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"The 'Spanish Jewish Project:' Reciprocity in an Age of Westernization"

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Languages of Modern Jewish Cultures

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

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CHAPTER 6

THE “SPANISH JEWISH PROJECT”

Reciprocity in an Age of Westernization

AVIVA BEN-UR

In the early 1950s, Maír José Benardete, a professor of Spanish literature, entered a lecture hall at New York University to deliver a *charla* (informal lecture).¹ One audience member clearly remembers him sporting a torn sweater and flamboyantly introducing himself with these words: “I am a Spanish Jew.”² This publicly, proudly declared self-identity has much to do with Benardete, remembered by an erstwhile colleague as “challenging and outspoken”³ and by former students as unconventional and charismatic.⁴ But his espousal of Spanish Jewishness is emblematic of something much broader: a transnational identity that began to grip the imagination of a small, but influential group of Christian Spaniards and Ottoman Jews of Iberian descent during the last half of the nineteenth century. This identity was spawned by “philosephardism” (*filosephardismo*), a movement that emerged among Spanish liberal politicians, journalists, and intellectuals. The original founders blamed Spain’s social and political decay on the Inquisition and maintained that reconciliation with Hispanophone Sephardim, including fostering cultural and commercial ties, could aid Spain in recovering some of its former glory as a global empire.⁵ The key platform of philosephardism was to refashion Ottoman Jews of remote Iberian ancestry into exiled Spaniards whose love for their ancestral land led them to yearn for it and to preserve its medieval tongue.

Maír José Benardete (1895–1989) was born just as the philosephardic movement was emerging as a visible political and social force. A native of Çanakkale, Benardete was the eldest of nine and scion of an Ottoman Jew-

ish family of distant Iberian roots. Like most of the four hundred thousand Jews living in the Ottoman Empire before it fell apart during World War I,⁶ Benardete was raised speaking what is commonly known as Ladino, an early modern form of Spanish developed in the Anatolian peninsula and the Balkans. Ladino, lexically, morphologically, and grammatically shaped by Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Turkish, Greek, Italian, and French and typically scripted in Hebrew characters, originated in the period of exiles and expulsions of Jews from the Spanish kingdoms in the late fourteenth through late fifteenth centuries.⁷ While Ladino developed in the Eastern Mediterranean, a similar dialect was emerging in Morocco. Its speakers were Iberian-origin Jews who dated their earliest settlement to the forced conversions of Jews in Spain in 1391. Haketía, as it came to be known, was also a Hispanic language written in *aljamía*,⁸ but it bore a stronger imprint of Arabic and the Spanish contemporaneously spoken on the peninsula. It incorporated none of the Turkish, Greek, or Italian influences found in Ladino, but it did borrow lexically from the Berber, Portuguese, French, and English languages.⁹

This essay traces the development of what I call the "Spanish Jewish project," the self-conscious endeavor (during the century beginning around 1860) to recast Jews of Iberian ancestry, wherever they lived, as "Spanish Jews" (*judíos españoles*). The term *Spanish Jewish project* is preferable to *philosephardism* for two main reasons. First, the former is less exclusively tied to a Spanish national perspective and to the Spanish nationals who founded the movement. Second, the latter term is misleading because the movement sought to transform its subjects into Spaniards, not into Sephardim. In fact, as Alisa Meyuhas Ginio notes, the term *Spanish Jew* was intentionally contrived to underscore the idea that Sephardim were Spanish by virtue of their Castilian language. For this reason in particular, early proponents of the project usually preferred the name *Spanish Jews* to the more popular *Sephardi*, a designation derived from the medieval Hebrew word for the Iberian Peninsula and interpreted in later Jewish communities as "Spain."

Ironically and perhaps unavoidably, the term *Spanish Jew* not only emphasized the native language that Jews preserved; it also homogenized it, by both ignoring its dialectical variants in the Eastern Mediterranean and denying the Haketía of western North Africa its rightful status as a distinctive tongue.¹⁰ The conceptual homogenization of the languages spoken by Iberian-origin Jews in the western Maghreb and Eastern Mediterranean was a crucial component of the project. The Spanish Jewish project rested on two

interdependent factors. The first was the understanding of shared language. The second was reciprocity, the mutual desire for cultural and economic contact and ethnic belonging in an imagined pan-Hispanic ethnos.¹¹

“Philosephardism” and the Birth of the Spanish Jewish Project, 1783–1898

Spain’s realization that there was a Hispanic language spoken by Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean preceded the Spanish Jewish project’s emergence as a recognizable movement around 1860. Pablo Martín Asuero traces mutual awareness to the first Spanish diplomatic delegation sent to Istanbul in 1783, following centuries of war and conflict in the Mediterranean. The subsequent opening up of trade relations put Spaniards in direct contact with Jews, who joined with Greeks and Armenians in dominating trade with Turkey.¹² Although Jews were still officially banned from setting foot on Spanish soil, Spanish consulates in the Ottoman Empire began to issue Spanish passports and patents of protection to Ottoman Sephardim by 1804.¹³ Later in the nineteenth century, the invention of the steamship and railroad, as well as the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), facilitated travel for European middle-class tourists, as well as intellectuals, artists, politicians, and Spanish journalists inclined toward the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴ The viability of the Spanish Jewish project must have benefited from these early contacts, but perhaps even more pivotal were events unfolding to the south of Spain: the colonizing invasions of North Africa, stimulated in part by Spain’s loss of most of her American territories in the Americas during the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵

Throughout the nineteenth century, Jews of northern Morocco had close contact with the Iberian Peninsula, due to its geographical proximity and the presence of Spaniards and Portuguese in North African lands.¹⁶ But many Spaniards, particularly if they were politically and religiously conservative,¹⁷ had difficulty imagining—or even recognizing—real, breathing Jews. After the Spanish expulsion of Jews in 1492, Jews virtually disappeared from contemporary Spanish consciousness and materialized only now and then as legendary or remote historical figures in novels and dramatic works.¹⁸ This observation about Spanish belles lettres and theater equally applied to quotidian life. The only Jews present in nineteenth-century Spain, one Spanish writer remarked in the 1930s, were either tourists, traveling in disguise under French or British passports, or Maghrebi merchants

selling North African fruit and passing as Muslims. During the Hispano-African War (1859–60), he noted, a group of ambulant Jewish merchants in Seville found themselves pelted with stones by Christian Spaniards who took them for Muslims.¹⁹

This myopia slowly began to correct itself with the onset of war.²⁰ When Spanish troops invaded Morocco, they found six thousand Jews living there who not only spoke a variant form of Spanish (Haketía) but also manifested fervent support for the Spanish forces.²¹ Since the mid-nineteenth century, Moroccan Jews had increasingly turned to foreign Christian states to protect their interests, provoking the resentment of local Muslim authorities and their Muslim subjects.²² As the Spanish forces approached in 1859, local Muslims proceeded to pillage the Jewish quarter, and Jews eagerly turned to the Spanish as welcome invaders. In return, Spaniards discovered Jews to be reliable allies in the war against the Muslims and also recognized them as linguistically talented traders, fluent in Arabic and Haketía, who could both communicate with indigenous rebels and provision the invading army. The withdrawal of Spanish troops in 1860 triggered the flight of many Jews to Gibraltar, Oran, and Tangier, and the Spanish government ordered its consuls there to shelter these Jews from the oppression of local Muslim rulers.²³ The Spanish occupation was the first time Morocco's urban Jews were exposed to the West.²⁴ Isabelle Rohr traces the birth of what she calls "philo-sephardism" to this "re-encounter between Spain and the Jews of Morocco."²⁵ The self-conscious adoption by some Iberian-origin Jews of a "Spanish Jewish" identity seems to have arisen at this time.

Despite the mutual political and economic utility of this relationship, the early stage of the Spanish Jewish project emphasized the promotion of *cultural* ties between the two groups.²⁶ Rohr's analysis finds confirmation in scattered references from both sides of the Spanish/Sephardi divide, although for many intellectuals, cultural—or, in their words, "scientific"—interest frequently overlapped with national goals. Spanish intervention in North Africa stimulated the creation of a Jewish press in Castilian in northern Morocco: *El Eco Israelita* in Tangier, *Kol Israel* (*La Voz de Israel*) in Larache, and *Renacimiento de Israel* in Algeciras.²⁷

Interest in Eastern Mediterranean Sephardim was also ignited at this time, even if no causal connection to the Hispano-African War can be established. In his annual report of 1866, mainly concerned with recent book acquisitions, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (1806–80), chief librarian of the Spanish National Library, made reference to two Hebrew-scripted items

published on the Anatolian peninsula "in a language that, if one should call it Spanish, is really very different from Castilian."²⁸ It would be a fine idea, he suggested, to introduce Spanish books to the Jewish communities of European and Asian Turkey and North Africa as a way to "establish relations with reciprocal advantages between the Spaniards of today and the descendants of others, who conserved outside of our peninsula our last names, and not a little of the speech."²⁹ Hartzenbusch, who had been educated by Jesuits for the priesthood but had rejected that vocation for a life of letters, had linguistic concerns foremost in mind when he wrote, "The obligation of every civilized country is to purify and conserve its language wherever it is used."³⁰

For Antonio Machado y Álvarez (1846–93), who founded an Andalusian folklore society in 1881, the purpose of gathering and recording demotic tales and customs from all regions of Spain was to create what we might understand today as an early "history from the bottom," one that would serve (in his words) a "true national interest."³¹ Machado's brief allusion to Eastern Mediterranean Jews reveals at once his ignorance about them and his urgent desire to collect and study their newspapers, which he knew appeared both in Hebrew- and Latin-scripted Ladino. His interest in these periodicals was both philological and phonetic, but it was inextricably connected to building a national consciousness. The Spanish folklorist supposed that "those who managed to conserve in part, for so many years, the rich speech of Cervantes, must also conserve numerous traditions from the epoch of their *expulsion* [*italics his*] from our soil, which would be extremely important for Portugal and Spain."³² Both Hartzenbusch (in 1866) and Machado (in 1882) wrote of Ladino speakers "with the surprise—and the expectation—of a discovery."³³

Around the same time, Sephardi Jews shared some of the same romantic motivations, laced with nostalgia. Haim Bidjarano (1850–1931), the Bulgarian-born multilingual poet, school principal, and Grand Rabbi of Bucharest's Sephardi community, stressed, like Machado, the importance of language, underscoring Ladino's role in preserving late medieval Spanish language and folklore. In 1885, he published what Elena Romero calls "one of the few expressions of affection toward Spain" found in modern Sephardi literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an anonymous poetic homage to Spain embedded within an article in a Madrid periodical.³⁴ The verses equate the exile from the Land of Israel with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain: "We have lost our mother Jerusalem, this is no lie! So, too, have we lost Spain, our only consolation!" (*Pierdimos, no es*

patraña, Pierdimos la madre Sion! Pierdimos tambien España! El nido de consolacion [*sic*]!)³⁵ That decade, a small but energetic group of Spanish researchers scrambled out to the field to gather Sephardi *romansas* and incorporate them into their folkloric anthologies.³⁶

The diplomatic practice of issuing Spanish passports that was initiated in 1804 continued through the century. While some Spanish diplomats fervently objected to Spain's naturalization of Eastern Mediterranean Sephardim, others, including Diego de Coello Quesada, Spanish ambassador to the Ottoman Empire from 1884 to 1886, embraced it, partly influenced by the model of the sultan, who protected all of his subjects regardless of religion.³⁷ Around the same time, the Sephardi bourgeoisie of Istanbul concretized their sentiments of loyalty to Spain through joint civic projects. At a Spanish charity festival held to raise funds for the victims of the earthquake in Andalusia in 1884, they collected a generous contribution from their coreligionists. These and similar exchanges were publicized in diplomats' memoirs or the Hispanophone press.³⁸

Gradually, the geopolitical and economic possibilities of an intergroup alliance became the dominant undergirding of the Spanish Jewish project. Contacts between Christian Spaniards and Iberian-origin Jews became much more purposeful, self-conscious, and territorially expansive. The pages of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century press offer a virtual chronology of the Spanish Jewish project as it gained force. While no systematic analysis of these Spanish and Sephardi periodicals has yet been carried out, scholars have begun to extract and reflect on scattered manifestations, which may be representative.³⁹ In an article published in 1885 in the Madrid daily *El Día*, an unnamed author speculated about the advantages Spain could derive from the "Israelite element" by spreading Spain's political and economic influences in the "Levant."⁴⁰ Below the heading "Spanish Jews in the Orient," the author proposed reorganizing the Spanish diplomatic body of the Eastern Mediterranean by appointing Spanish Jews of "great influence" as honorary consuls.⁴¹ The article was quickly reprinted in the Madrid periodical *Revista de Geografía Comercial*⁴² and was also picked up by a newspaper published some eighteen hundred miles away, the Latin-scripted Ladino weekly *El Luzero de la Pasensia* (The beacon of endurance), headquartered in the Rumanian city of Turnu-Severin.⁴³ Its editor and owner, Eliyahu Mordejay (L. M.) Crispín, a former religious teacher from a rabbinical family, strove to introduce Eastern Sephardi readers to Western intellectual currents and to open up business opportunities by "moderniz-

ing” his community’s cultural orientation. With this program in mind, Crispín proudly proclaimed *El Luzero* the only periodical published in Latin-scripted Ladino.⁴⁴ Crispín must have been delighted when, in 1887, he was contacted by an official from the Spanish Ministry of Grace and Justice who served as editor of the newly launched newspaper *El Mundo*. That official remitted for publication a series of articles on the history of Spain’s Jews and the social, political, and literary aspects of their contemporary descendants in the Orient. This warm interest in a Spanish-Jewish connection quickly resulted in the rehispanification of *El Luzero de la Pasensia*, whose editor “updated” the periodical’s Ladino morphology and even translated its masthead into contemporary Castilian; from then on, the paper was known as *El Lucero de la Paciencia*.⁴⁵

The twice-reprinted article “Spanish Jews in the Orient,” eruditely analyzed by Paloma Díaz-Mas and Amelia Barquín,⁴⁶ is emblematic of economically and politically driven contacts between Spain’s liberal intellectuals and Sephardi elites living in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories. It also attests to the press as a powerful engine of cultural contact and change, where—as I shall here continue to show—the matter of shared language was a central concern. The activities of these fin de siècle Spanish and Ladino journalists laid the necessary groundwork for the full-fledged campaign that emerged at the dawn of the next century.

The Institutionalization of the Spanish Jewish Project

Spain’s loss of its last American and Asian colonial territories—Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam—in 1898–99, called “El desastre,” lent the Spanish Jewish project critical vigor.⁴⁷ The forfeiture of these colonies gave rise to a movement known as *hispanidad* (Hispanicity), fostered by Christian Spaniards and their postcolonial sympathizers who sought to redefine Spain’s national character both locally and on the global stage. The ideological program of *hispanidad* encouraged Spaniards to claim ownership of Hispanic history, language, values, beliefs, and culture wherever they manifested. If Spain could no longer do so through its geopolitical territory—the empire on which the sun never set—it might hope to “redeem at least some of its former national pride and influence” through a pan-Hispanic identity that, as John Nieto-Phillips observes, united “liberals (guided by a secular faith in modernization) and conservatives (tradition-bound and devout Catholics).”⁴⁸

The connective tissue of *hispanidad* was, first and foremost, the Spanish tongue, and it is partially for this reason that many of its earliest proponents were philologists.⁴⁹ Jews speaking Castilian variants were particularly promising allies who might spread Spain's spheres of influence abroad; Stacy Beckwith has called them a potential "cadre of Jewish cultural and commercial satellites for Spain."⁵⁰ As Ladino-speaking Jews of the Ottoman Empire and its former territories became increasingly oriented toward westernization and as Maghrebi Jews turned toward European powers as their protectorates, the explicit adoption of a Spanish Jewish identity, facilitated by linguistic heritage and remote geographical origins, meant that these Jews could redefine themselves as part of the West. Although a language can be either inherited or learned, proponents of *hispanidad*—in keeping with the scientific wisdom of the time—understood speech as indicative of national and "spiritual" characteristics, and their discussions of *hispanidad* are consequently infused with racial imagery. Miguel de Unamuno drove the point home when he dubbed the unifying power of language as "the blood of the spirit."⁵¹

No one is more closely associated with the Spanish Jewish project than physician and senator Ángel Pulido Fernández (1852–1932). Through publications, political canvassing, and global correspondence, this Spaniard brought widespread public attention to the existence of thousands of Jews who lived in North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean and spoke a variant of Castilian. According to a popular mythology perpetuated by the family, Pulido underwent an epiphany in the summer of 1903 when he "discovered" the Sephardim.⁵² As he and his family were traveling overseas to the "European Orient," his daughter Elena, then twelve years old, overheard an elderly couple speaking in what sounded to her like a "rather strange Spanish." She immediately alerted her parents and brother, who hastened to the scene. An emotional and enthusiastic conversation in two Hispanic dialects ensued.⁵³ Back in Madrid, Pulido threw himself into what his son, Ángel Pulido Martín (1878–1970), variably called "the pro-Sephardi crusade" and "the Hispanic-Sephardi campaign,"⁵⁴ which sought to bring national attention to these Jews and the advantages they could bring Spain. Devoting the majority of his time to this undertaking, the elder Pulido scripted an uninterrupted chain of articles on Sephardim printed in Spanish and foreign newspapers, published a series of books, and embarked on a lecture circuit to Paris, Morocco, and Italy.⁵⁵

In reality, both father and son were already more than familiar with the

existence of "Spanish Jews." The elder Pulido had made the acquaintance of Sephardi Jews during a trip across Europe back in the 1880s.⁵⁶ On a steamboat, a small group of Sephardim introduced themselves to him as "Spaniards of the Orient" and as "Spanish Jews."⁵⁷ Even in his momentary confusion, Pulido vaguely recalled previous voyages during which he had encountered "Hebrew individuals who spoke in Spanish without having been in Spain or America."⁵⁸ Years later, while on a cruise with his family on the Danube River in 1893, he met Enrique Haim Bejarano, a Spanish teacher and director of the Sephardi Jewish school ("escuela israelita sefardí") in Bucharest.⁵⁹ But as Ángel Pulido Martín emphasizes in a memoir, he himself first forged close ties to members of the Sephardi community, as a young physician and medical correspondent living in Vienna in 1903. Among the most salient of these ties was Martín's warm friendship with the physician of the Spanish Embassy in Paris and director of the Hospital Español, Alberto Bandelac de Pariente.⁶⁰ In May 1903 (shortly before the fabled family cruise of epiphanic fame), Martín published an aside in Madrid's periodical *El Siglo Médico* about "Spanish Jewish" communities residing in Salonica, Istanbul, and Vienna.⁶¹ The family's persistent perpetuation of the legendary encounter has much to do with the muted religious undertones of the Spanish Jewish project. A project that was a "crusade" required a sudden revelation to justify it—so much the better if it unfolded aboard a riverboat that connected East with West.⁶²

Because Spanish overtures to Sephardi Jews have often been assessed as primarily pecuniary or political in motivation,⁶³ it is worth noting that Martín's published remarks in 1903 include no reference to the material or national advantages Spain might reap. Rather, Martín highlighted the "heroic tenacity" of Eastern Sephardim to "ancient Castilian," a feat possible due to the high level of civilization they transported with them from Spain. Martín called on the Spanish Language Academy (Academia Española de la Lengua) and all scientific and literary societies to forge relations between "these Spaniards and their lamented country," and he suggested the awarding of prizes for compositions written in these distant regions in the Castilian tongue. Martín concluded emotionally, "These Orientals call themselves Spaniards."⁶⁴ Similarly, what seems to have stirred the elder Pulido in 1893 was the passengers' unequivocal testimony to "the adoration of the Sephardim for Spain." Spain's economic motivation for colonial expansion during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the desire to create a stream of remittances to the metropole generated by private and national invest-

ment in remaining or former colonies, may indeed have been more crucial than any desire to recapture former imperial glory.⁶⁵ And certainly, the Spanish Jewish project would never have materialized without mutual economic and political expectations. But it owes its very existence to deep emotional and cultural ties and the romance of shared language. These are the elements that kept the Spanish Jewish project afloat for a century.

Waterborne cross-cultural exchanges of the type Ángel Pulido Fernández experienced must have been increasingly common at the turn of the century, though still novel enough to be remembered as a kind of sudden realization. M. J. Bensasson (b. 1872), the scion of an elite rabbinical family from Bursa, was traveling aboard a Mediterranean ship heading for Istanbul in 1895 when he mistook a Castilian-speaking passenger for a fellow Jew. To his surprise, this passenger turned out to be D. José Prats y Gracia Olalla, an engineer in the Ministry of Fomento in Madrid. Their shared language awakened in Bensasson an "immense sympathy" for Prats and, by extension, for Spain, where Bensasson habitually spent a few months of every year by 1900.⁶⁶ This Ottoman Jew published his experiences in a memoir that doubles as a political manifesto and documentary scrapbook. *Los Israelitas españoles*, as both its title and the 1905 publication date make manifest, was directly inspired by Pulido's Hispanic Jewish campaign. The first-person Jewish perspective Bensasson offers is a revealing gauge of reciprocity and, once again, the critical role of language.

The impact of Pulido's campaign reached further than he probably ever anticipated. In 1909, Abraham Zacarías López Penha (1865–1927), a native of Curaçao who was active in Barranquilla (Colombia), published a collection of poems in Spanish in which he identified himself on the title page as a "Spanish Jew." As if to ensure his readers would not miss the allusion, Penha dedicated his work to the illustrious sage and senator of the kingdom Ángel Pulido Fernández, as an "homage of gratitude and of admiration."⁶⁷ Back in 1904, Penha had dispatched a collection of his published works to Pulido, and the latter credited his Caribbean correspondent as an "elegant and distinguished writer of that Cervantesque language that every day broadens its field of diffusion." Pulido also expressed satisfaction and pride that a "Spanish Israelite dominates so nobly my language, and contributes to the enrichment of its literature with his beautiful works."⁶⁸

Pulido's reference to "my language" foregrounds a proprietary issue: to whom did the Spanish language and its variants belong, and which group did Hispanophone tongues represent? M. J. Bensasson's misattribution of

Jewish identity to a Spanish engineer he met aboard a ship shows that there was a widespread misunderstanding among Sephardim of the Orient that Spanish was solely a Jewish language. A bevy of anecdotes, usually recounted in amusement, describe Ladino speakers who assumed that all the Spanish speakers they encountered—whether in the Ottoman Empire, Latin America, or the United States—were Jews.⁶⁹ Among these narratives, that of José M. Estrugo (1888–1962), a native of Izmir and a Jewish supporter of the Pulido campaign, is most memorable: “Some time ago, a Sephardi established in Havana sent for his mother, an elderly woman of Salonica. Upon stepping onto Cuban soil, the good woman exclaimed in astonishment: ‘Listen, my son, is everyone here a Jew? They speak like us.’”⁷⁰ In another anecdote recorded by the same activist, Muslim Turks also identified Spanish as solely a Jewish language. When Spanish vessels with their Spanish-speaking crews arrived in Istanbul in 1923, local Muslims commented that a “Jewish boat” had arrived.⁷¹ To dismiss these tales as folklore or “quaint parochialism”⁷² is to overlook the connective power of shared language and its corollary at the time, the implication of a common “race” (to use the scientific locution of the era). Shared language meant similar bodies, minds, and potential.

To consider Ladino and Spanish a shared language is not to deny that communication between the two groups required both interpretation and accommodation by one or both parties. In fact, the designation of two languages as identical was as much a construction as was Spanish Jewish identity.⁷³ Pulido was representative of Christian Spaniards and many Jews when he identified Ladino as an antiquated tongue reaching back to pre-Expulsion Spain. José M. Estrugo once likened Ladino-speaking informants to “live phonographic records for students of old Spanish.”⁷⁴ But in reality, the two languages were often mutually unintelligible. Haim Bidjarano, writing from Bucharest, lamented in 1885 that “the Spanish dialect in the Orient is so far from the truth that it costs us a lot of effort to understand each other.”⁷⁵ One contributor to a 1904 issue of the Ladino newspaper *El Avenir* of Salonica forcefully declared that “Spanish and Judeo-espanyol are nowadays totally different one from the other” and that to “make the language similar to Castellano would be as difficult as learning a new language.”⁷⁶ Mutual comprehension, then, demanded linguistic accommodation, just as shared ethnic identity demanded stretching the borders of what it meant to be “Spanish.”

The case of Sephardim who began to arrive in the United States from

the Eastern Mediterranean in noticeable waves in 1909, in the wake of the Young Turk Revolution, also tests the assumption of a mutually intelligible language. The late Denah Lida, a native Ladino speaker and a Spanish professor active in the United States, noted that among first-generation Americans in her community, Spanish was not always intelligible, "because of the very enriched Castilian vocabulary with which Sephardim are unfamiliar."⁷⁷ Likewise, several Sephardi readers complained that they could not understand Spanish professor Maír José Benardete, who published a series of articles in the Ladino weekly *La Vara* in the 1930s. Although printed in Hebrew letters, the articles read like modern Spanish. Subscribers who complained about Benardete's "pure Castilian," "lofty language style," and unintelligible vocabulary were so numerous that the editor or typesetter was persuaded to translate Benardete's articles into Ladino.⁷⁸

These faultfinders would never triumph outside of the pages of *La Vara*, however, for the agenda had already been set. Ángel Pulido Fernández and most others of that era regarded Ladino, not modern Castilian, as in need of rehabilitation. In Pulido's words, Ladino was "incorrect Spanish."⁷⁹ Paloma Díaz-Mas notes that even those Sephardi intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who believed in preserving Ladino regarded their native tongue as "a deteriorated and corrupt Spanish, a type of jargon lacking a grammar and literary tradition."⁸⁰ Native speaker Haim Bidjarano complained that the language of Jews had been "used negligently" for centuries, "without grammar, without a single rule, rendered ineffective."⁸¹ His contemporary M. J. Bensasson remarked that the Spanish spoken by Jews of the Orient was Cervantesque but was "corrupt and [had] deteriorated with the passing of time, with no means to guard its purity."⁸² The Spanish Empire triumphed without territorial invasion.

More pressingly than cultural imperialism or aesthetics, pragmatism necessitated linguistic reform. If Sephardim of Eastern Mediterranean origins were to succeed in transnational business endeavors, clear communication was a must. The long-established Western Sephardim, present in the United States since the late seventeenth century and closely identified with Congregation Shearith Israel, proved their understanding of this mandate in 1924 when they hired Spanish professor Leo Pasternak to conduct free classes in Castilian at their Settlement House, located in New York City. These complementary lessons were explicitly pitched to Ladino speakers seeking employment in businesses that conducted commerce with Spanish-speaking countries or as correspondents and secretaries in exportation houses.⁸³

The chauvinistic demand that Ladino be revised is an essential element of *hispanidad*, whose adherents tended to view Spanish heritage as overriding competing ancestries and cultural traditions, which they ignored, denied, or simply regarded as recessive. This attitude should not be understood as a specific depreciation of Jewish civilization, for it also applied to non-Jewish groups living within potential realms of Hispanicity. In the case of post-1898 New Mexico, for example, *nuevomexicanos* were refashioned as "Spanish" (not "Mexican"), and their part-Indian ancestry was "suppressed in favor of their Spanish colonial descent."⁸⁴ For Jews, *hispanidad* meant encouraging Iberian-origin Jews to overlook their Ottoman heritage and multilingualism in favor of the "Cervantesque" Spanish they supposedly preserved, to purge Ladino of its "outlandish excrescences,"⁸⁵ and to ignore their emerging, post-Ottoman nationalisms.

Both Sephardi Jews and *nuevomexicanos* who chose to do so were engaging in what sociologists call "elective ethnic identity," the voluntary acquisition of group membership. Sociologist Fredrik Barth has argued that for elective identity to have force and durability, it must be mutual. As he explained in 1969, "ethnic group membership must depend on ascription and self-ascription: only in so far as individuals embrace it, are constrained by it, act on it, and experience it will ethnicity make organizational difference."⁸⁶ In the case of the Spanish Jewish project, a critical mass of Iberian-origin Jews and Christian Spaniards agreed that "Spanish Jew" was an accurate designation. It is therefore key that the Sephardim the two Pulidos encountered on land and on sea expressed an undying devotion to the patrimony of their Iberian ancestors. At that moment, they could have aligned themselves, as many Sephardim did, with a variety of alternative self-perceptions—for example, with Jewish nationalists, who began from the mid-nineteenth century to recast Jews globally as modern-day "Hebrews" with their own territorial homeland, or with the French identity that was cultivated so purposefully by generations of Alliance Israelite Universelle instructors in North Africa and the Middle East and that competed vigorously with an attempted Spanish cultural infiltration into those regions.⁸⁷ Curaçao native Abraham Zacarías López Penha had even more options, including identifying as a Westerner, a Dutch colonial subject, a citizen of Colombia (where he had moved at the age of twenty-two), or, following the vast majority of Jews in the Caribbean, a Portuguese Jew.⁸⁸

In this sense, Sephardim of the Eastern Mediterranean and their Spanish allies shared much in common with the New Mexicans and Spanish

nationalists of the same post-1898 period, who together refashioned *nuevomexicanos* as "Spanish." One could argue that the joint production of New Mexico represents a cultural recolonization by Spain of its former subjects, just as some nineteenth-century Spaniards and their ideological descendants imposed a Spanish identity on Jews of the East, ignoring their Ottoman heritage and multinational alliances. But Rafael Nieto-Phillips takes the nuanced position that the "invented" (his term) identity of *nuevomexicanos* represents both resistance and accommodation to Anglo-American racism. For New Mexicans, contending with Congress's racialist and racist understanding of the territory as mixed-blood and culturally inferior, proclaiming a Spanish American identity meant underscoring whiteness as a strategy to secure national belonging.⁸⁹ Those undergoing the process of becoming "Spanish Jews," likewise, were expressing agency when they took on this identity, one not entirely alien to their historical origins. For Jews, identifying as Spanish meant affirming that they were legitimate members of Western civilization.

This affirmation must have been a guiding force in Maír José Benardete's life. When he was born at the turn of the twentieth century, approximately 350,000 to half a million Jews spoke his native language, representing about 3 percent of world Jewry.⁹⁰ Seeking economic betterment, Benardete left his homeland in the Ottoman Empire for the United States in 1910. He would soon learn that his ancestral tongue was laden with possibilities. The country's Ladino-speaking population, which numbered twenty thousand by 1916,⁹¹ was concentrated in New York, and the local Puerto Rican population swelled from six thousand in 1916 to one hundred thousand by 1927.⁹² Just as New York's Ladino speakers encountered modern Spanish in "[s]chool and shop, street and subway, radio programs and newspaper articles, moving pictures and restaurants," Benardete observed in the 1930s and 1940s, modern Spanish speakers, particularly expatriate Spaniards, would sooner or later hear the "archaic Spanish" spoken by Eastern Sephardim.⁹³

Bernardo Vega (1885–1965), a Puerto Rican activist who arrived in "the Big Mango" in 1916, would have found Benardete's observation accurate. One of his first visits was to the immigrant neighborhood of Harlem, where the largely Catholic Caribbean population was just beginning to swell. The thirty-one-year-old Vega dined in La Luz restaurant, whose proprietor Vega assumed would be a fellow islander. To his surprise, La Luz was owned, operated, and frequented by Sephardi Jews. Vega overheard conversations in "ancient Spanish or Portuguese" and found the sauces reminiscent of

Spanish cuisine. "The restaurant impressed me because it was so hard to believe that it was located in the United States," he reminisced in the late forties, explaining, "The atmosphere was exotic. The furnishings and décor gave it the appearance of a café in Spain or Portugal. Even the people who gathered there, their gestures and speech mannerisms, identified them as from Galicia, Andalusia, Aragon, or some other Iberian region."⁹⁴

Demographic developments in New York coincided with a nationwide upwelling in the popularity of Hispanophone education, particularly in the fields of language and literature. One scholar describes the boom during the years on either side of World War I as "arguably the biggest and most dramatic surge ever in the history of U.S. Spanish studies."⁹⁵ The time was ripe for Maír José Benardete, who at precisely that moment accelerated through elementary school, attended high school, and graduated from the University of Cincinnati, earning a bachelor's degree in Romance languages. His interest in Spain and its Jews was pivotally shaped by his graduate mentor and teacher at Columbia University, Federico de Onís (1885–1966), a Spanish literature professor who arrived in the United States in 1916 after accepting an invitation to organize Spanish studies at Columbia University.⁹⁶ Onís was a former student of Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936)—who, as previously mentioned, likened language to "the blood of the spirit"—and another proponent of the Spanish Jewish project, Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869–1968).⁹⁷ Both these mentors belonged to the *Generación de '98*, a group of intellectuals active during the Spanish-American War who opposed the monarchy and criticized Spanish literary and educational establishments as intolerant and lacking any true spirit. Don Ramón was among the earliest collectors of Ladino romances and traditional songs, which he began to gather in the first years of the twentieth century.⁹⁸ Perhaps inspired by don Ramón's fieldwork, Onís encouraged his own mentee to undertake a master's thesis on ballads sung by Sephardi Jews recently settled on New York's Lower East Side and in Harlem. Benardete's fieldwork was the first endeavor to assemble and record Judeo-Spanish ballads in New York. He soon launched his own academic career as a professor of Spanish literature, first at Hunter College in 1925 and then at Brooklyn College, where he taught from 1930 until his retirement in 1965. Benardete also directed the Sephardic Studies Section of Columbia University's Hispanic Institute, the brainchild of Onís, which viewed Sephardi Jewry as integral to Spanish civilization and which aimed to build bridges between laymen and scholars, on the one hand, and U.S. Sephardim and the Hispanic world, on the other.⁹⁹

The Spanish Jewish project took on its most visible form through academic and cultural institutions such as Columbia University's Hispanic Institute and its Sephardic Studies Section. Programming and scholarship related to Iberian-origin Jews continued sporadically at the Hispanic Institute through the 1960s, coinciding with Benardete's retirement, but the heyday of the Sephardic Studies Section was the 1930s. The halt of the mass immigration of Eastern Sephardim to the United States in the 1920s contributed to the gradual waning of interest and involvement, as did the concurrent weakening of Ladino as the community's primary spoken language and the accelerating incidence of intramarriage with Ashkenazim, Jews of Central and Eastern European roots, during World War II. In 1948, the country's only Ladino newspaper folded due to the illness of its sole redactor. By the 1960s, most of the city's Eastern Sephardic population no longer conversed in Ladino and had largely intramarried with Ashkenazim or (more rarely) married non-Jews.¹⁰⁰ The presentation halls of the Sephardic Studies Section, which had once attracted audiences in the hundreds, now stood empty.

Assessing the Spanish Jewish Project: National Interests and Romantic Idealism

Social scientists since the late 1960s have rejected the existence of a discrete, primordial ethnic identity, and most continue to argue that all ethnic identities are created.¹⁰¹ The concepts of intersectionality and social identity theory rightly point out that each individual has several "selves" corresponding to various groups (e.g., ethnic, racial, linguistic, class, gender, nationality, and family). These "selves" are deployed or lie dormant according to the particular setting or circumstance.¹⁰² Eastern Sephardim shared attributes that potentially connected them to modern-day Spanish nationals, namely, (remote) geographical origins and spoken, written, and sung languages that were uncontested descendants of early modern Castilian. Geopolitical concerns and social conditions beginning in the nineteenth century—Spain's gradual loss of its empire and the accelerated westernization of its Jewish exiles in the Levant—stimulated some Christian Spanish nationals and Iberian-origin Jews to redefine themselves in relation to the other. This redefinition depended wholly on reciprocity—an ethnic identity agreed on by both parties. This mutuality is key in explaining the success, though delimited in scope and duration, of the Spanish Jewish project.

Reciprocity may also explain the "empathic Sephardi identity" that many Spaniards acquired. Ángel Pulido Fernández was accused of and vigorously denied Jewish ancestry at the very beginning of his campaign. "I am an apostolic Roman Catholic and I practice my culture," he wrote in Salamanca's *El Castellano* in 1905. "Descending," he continued, "from Old Christians whose blood, as far as I know, has been free of any *mix and stain* [italics his], I scrupulously transmit the religion of my ancestors to my children."¹⁰³ That proclamation did not satisfy everyone. According to an Anglophone source in 1917, the so-called apostle of the Sephardim was apparently aware of his "Hebraic" origins.¹⁰⁴ Less taciturn in self-ascribing a Jewish provenance was Rafael Cansinos-Assens (1882–1964), a younger colleague of Pulido from Seville. Like Pulido and his son, Cansinos not only knew Sephardi Jews but also cultivated close friendships with them. Butressed by his liberal, antimonarchical, and anti-Catholic sentiments, he identified with Sephardim so intensely that he became convinced of his own descent from *conversos*,¹⁰⁵ an identity his Argentine colleague and close friend Jorge Luis Borges regarded with skepticism. In Borges's words, Cansinos "dreamt, or exhumed, a Jewish ancestor persecuted by the familiars of the Holy Office."¹⁰⁶ It was fashionable in the antifascist literary circles of the time to entertain a variety of non-Christian heritage fantasies. Borges himself spoke of the family names transmitted through the distaff side of his family, Acevedo, Rubio, and Pinedo, which to him indicated "Sephardic" and "marrano" origins.¹⁰⁷ Borges did not go as far as Cansinos, who professed Judaism and married a Jewish woman "in order to engender in her a Jewish son." But as someone who proclaimed, at least in ancestral terms, an elective identity, Borges well understood that "Jews are Jews by previous happenstance of blood and via an inherited act of faith; Cansinos chose his destiny."¹⁰⁸ Federico de Onís of Columbia University also flirted with a Jewish identity. He once confessed that "he felt united to Sephardim by something secretly deep, by something unconscious and instinctive," though this admission may have been strategic given his audience at that moment, New York's Sephardic Brotherhood of America.¹⁰⁹

The foregoing examples suggest that the academic and literary interests of Hispanic Christians in Sephardim were not only intellectual but also existential. To what degree did the idea of the Sephardic Jew inform their sense of personal destiny? Borges, Onís, and perhaps Pulido proclaimed Jewish roots or entertained that possibility in a way that approximates what sociologist Herbert Gans called in 1979 a "symbolic ethnicity." This concept

implies an absence of "intrinsic or profound social connectedness with co-ethnics."¹¹⁰ Gans argued that symbolic ethnicity carries with it few or no social repercussions¹¹¹ and that it forms in societies where ethnicity "is not a basis for determining life chances" not when economic or political resources are inaccessible or barred because of ascribed identity.¹¹² On one level, this assessment would appear to apply to all of the leading Christian proponents of the Spanish Jewish project. But in another respect, these men put much at stake.

Whether through championing Sephardim or through intense identification with them, advocacy came at a high cost. Pulido's "ascent up Madrid's political ladder" was halted because of his close association with Jews.¹¹³ His large-scale political activity brought his son, Ángel Pulido Martín, "principally enemies."¹¹⁴ Cansinos, meanwhile, saw his name dropped from the Official Register of Journalists in 1940 because he was identified as a Jew and intimate friend of the Sephardi Jewish "adventurer" José M. Estrugo.¹¹⁵ Even Borges was forced to defend himself against "anti-Semitic" accusations of Jewish descent, published in 1934.¹¹⁶ Whether or not they self-ascribed as Jews, these men threw in their lot with them and, in so doing, at times brought about their own demotion, hardly the actions of self-serving economic or political pragmatists.

In a final assessment of the Spanish Jewish project, it is clear that the nationalistic and economic motivations of Christian Spaniards have been given far too much emphasis in the scholarship.¹¹⁷ In an age of global commerce, it would be foolish to argue that geopolitics and capitalistic gain played only a small role in the campaign for "Spaniards without a fatherland." Pulido was an astute politician who made no disguise of his intentions on behalf of his nation. The first book he published on his campaign trail carried the main title *National Interests*.¹¹⁸ But to reduce his "Hispanic/Sephardi campaign" to cupidity and national chauvinism is to misunderstand its emotional reach. Without a passionate connection between Christian Spaniards and Sephardi Jews that was heavily based on a shared linguistic and historical heritage and reciprocity—a mutual desire for ethnic inclusion in an imagined transnational Spanish society—the campaign would not have gotten as far as it did. For some of those involved, that mutuality led to a reconceptualization of self and a curbing of paternalism and thus permitted intimate relationships. Among select individuals of the educated Jewish middle and upper classes, this emotional reach was mutual from the very beginning. Memoirist M. J. Bensasson titled his 1905 personal narrative qua

political manifesto *Los israelitas españoles: España y sus hijos de Oriente*, a clear nod to *Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano*, published by Pulido the year before.¹¹⁹ Curaçao-born Abraham Zecharías Lopez Penha proclaimed himself a “Spanish Jew” on the title page of a book of his poems published in 1909. Maír José Benardete once remarked to a student who asked him if he liked being in Spain, “There is no other country in which I feel more at home.”¹²⁰ Without these shared sentiments about land and language, the Spanish Jewish project would never have materialized.

To be sure, the Spanish Jewish project had its vocal detractors, whose vehemence and lengthy published responses merit separate treatment. Perhaps even more important is the fact that the vast majority of Sephardi Jews simply reacted to the project with indifference. As a number of scholars have concluded, the program to rehispanize Iberian Jews and, to a lesser extent, to repatriate them to Spain in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was temporally evanescent and received responses only among the educated middle and upper classes.¹²¹

However brief and limited in demographic scope, the “Spanish Jewish moment” offers us the opportunity to reconceptualize the history of Spanish-speaking peoples. As John Nieto-Phillips has argued in the context of *nuevomexicanos*, *hispanismo* allows us to reimagine the predominant “nation-specific diasporas and narratives” of Latino historical scholarship, conceived in our case as “Sephardi” and typically as Mexican American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Cuban.¹²² For a century, proponents of *hispanismo* succeeded in creating a transnational Spanish identity founded on the idea of a linguistic unity that traversed political and religio-ethnic boundaries. The Spanish Jewish project, which both preceded and was borne of *hispanismo*, created an international awareness about Iberian-descendant Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and the United States. The project also intensified the transnational scope of post-1898 *hispanismo*. It expanded Spain’s potential postcolonial reach by thousands of miles, allowing the neo-nationalistic ideology to apply to territory with no history of Spanish conquest.

None of these remarks is meant to deny the enduring presence of anti-Jewish sentiment and behavior in Spain and its postcolonial circles. Even M. J. Bensasson, who so effusively recounted his passionate first visit to Spain in 1900, admitted that he passed himself off as a non-Jew, being unsure of the “liberality of the Castilian spirit.”¹²³ Moïse Gadol, editor of the New York Ladino periodical *La America*, received requests from his readers

residing in Madrid and Barcelona to dispatch their subscriptions with the Hebrew letters obscured in wrapping.¹²⁴ An avoidance of racial hostility was also what motivated Sephardi businessmen living in Cuba in the teens to deny their Jewishness when they met with Cuban and Spanish friends or businessmen: "They ask us, 'Where are you from?' And naturally, we deny our race by saying, 'I am a Frenchmen,' or 'I am Italian' or 'Greek.'"¹²⁵ One cannot argue that the Spanish Jewish project eventually brought about a sea change in Spanish popular opinion. A young American Jew living and studying in Spain in the years 1963–64, just a few years after the eclipse of the Spanish Jewish project, told the conservative Jewish journal *Commentary* that she "was certainly aware of the notorious periodical *¿Qué Pasa?* and of the medieval platitudes in daily conversation ('Jewish conspiracy,' 'deicidal people,' etc.)."¹²⁶ Perhaps no better authorities on this question are the Sephardi Jews who lived under the Franco regime and thereafter. Ceuta-born Spanish philologist Iacób Hassán argued in 2000 that anti-Jewish sentiment was an inseparable component of Spanish overtures to "its" Jews. The so-called philo-Sephardi movement, he wrote, was a "Spanish fantasy" in that Spaniards thought they could economically profit without divesting themselves of "the most virulent anti-Semitic prejudices." They envisioned the Sephardim as a "uniform collectivity" who would behave "as if they were merely passive subjects of Spain's interests and not active subjects with their own interests."¹²⁷

Miguel de Unamuno, a friendly correspondent of Abraham Zacharías López Penha, would have agreed. "You belong to the most disconcerting race," he wrote in 1912, "the most poorly clarified and the most difficult to comprehend and appreciate. People always speak either well or poorly about you, the Jews, but never with indifference. You make yourselves hated or admired and even beloved, but no one ever stands before you and clasps you by the shoulders."¹²⁸ The eradication or even subduing of anti-Jewish sentiment is not a calculable accomplishment of the Spanish Jewish project, despite the fact that prejudice reduction was one of Pulido's stated goals.

The coexistence of philosephardism alongside undisguised anti-Jewish hostility, however, powerfully demonstrates the negotiative mechanisms of identity construction in these intergroup relations. If proponents of *hispanidad* could conceive of a shared language and a shared identity, they could also build a transnational ethnic brotherhood by carefully disregarding the salience of religio-racial hostility and slurs, the kind that pressured so many Sephardim to pass themselves off as gentiles in Spanish-speaking lands. The

mutual appeal of Spanish Jewishness survived such adversities virtually unscathed. None of these anti-Jewish experiences was forceful enough to stamp out the Spanish Jewish identity that first emerged in Spain and North Africa around 1860. Only the loss of language could accomplish that.

Notes

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1. For the definition of *charla* in Benardete's context, see Barton Sholod, "Homenaje," in Izaak A. Langnas and Barton Sholod, eds., *Studies in Honor of M. J. Benardete: Essays in Hispanic and Sephardic Culture* (New York: Las Americas, 1965), 17–18, 17.

2. Gabriel Lovett to Aviva Ben-Ur, interview, Newton, MA, January 25, 2009; telephone interview, July 17, 2012. "Don Gabriel," as his colleagues affectionately call him, was a professor of Spanish at New York University (1944–57 and 1965–69) and Wellesley College (1969–87).

3. Gabriel Lovett to Aviva Ben-Ur, telephone interview, July 17, 2012.

4. Fred Kaplan to Aviva Ben-Ur, telephone interview, August 15, 2012; Bernard Goldhirsch, "Benardete," in Langnas and Sholod, *Studies in Honor of M. J. Benardete*, 17–30; Bernard Goldhirsch to Aviva Ben-Ur, telephone interviews, August 5 and 16, 2012; Diego Benardete to Aviva Ben-Ur, interview, Amherst, MA, March 20, 2007.

5. Isabelle Rohr, *The Spanish Right and the Jews, 1898–1945: Antisemitism and Opportunism* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 7.

6. Avigdor Levy, *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1992), 120–21; *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), xviii.

7. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the Latin alphabet was increasingly employed as the written medium for Ladino.

8. *Aljamía* or *aljamiado*, from an Arabic word denoting foreign language, refers to the use of Arabic or, in this case, Hebrew letters to transcribe Romance languages—in this case, Ladino.

9. Alegría Bendayán de Bendelac, *Diccionario del Judeoespañol de los Sefardíes del Norte de Marruecos: Jaquetía Tradicional y Moderna* (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Sefardíes de Caracas, 1995), XXXIII.

10. Alisa Meyuhás Ginio, "El encuentro del senador español Dr. Ángel Pulido Fernández con los judíos del Norte de Marruecos," in *El Presente: Estudios sobre la cul-*

tura sefardí: *La cultura Judeo-Española del Norte de Marruecos* 2 (December 2008): 111–25, 112. Uriel Weinreich once quipped that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy. One might also say that a language is a dialect with its own dictionary. For Haketia, see Isaac Benharroch, *Diccionario de Haquetia: Guía Esencial del Dialecto de los Judíos del Norte de Marruecos* (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Sefardíes de Caracas in association with the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela and the University of Miami, Caracas, 2004); Bendayan, *Diccionario del Judeoespañol*. Outside of peninsular Spain, the main Spanish-speaking centers were in the Americas, the Canary Islands, the Philippines, and North Africa and among Ottoman Jews of Iberian origin. See John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959) especially viii, where the author speaks of a "Spanish program"; Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Leonard Y. Andaya, "Ethnicity in the Philippine Revolution," in *The Philippine Revolution of 1896* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001), 49–82.

11. The Jewish focus was a small yet ideologically central module of a larger program to redefine modern Spanish civilization on a transnational scale after 1898. This broader framework—which encompassed the Spanish language everywhere it was spoken outside Spain—is too lengthy for discussion here but see my discussion of New Mexico later in this essay.

12. Pablo Martín Asuero, "The Spanish Consulate in Istanbul and the Protection of the Sephardim (1804–1913)," *Quaderns de la Mediterrània = Cuadernos del Mediterráneo* 88 (2007): 169–78, 169; Asuero, "La Imagen Española de los Judíos Otomanos (1790–1907)," *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 45 (1996): 135–47, 138.

13. Asuero, "Spanish Consulate in Istanbul," 169.

14. Asuero, "La Imagen Española," 139.

15. Asuero, "Spanish Consulate in Istanbul," 169–70.

16. Ginio, "El encuentro," 115, citing Iacób M. Hassán, "Testimonios antiguos de la Jaquetia," in Celia Casado-Fresnillo, ed., *La Lengua y la literatura españolas en África* (Melilla: Sociedad Pública V Centenario de Melilla, SA, 1998), 147–69, 153.

17. Rohr, *Spanish Right*.

18. This observation from Rafael Cansinos-Assens (see the next note) is not entirely accurate, given the resumption of Spanish ties with the Ottoman Empire in 1783 and the close connections between Amsterdam's Jewish community and Spain in the early modern period, but I use his remark here to depict popular consciousness in Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. Still, many scholars (see, e.g., Ginio, "El encuentro," 115) would generally agree with his statement. On Jews and crypto-Jews in early modern Spain, see Daniel M. Swetschinski, "The Spanish Consul and the Jews of Amsterdam," in *Texts and Responses: Studies Presented to Nahum N. Glatzer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday by His Students* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 158–72.

19. Rafael Cansinos-Assens, *Los Judíos en la literatura española* (Columna: Buenos Aires, 1937; reprint, Valencia: Pre-Textos, Fundación Once, 2001), 49–50, without attri-

bution. A search in historical Spanish periodicals yielded no reference to Maghrebi Jews persecuted in Spain during the Hispano-African War of 1859–60 (<http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/results.vm?o=not&w=jud%C3%ADos&f=text&a=3303316&t=%2Bcreation&l=600&l=700&s=20&lang=en>).

20. Rohr, *Spanish Right*, 13; Jacobo Israel Garzón, “El Doctor Pulido y los Sefardíes,” introduction to Ángel Pulido, *Los Israelitas Españoles y el Idioma Castellano* (Madrid: Impresores de la Real Casa, 1904; reprint, Barcelona: Riopiedras Ediciones, 1992), IX–XXV, XI n1, dating the first Spanish overture to Sephardim to the capture of Tetuán in 1860.

21. Rohr, *Spanish Right*, 12.

22. Daniel J. Schroeter, “Moroccan Jews and the Sharifian and French Colonial State,” in Ezra Mendelsohn, ed., *Jews and the State: Dangerous Alliances and the Perils of Privilege* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 104–23, 111.

23. Rohr, *Spanish Right*, 12–13.

24. Juan Bautista Vilar, “La Emigración Judeo-Marroquí a la América Latina en la Fase Preestadística (1850–1880),” *Sefárdica* 11 (September 1996): 11–54, 18. Ginio (“El encuentro,” 115) agrees that the Hispano-African war resumed ties between northern Moroccan Jews and the Spanish kingdom.

25. Rohr, *Spanish Right*, 13.

26. Ibid., 13.

27. Garzón, “El Doctor Pulido y los Sefardíes,” XIX.

28. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *Memoria leída en la biblioteca nacional en la sesión pública* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1867), 8–10, 8.

29. Ibid., 10.

30. Ibid. (for quote); William Harrison DePuy, ed., *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature* (Chicago: Werner, 1895), 11:823 (for biographical details).

31. Antonio Machado y Álvarez, “Introducción,” in *El Folk-lore andaluz* (Seville) 1, no. 1 (March 1882): 7.

32. “Noticias,” in *El Folk-lore andaluz* (Seville) 1, no. 1 (March 1882): 334. Notification of the existence of these periodicals is attributed to the pseudonymous “Demófilo,” whose true identity—that is, Machado—Manuel Alvar identifies in his article “Un ‘Descubrimiento’ del Judeo-Español,” in Langnas and Sholod, *Studies in Honor of M. J. Benardete*, 363–66, 364n11.

33. Alvar, “Un ‘Descubrimiento’ del Judeo-Español,” 366 (in reference to Machado; Alvar is apparently unaware of Hartzenbusch).

34. Elena Romero, “The Theme of Spain in the Sephardic Haskalah’s Literature,” trans. J. Pitcher, in Moshe Lazar and Stephen Haliczzer, ed., *The Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492* (Lancaster, CA: Labyrinthos, 1997): 311–27, 312; Haim Bidjarano, “Los Judíos Españoles de Oriente,” *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 9 (1885): 23–27, 25 (extract from a letter to Prof. D. Joaquín Costa). Without claiming authorship, Bidjarano cites this poem as “an example” of a poem that testifies to Sephardi “sentiments of patriotism for Spain.”

35. Bidjarano, "Los Judíos Españoles de Oriente," *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 9 (1885): 23–27, 25.

36. Alvar, "Un 'Descubrimiento' del Judeo-Español," 365; Saturno Jimenez, preface to Bidjarano, "Los Judíos Españoles de Oriente," dated April 6, 1883, *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* no. 7 (1883): 114–16, 114.

37. Asuero, "Spanish Consulate in Istanbul," 172.

38. *Ibid.*, 172–73.

39. Paloma Díaz-Mas called for such a systematic analysis of the Hebrew-scripted Sephardi press for the years 1904–6 and immediately before. See her "Repercusión de la Campaña de Ángel Pulido en la Opinión Pública de su Época: La Respuesta Sefardí," in Juan González-Barba, ed., *España y la cultura hispánica en el Sureste Europeo* (Athens: n.p., 2000), 335.

40. "Judíos Españoles en Oriente," *Revista de Geografía Comercial*, June 30, 1885, 6–8, 7 (the article is identified on p. 6 as a reprint from an unspecified issue of *El Día*). For a scholarly analysis of this article, see Paloma Díaz-Mas and Amelia Barquín, "Relaciones entre la prensa Española y la prensa sefardí a finales del siglo XIX: El caso de *El Luzero de la Pasensia*," in *Ayer y hoy de la prensa en judeoespañol: Actas del simposio organizado por el Instituto Cervantes de Estambul* (Istanbul: Isis, 2007), 37–46.

41. "Judíos Españoles en Oriente," 8.

42. Accessed July 17, 2012, <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/results.vm?o=not&w=-jud%C3%ADos&f=text&a=3303316&t=%2Bcreation&l=600&l=700&s=20&lang=en>.

43. Díaz-Mas and Barquín, "Relaciones," 39.

44. *Ibid.*, 37–38.

45. *Ibid.*, 41.

46. *Ibid.*

47. On the retention of Spanish colonies in the gulf of Guinea, Spanish Sahara, presidios in North Africa, and the Canaries see William G. Clarence-Smith, "The economic dynamics of Spanish colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," *Itinerario* 15: 1 (1991), 71–90.

48. John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880–1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 178.

49. James D. Fernández, "'Longfellow's Law': The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915," in Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spain in America: The Origins of Hispanism in the United States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 122–41, 133.

50. Stacy N. Beckwith, "Facing Sepharad, Facing Israel and Spain: Yehuda Burla and Antonio Gala's Janus Profiles of National Reconstruction," in Yael Halevi-Wise, ed., *Sephardism: Spanish Jewish History and the Modern Literary Imagination* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 169–88, 186.

51. Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, 178, citing Miguel de Unamuno, "Comunidad de la lengua," in *Temas argentinos* (Buenos Aires: Institución Cultural Española, 1943), 164.

52. Ángel Pulido Martín, "Recuerdo del Doctor Pulido," in Jacob M. Hassán, ed., *Actas del Primer Simposio de Estudios Sefardíes* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1970), 73–79, 74. He writes, "Contaré cómo se despertó en mi padre aquel amor entrañable hacia los sefardíes y como nació su cruzada . . . En el verano de 1903 . . ."

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 74–75.

55. Ibid., 74.

56. Ángel Pulido Fernández, *Plumazos de un viajero* (Madrid: Teodoro, 1893), 235–39, 243. The encounter is dated September 2, with no year, but Paloma Díaz-Mas ("Repercusión de la campaña," 327) claims that Pulido's first and sporadic contact with Sephardim was during a trip between Budapest and Vienna in 1883, while Alisa Meyuhás Ginio ("El encuentro," p. 114n12) maintains that Pulido's trip took place in 1903, the year he recounted it in the *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes, Senado* (1903), no. 73, p. 1269.

57. Pulido, *Plumazos de un viajero*, 235–36.

58. Ibid., 236.

59. For discussion of this encounter, see Ángel Pulido, *Los Israelitas Españoles* (1904), 14–17, 58–61, 132–43; and Ángel Pulido, *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de E. Teodor, 1905; reprint, Universidad de Granada, 1993), 1–7, 78, 180–81, 390–93.

60. Garzón, "El Doctor Pulido y los Sefardíes," XII.

61. A. Pulido Martín, "Folletín: Cartas Vienesas," in *El Siglo Médico* 50, no. 2580 (May 24, 1903): 326–31, 331, accessed July 13, 2015, <http://rodin.uca.es/xmlui/handle/10498/12407>. Isabelle Rohr (*Spanish Right*, 15) indicates, without attribution, that Pulido had encountered three Ladino-speaking businessmen in 1880 during a cruise along the Danube.

62. For an analysis of the cultural Catholicism that informed the philosephardic movement, see Michal Friedman, "Reconquering 'Sepharad': Hispanism and Proto-Fascism in Giménez Caballero's Sephardist Crusade," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 2011, 35–60, especially 47.

63. See, for example, Beckwith, "Facing Sepharad, Facing Israel and Spain," 187; Jacob M. Hassán, "Realidad y Fantasía en las relaciones recíprocas," in Juan González-Barba, ed., *España y la cultura hispánica en el Sureste Europeo*, 355–71.

64. Pulido Martín, "Folletín: Cartas Vienesas," 331.

65. William G. Clarence-Smith, "The economic dynamics of Spanish colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," *Itinerario* 15: 1 (1991): 71–90; 74–79.

66. M. J. Bensasson, "Los Israelitas Españoles: Carta Abierta," open letter addressed to D. Angel (*sic*) Pulido Fernández, *Correspondencia de Alicante* 21, no. 7.277 (December 31, 1904): 1.

67. Abraham Zacarías López Penha, *El Libro de la Incoherencias* (Madrid: Librería de Pueyo Mesonero Romanos, 1911; reprint, Barranquilla: Editorial Mejoras 1993). The dedication page is dated Barranquilla, Colombia, 1909; it reads, "Al ilustre sabio y Senador del Renio D. Angel Pulido Homenaje de gratitud y de admiración."

68. Ángel Pulido Fernández to Abraham Zacarías Lopez Penha, October 19, 1904, box 1, Abraham Zacarías López Penha Letters, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University. The quote reads, "he recojido y podido examinar las obras que ha tenido Vd. la bondad de remitirme, y que acreditan á Vd. de elegante y distinguidísimo escritor de ese idioma cervantino que cada día amplia mas y mas su campo de difusión. Sinceramente le espreso mi mayor satisfacción y orgullo porque un israelita español domine tan gallardamente mi lengua, y contribuya á enriquecer su literatura con sus hermosas producciones."

69. Denah Lida, "The Vanishing Sephardim," *Le Judaïsme Sephardi*, n.s., 24 (July 1962): 1035-48, 1035; Jack Glazier, "American Sephardim, Memory, and Representation," in Stacy Beckwith, ed., *Charting Memory: Recalling Medieval Spain* (New York : Garland Pub., 2000), 315; Estrugo, *El Retorno a Sefarad: Un siglo después de la Inquisición* (Madrid : [Imprenta "Europa"], 1933), 56; Hassán, "Realidad y Fantasía," 357; Arthur Benveniste's home page, accessed July 27, 2012, <http://home.earthlink.net/~benven/la-dino.html> ("I grew up in a close knit Sephardic community in Los Angeles and assumed that Spanish was the language of the Jews." For an example in the early State of Israel, see Raymond Harris, "Ladino, Judeo-Español, Judezmo: A Legitimate Language or Historical Footnote?" (master's thesis, La Salle University, 2008), 15.

70. José M. Estrugo, *Los Sefardíes* (Habana: Editorial Lex, 1958), 64. Similar experiences took place among Sephardi immigrants arriving in Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Peru. See Jose María (Meir) Estrugo, "Tradiciones españolas en las juderías del Oriente próximo (Reminiscencias y apuntes)," *Sefarad* 14 (1954): 128-47, 129.

71. Estrugo, *Los Sefardíes*, 64; Estrugo, *Retorno a Sefarad*, 36; Estrugo, "Tradiciones españolas," 129 (dating the anecdote 1924 and identifying the ship as *Jaime I*).

72. Glazier, "American Sephardim, Memory, and Representation," 315. Max Nordau pointed out that the lower class and a good part of the middle class, who were neither intellectuals nor educated, had only hazy notions of their Spanish ancestry and did not even realize that the jargon they spoke was Spanish. My paraphrase of Nordau quote that appears in Pulido, *Españoles sin patria*, 46-47 (my translation).

73. Recall, for example, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch's comment in the 1860s (*Memoira leída en la biblioteca nacional*, 8, cited earlier in this chapter) regarding Ladino: "if one should call it Spanish."

74. Estrugo, *Retorno a Sefarad*, 83 ("Somos como discos fonográficos vivos para los estudiantes del español antiguo"). For a variation of the quote, see Estrugo, "Tradiciones españolas," 136.

75. Bidjarano, "Los Judíos Españoles de Oriente," *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 9 (1885): 23. A similar statement appears in Haim Bidjarano, "Los Judíos Españoles de Oriente," dated April 6, 1883, *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 7 (1883): 114-16, 115.

76. Alisa Meyuhás Ginio, "The Sephardic Diaspora Revisited: Dr. Ángel Pulido Fernández (1852-1932) and His Campaign," in Judit Bokser Liwerant, Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Yossi Gorny, and Raanan Rein, eds., *Identities in an Era of Globalization and Multiculturalism: Latin American in the Jewish World* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 287-96, 293.

77. Lida, "Vanishing Sephardim," 1036.

78. Henry V. Besso, "Benardete's Bibliography," in Langnas and Sholod, *Studies in Honor of M. J. Benardete*, 461–86, 464; Moise Angel to the editor, "La Boz de Nuestros Lektore," *La Vara*, July 17, 1936, 9; Moshe Azuz to the editor, "La Boz de Nuestros Lektore," *La Vara*, July 17, 1936, 9; Chek Abrevaya to the editor, "La Boz de Nuestros Lektore," *La Vara*, July 24, 1936, 2.

79. Pulido, *Españoles sin patria*, 2, as cited in Ginio, "El encuentro," 112 (my translation).

80. Díaz-Mas, "Repercusión de la Campaña," 330.

81. Bidjarano, "Los Judíos Españoles de Oriente," *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* 9 (1885): 27 ("La lengua, usada negligentemente, sin gramática, sin ninguna regla, se descaracterizó mucho").

82. M. J. Bensasson, *Los Israelitas españoles: España y sus hijos de Oriente* (Alicante: Sirvent y Sánchez, 1905), 88.

83. "Kursos Gratis de Lingua Kastiliana," *La Vara* (August 29, 1924): 9.

84. Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, x, 171.

85. Meir José Benardete, *Hispanic Culture and Character of the Sephardic Jews* (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1933), 71.

86. Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (1969; reprint, Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1998), 11, 13; Barth, "Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity," in Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers, eds., *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries"* (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994): 11–32, 12 (quote).

87. See, for example, Aviva Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America: A Diasporic History* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Devin E. Naar, "From the 'Jerusalem of the Balkans' to the Goldene Medina," *American Jewish History* 93, no. 4 (December 2007): 435–73, 452. On the competition between the French and Spanish educational presence, see Rohr, *Spanish Right*, 17.

88. Aviva Ben-Ur, "Atlantic Jewish History: A Conceptual Reorientation," in Arthur Kiron, ed., *Constellations of Atlantic Jewish History, 1555–1890: The Arnold and Deanne Kaplan Collection of Early American Judaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 25–46.

89. Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, 2.

90. Arthur Ruppin, *Soziologie der Juden* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1931), 2:131; Estrugo, "Tradiciones españolas," 128–47, 135 (estimating five hundred thousand speakers). Compare the hyperbolic estimate of Enrique Bejarano, the director of a Sephardi school in Bucharest, who informed Pulido in 1903 that there were over two million Ladino speakers from the Mediterranean littoral to the Americas. See Rohr, *Spanish Right*, 15. This figure also appears in Pulido Martín, "Folletín: Cartas Vienesas," 331.

91. Moise Gadol estimated that twenty thousand Sephardic Jews lived in the United States in 1915. [Moise Gadol], "Basta Piedrer Tiempo en Vazio," *La America*, October 22, 1915, 4.

92. Bernardo Vega, *Memorias de Bernardo Vega: Contribución a la Historia de la*

Comunidad Puertorriqueña en Nueva York, ed. César Andreu Iglesias (Puerto Rico: Ediciones Huracán, 1977), 49, 192–93; Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Puerto Ricans," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 858–67.

93. Benardete, *Hispanic Culture and Character of the Sephardic Jews*, 147; M. J. Benardete, "¿Quiénes Son los Sefardíes?," *España Libre*, June 9, 1944.

94. Vega, *Memorias de Bernardo Vega*, 46–47.

95. James D. Fernández, "Longfellow's Law: The Place of Latin America and Spain in U.S. Hispanism, circa 1915," in Brad Epps and Luis Fernández Cifuentes, eds., *Spain beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005), 49–69; 51.

96. Federico de Onís, *España en América: Estudios, Ensayos y Discursos sobre temas Españoles e Hispanoamericanos* ([Río Piedras?]: Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1955), 8.

97. Ibid.

98. Paloma Díaz-Mas, "Corresponsales de Ángel Pulido e informantes de Menéndez Pidal: Dos mundos sefardíes," in *Los trigos ya van en flores: Studia in honorem Michelle Débax* (Toulouse: FRAMESPA, Université de Toulouse, 2001), 103–15, 104–5.

99. Aviva Ben-Ur, "Mair José Benardete," in Norman Stillman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 403–4. The Sephardic Studies Section (called the "Sección Sefardi" or "Estudios sefarditas") was organized in 1934, and Benardete is first mentioned as its director in 1935. See Henry V. Besso to Mair Jose Benardete, February 29, 1936, pp. 9–10, Henry V. Besso Archives, American Sephardi Federation Papers, Center for Jewish History, New York; *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 2, no. 1 (October 1935). Cf. George Christopoulos, "Biography and Career," in Langnas and Sholod, *Studies in Honor of M. J. Benardete*, 11–15, 14; the biographer's statement "Since the late 1920's Benardete has been director of the Sephardic section of the Hispanic Institute . . ." is apparently an error.

100. Marc D. Angel, "The Sephardim of the United States: An Exploratory Study," *American Jewish Year Book* 74 (1973): 77–138; Hayyim Cohen, "Sephardi Jews in the United States: Marriage with Ashkenazim and Non-Jews," *Dispersion and Unity* 13–14 (1971–72): 151–60.

101. Fredrik Barth, introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 9–38; Dag Blanck, *The Creation of an Ethnic Identity: Being Swedish American in the Augustana Synod, 1860–1917* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 2006), 15–16.

102. Michael A. Hogg and John C. Turner, "Intergroup Behaviour, Self-Stereotyping and the Salience of Social Categories," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 26, no. 4 (1987): 325–40; Tom Postmes and Nyla R. Branscombe, eds., *Rediscovering Social Identity: Key Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Psychology, 2010).

103. Ginio, "Sephardic Diaspora Revisited," 288, citing *El Castellano*, September 29, 1905. See also his letter in the Barcelona newspaper *La Tribuna* (February 12, 1912). Neither of these periodicals are online.

104. G., "The New Era for Jews in Spain: An Interview with Eduardo Zamcois," *Amer-*

ican Hebrew 101, no. 4 (June 1, 1917), 1 and 101, 101. I was unable to identify "G." among the journal's staff. For the nickname "apóstol de los sefardíes," see Henry V. Besso, "Los Sefardíes y el Idioma Castellano," *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 34, nos. 1-2 (January-April 1968): 176-94, 191.

105. Ángel Pulido, *El sefardismo en España: La Academia de la Lengua Española y los sefardíes* (Madrid: Hebraica Ediciones, 2006), 75; no author, "Al Lector," in R. Cansinos Assens (sic), *Los Judíos en Sefard [sic]: Episodios y Símbolos* (Buenos Aires: Buenos, 1950), 7-8, 8 ("por cuyas venas corre, según propia declaración, sangre sefardí").

106. "Borges: El Judaísmo e Israel," special issue, *Sefárdica* 3, no. 6 (1988).

107. Rubén Carlos Moverer, "Borges y su Origen Sefardí," *La Luz* (Buenos Aires), October 26, 1985, excerpt reproduced in "Borges: El Judaísmo e Israel," 171.

108. "Borges: El Judaísmo e Israel." However, Garzón insists that Cansinos never formally adopted Judaism.

109. Besso, "Los Sefardíes y el Idioma Castellano," 176 (my translation); Onís, *España en América*, 103.

110. Syed Ali, "Collective and Elective Ethnicity: Caste among Urban Muslims in India," *Sociological Forum* 17, no. 4 (December 2002): 593-620, 593.

111. Ibid., citing Herbert Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1 (1979): 1-18, 12.

112. Ali, "Collective and Elective Ethnicity," 600.

113. Pulido's "ascent up Madrid's political ladder" was halted because of his dedication to the Sephardic cause and association with Jews. See Jacobo Israel Garzón, introduction to Cansinos-Assens, *Los Judíos en la literatura española*, 20; Beckwith, "Facing Sepharad, Facing Israel and Spain," 187.

114. A. Sáiz Carrero, "Ángel Pulido Martín (1878-1970): Cuarto Jefe del Servicio de Urología del Hospital Provincial de Madrid," *Archivo Español de la Urología* 56, no. 4 (2003): 333-44, 334.

115. Garzón, introduction to Cansinos-Assens, *Los Judíos en la literatura española*, 20.

116. "Borges: El Judaísmo e Israel."

117. See Beckwith, "Facing Sepharad, Facing Israel and Spain," 187; Hassán, "Realidad y Fantasía," Rohr, *Spanish Right*; Garzón, "El Doctor Pulido y los Sefardíes," XXII. For a refreshingly nuanced view that rejects the "binary opposition between Spanish philosephardism and antisemitism," see Friedman, "Reconquering 'Sepharad.'"

118. Ángel Pulido Fernández, *Intereses nacionales: Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1904).

119. Ángel Pulido, *Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1904).

120. Barton Sholod to Aviva Ben-Ur, telephone interview, March 26, 2007.

121. See, for example, Ginio, "El encuentro," 124; Díaz-Mas, "Repercusión de la Campaña."

122. Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, 212.

123. Bensasson, *Los Israelitas españoles España y sus hijos de Oriente*, 9.
124. [Moise Gadol], *La America*, June 25, 1915.
125. Isaac Funes to Moïse Gadol, "Nuestros Judíos-Espanyoles de Oriente en Cuba," *La America*, January 26, 1912, 3.
126. Lorraine Elena Silvershine, "Our Readers," *Commentary* (New York), January 1965, accessed July 30, 2012, <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/spain-the-right-de-gaulle/>. The phrases in parentheses are my translation and appear in the source as follows: "(‘conspiración judía,’ ‘pueblo deicida,’ etc.)."
127. Hassán, "Realidad y Fantasía," 359.
128. Miguel de Unamuno to Abraham Zacharías López Penha, May 14, 1912, box 1, Abraham Zacarías López Penha Letters, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University.