transience of the community, there are no reliable figures on the Jewish population.
76. The *mikve* of the Transito synagogue was recently discovered during excavations for the renovation of the synagogue.
77. A firm supporter of Spanish-Israeli cultural exchange, Cela has visited Israel several times.
78. Jordi Cervello is noted for his famous symphony inspired by Anne Frank. He has also composed several other orchestral pieces on Jewish themes, and visited Israel several times. During his visits and encounters with the Jewish people, he found great identification with Israel and was inspired to promote Israeli culture in Catalán, through the establishment of ARCCI.
79. Aronsfeld, pp. 4-6.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.
83. Lichtenstein, pp. 115-19.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-19.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-29.
86. Article XI reaffirms Catholicism as the state religion and also provides freedom from persecution on the basis of political opinion or "particular form of worship"; Article XXI reaffirms the commitment of the nation to the maintenance of Catholicism; Article XXII states that the exercise of "any other religion [than Catholicism] is guaranteed to all foreigners resident in Spain"; Article XXIII extends this guarantee to Spaniards as well.

The Constitution was the first to recognize religions other than Catholicism. While it did not directly repeal the 1492 Edict, it implied a tolerance and acceptance of Jews which served as the basis for later legislation facilitating the immigration of Jews. Aronsfeld, pp. 12-14; Lichtenstein, pp. 152-155; Baroja, pp. 207-09.

87. Lichtenstein, pp. 188-94.
88. After General Primo de Rivera, who enacted the edict in 1924.
89. Aronsfeld, pp. 32-38; Baroja, pp. 224-26.
90. Aronsfeld, p. 33.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
92. See note 33.
93. In this way, many Jews still living in Paris were exempt from wearing the yellow star arm band and were saved from deportation and despoilation. Similar diplomatic efforts were taken in Romania, Greece, and even Berlin as late as 1943-44. It should be noted that as the war went on, Spain extended its protection not only to the Sephardim, but to many Jews who had very remote ties (if at all) to Spanish origins. Baroja, pp. 233-34; Aronsfeld, pp. 49-50. See, in general, Lipschitz, *Franco, Spain, the Jews, and the Holocaust*.
94. Aronsfeld, pp. 52-53.
95. Law 44/1967 (28 June 1967).
96. Aronsfeld, p. 58.
97. *Ibid.*
98. The text reads: "...the abrogation of the Royal Decree of 31 March 1492 by the constitution of 5 June 1869 and subsequent legislation has permitted the establishment in Spain of Hebrew congregations, which have been in existence for several generations." [The author's interpretation is that the statement implies the Edict had already been repealed by the 1869 Constitution, as is evidenced by the development of Jewish communities in Spain in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries. As such, the statement itself does not revoke the Edict, rather it gives formal recognition to its repeal, which has the same significance for Jews in Spain.]
99. Author's interview with Max Mazin. This is the view expressed by Aronsfeld (p. 59) and by Aguilar (p. 15).
100. Sefarad '92 is a program of commemorative events surrounding the history of the Jews in Spain, the Expulsion, and the culture of Sephardic Jewry. For more information, see "Current Trends and Directions."
101. Aguilar, pp. 15-16.
102. In addition to Shabbat, the six specified holidays are: Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur, Succot, Pesach, Shavuot, and Tisha B'Av (Article 13, Draft Agreement of Cooperation between the Spanish State and the Federation of Jewish Communities of Spain).

103. "Proyecto de Acuerdo de Cooperacion entre El Estado Español y La Federacion de Comunidades Israelitas de España."
104. Author's interview with Samuel Toledano.
105. Although there was antisemitism in Latin America, particularly in the persecution of Jewish political prisoners, the Jews leaving Latin America were politically opposed to the military regimes and feared repercussions from their left-wing politics, as opponents to the government, rather than as Jews.
106. As a group, that is. As is usually the case with generalizations, there are individual exceptions to the overall trend. It should be noted that there were some Latin Americans seeking to join the community.
107. Author's interviews with Dr. Arnoldo Liberman (Head of the Madrid Círculo de Reflexión), and with Benjamin Glaser (Head of the Barcelona Círculo de Reflexión).
108. Baroja, pp. 227-29; Aronsfeld, p. 27.
109. Baroja, pp. 231-32; Aronsfeld, pp. 40-43.
110. Aronsfeld, p. 54.
111. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 15 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971), p. 245; Aronsfeld, pp. 56-57.
112. Author's interview with Amiram Megid.
113. Author's interview with Samuel Toledano.
114. Of course, the Edict of Expulsion applied to all non-Catholics, affecting Spain's large Moslem population as well. However, this section is limited to Sefarad '92 activities commemorating the Jewish Expulsion only.
115. *Sefarad, Sefarad, La España Judia* (Madrid: Editorial Lunweg, 1988).

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(Conducted by the author in Spain, 1990; listed in chronological order. All titles and positions of interviewees reflect their status at the time of the interview.)

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Samuel Toledano, President of the Federacion de Comunidades Israelitas de España (Madrid, 6 January 1990).

Horacio Kohan, Editor of *Raíces* (Madrid, 8 January 1990).

Dr. Jacob Hassan, Director of Instituto Arias Montano (Madrid, 11 January 1990).

Dr. Arnoldo Liberman, Director of Círculo de Reflexión (Madrid, 18 January 1990).

Max Mazin, Chairman of B'nai B'rith Spain (Madrid, 21 January 1990).

Veronica Linder, Director of Estrella Toledano Jewish Day School (Moraleja, 30 January 1990).

Amirad Megid, Press Attache at Israel Embassy (Madrid, 30 January 1990).

- Astrid Mizrachi, President of WIZO Spain (Madrid, 1 February 1990).
- Mauricio Hatchwell, President of Sefarad '92 (Madrid, 2 February 1990).
- Prof. Jaime Vandor, Professor of Hebrew, Universitat Autonomia de Barcelona, Director of ARCCI (Barcelona, 5, 7 February 1990).
- Monika Adrian, Director of the Baruch Spinoza Cultural Center (Barcelona, 6 February 1990).
- Benjamin Glaser, Director of Barcelona's *Círculo de Reflexión* (Barcelona, 6 February 1990).
- Jordi Cervello, Founding director of ARCCI (Barcelona, 6 February 1990).
- Mario Muchnik, Publisher (Barcelona, 6 February 1990).
- David Grebler, President of CIB (Barcelona, 6 February 1990).
- Simon Emergi, Past President of CIB (Barcelona, 7 February 1990).
- Rabbi Benito Garzon, Past Rabbi of CIM (Madrid, 9 February 1990).
- Joel Salpak, Cultural Attache at the Israel Embassy (Madrid, 13 February 1990).
- Sor. Lionel Mihalón, director of Centro Estudios Judeo-Cristianos (Madrid, 13 March 1990).
- Santiago Palerma, Assistant Director of el Museo Sefardi (Toledo, 14 March 1990).
- Mayor Juan Ignacio de Mesa Ruiz (Toledo, 14 March 1990).
- Don Jose Prat, President of the Madrid Ateneo, Spanish writer and senior politician (Madrid, 16 March 1990).
- Ambassador Nicolas Revenga, Director of Sefarad '92 within the Governmental Commission for Quinto Centenario (Madrid, 20 March 1990).