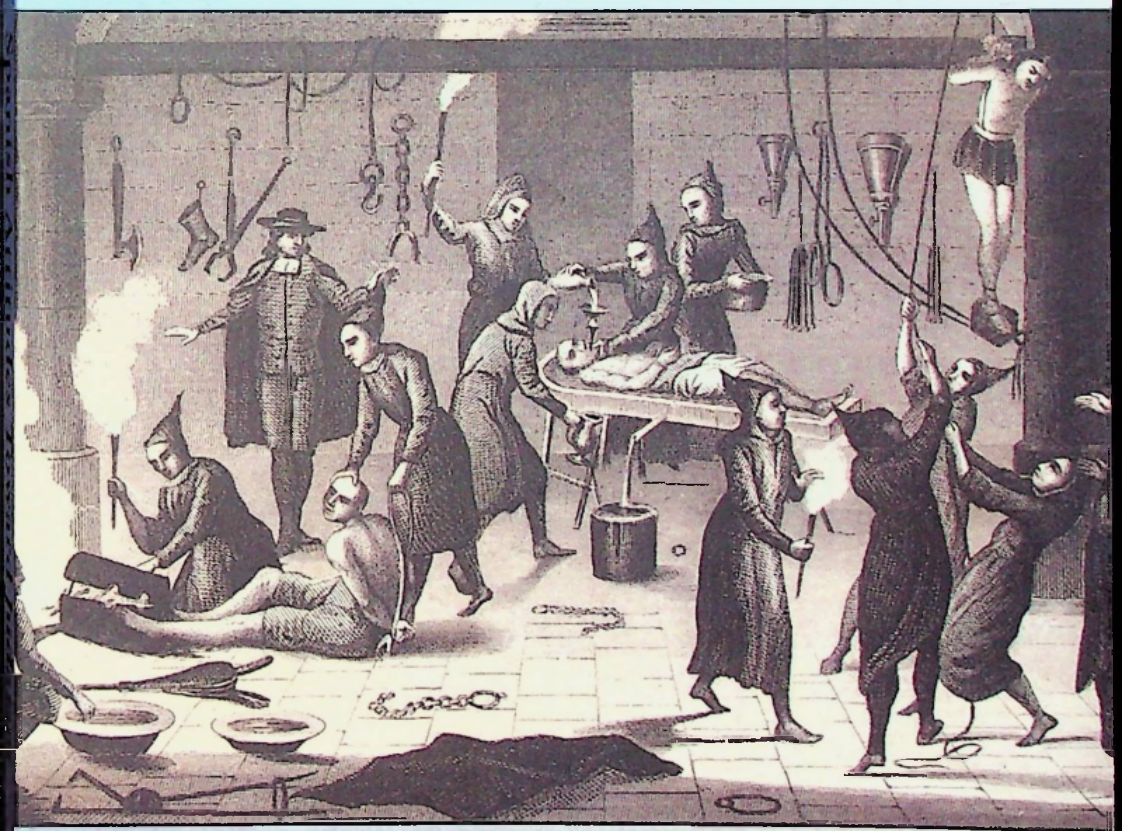
Spanish Attitudes Toward Judaism

Strains of Anti-Semitism from the Inquisition to Franco and the Holocaust



Adolfo Kuznitzky

Translated by Abramo Ottolenghi
and Joan D. Ottolenghi

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On the cover: Antique engraving of torture in a dungeon during the Spanish Inquisition, printed in 1849 © Steven Wright/Dreamstime.com

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ABRAMO OTTOLENGHI *and* JOAN D. OTTOLENGHI

We are very pleased and gratefully acknowledge the extremely important support in the form of a grant that we received from the Cahnman Foundation Inc.

In this endeavor we have been helped greatly by the author, Adolfo Kuznitzky, who was present when needed for clarifications of the text and in the management of the notes. In concert with him, some text and notes have been added, deleted or shortened. The modern tools of e-mail and video-conferencing have been invaluable to this end.

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Likewise, our task was made easier by the availability of the library collection at Ohio State University and by the help of the staff of its Interlibrary Loan Department.

Table of Contents

Translators' Acknowledgments v
Translators' Notes 1
Glossary 3
Introduction 5

1 Historical Comparisons 15
2 History and Background of the Discrimination That in Spain Went beyond the Religious Boundaries 23
3 The Nature of the Cleanliness of Blood 46
4 The Jesuits and the Cleanliness of Blood 58
5 Netanyahu and Racism in Germany and in Inquisitorial Spain 69
6 The Polemic of Netanyahu with Historians and Hispanists 73
7 Stallaert's Anthropological Comparativism 82
8 Influence of Inquisitorial anti–Semitism in Post-Inquisitorial Spain and Nazi Racism 104
9 The Spanish Civil War and the Jews 126
10 Franco and the Holocaust 139

Conclusion 155
Chapter Notes 173
Bibliography 187
Index 191

Translators' Notes

ABRAMO OTTOLENGHI *and* JOAN D. OTTOLENGHI

For many years Abramo has been translating to and from Spanish on different subjects. Joan is a retired teacher of foreign languages with a master's degree in Roman history. A number of coincidences combined to bring about the translation of this book. In 2009, during a trip to Argentina as a leader of a Rotary International Group Study Exchange, Abramo had the opportunity to visit several cities in the Rotary District which included San Francisco, the city where Adolfo Kuznitzky resides and which has a very large community of descendants of Piedmontese Italians. Ottolenghi is a well-known name in Argentinean medical and Rotarian circles and Adolfo Kuznitzky is a well-known Argentinean scholar of anti–Semitism and Sephardic topics.

While the group was in San Francisco, the local members of Rotary learned of Abramo's Italian (Piedmontese) and Jewish identity and of his early education in Ecuador, where his parents had sought refuge from Mussolini's racial laws. They took it upon themselves to introduce him to Kuznitzky. At that time Kuznitzky had already written two books—one, *Italia y el Antisemitismo*, compared Italian, Spanish and French anti–Semitism, and mentioned the Ottolenghis; the second, *La Leyenda Negra y los Marranos*, explored how Spanish anti–Semitism was viewed in other European countries. Abramo then learned that Adolfo was working on a newer effort comparing the different and evolving faces of the Spanish relationship with the Jews. This sounded interesting, so Abramo suggested that the subject merited a possible translation of any forthcoming book into English. Upon reading the subsequently published book, *De la Inquisición Española a Franco y el Holocausto: una controversia historiográfica*, we found it to be a most interesting and unique analysis of the multifaceted nature of Iberian anti–Semitism, with some comparisons

to that of the Nazi and Italian fascist regimes. After obtaining publication acceptance and support from the Cahnman Foundation, we undertook this translation.

As we attempted to describe to others the scope and nature of the task we undertook, it became clear that care had to be taken not to trivialize the nature of the persecutions or of the genocide that is the Holocaust by the use of facile comparisons. Each event is unique in its nature, the only possible commonality being the quest for racial, political, social, economic or religious ascendency over the "Other." Such comparisons invite speculation as to which is "greater" or "worse," when in reality these quantitative and qualitative considerations are in themselves grotesque. Each genocidal or ethnic cleansing event, including the Holocaust or Stalin's "purges" and his starvation of millions of Ukrainians or the events in Armenia, Cambodia, Kosovo or Rwanda, is a unique event where the suffering of the victims, however different in nature, is a common experience not amenable to "scientific" comparison. As pointed out the author in the conclusion, the uniqueness of the Holocaust resides in that the perpetrators went beyond their own statutes and that it became, not a matter of simple ascendency over, but rather of the obliteration of, the "Other." We hope that the readers bear these descriptive differences in mind as they read.

In concert with the author, some texts and notes have been added, deleted or shortened. The modern tools of e-mail and video-conferencing have been invaluable to this end.

We felt that for maximal use to the reader we should approach quotes, notes and bibliography as follows:

In the notes and quotes:

(1) When notes or quotes originate in a Spanish text where there was no version in English, we have translated them from the Spanish.
(2) When a note or text quotation in the original Spanish version of this work came from a work where the original work is in English or a translation into English is available, we have made every effort to find the equivalent location cited and have used the original or the previously translated language.
(3) When notes or quotes in the original work originated in a Spanish text which was a translation from a language other than English but for which an English translation exists, we used the text appearing in the English translation.
(4) We translated text directly from an original French source for which there was no English translation.

In the bibliography we have cited both the work used by the author and the equivalent English original version or an existing translation into English.

We have included a glossary to clarify certain words and concepts as well as show different versions of the same names.

Throughout the text we have inserted translators' notes in brackets.

All Internet sites cited were active at the time of submission of the manuscript.

Glossary

***Aljamas*:** Jewish or Moorish enclaves in Medieval Spain with fiscal, administrative and judicial powers, depending on the privileges granted.

Aragón's Green Book: A compilation of family trees in Aragón detailing which families had Jewish ancestors.

Carlism: A traditionally conservative ultra-religious party arising in Spain in the 1820s in response to "liberal" inroads. Coalesces in the 1830s around the personality of Carlos María Isidro de Borbón (Don Carlos).

casticist/casticism: The equivalent to racism except that instead of focusing on race, it is focused on caste, in this case "Spanishness"

***castizo*:** Originally defined simply as "pure"; became a term associated with that which reflects "pure Spanishness" in all aspects: art, music and mores.

***Chueta* (*Xueta*):** Individual of Jewish descent originating in Mallorca (Majorca) and discriminated against.

contador mayor: Chief accountant, collector of rents and taxes.

counterfactual: A hypothetical occurrence that is contrary to what actually happened.

diachronic: A diachronic study or analysis examines the evolution and change over time of the topic under examination.

***fueros*:** A privilege, right or exemption granted by a sovereign to a person or group of persons, city or territory.

Judeo-*conversos*: Jews converted to Catholicism either voluntarily or by force.

Lainéz/Lainés/Lynez, Diego: A Superior General of the Society of Jesuits; his name has been spelled in several ways.

***lex talionis*:** Law of retaliation/retribution. Exemplified by the biblical "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

***Limpieza de sangre, Limpieza*, cleanliness of blood, cleanliness:** Connotes the absence of Jewish "blood" in an individual and was usually determined genealogically by the examination of the individual's family tree.

Marranos: A disparaging word ("pig") used to denote Jewish or Moorish converts (*conversos* or Moriscos respectively) because of the religious prohibition of eating pork. Eventually applied mainly to Jewish *conversos*, denoting the practice (real or supposed) of crypto–Judaism.

Moriscos: Converted Moors.

naturalizing: Making similar to natural conditions. In the context of Jews in Spain, equating human genetics to animal breeding practices.

Las Partidas: A code of laws produced during the reign of Alfonso X (the Wise) and promulgated by Alfonso XI of Castile in 1348.

***Las Partidas*, VII.1.14:** Division VII of the *Partidas* deals with crime and punishment.

***Privilegio General*:** A declaration made by Pedro (Peter) III of Aragón confirming the Aragonese legal rights (*Fueros* and privileges), which defined the immunities and privileges of nobles and municipalities as well as diminished some of the crown's rights.

Ribadeneira/Rivadeneira/Rivadeneyra/Ribadeneyra, Pedro de: A Jesuit historian. His name has been spelled in several ways.

***sambenito* (sanbenito):** Sackcloth worn by penitents condemned by the Inquisition. A notice posted at the church detailing the name, transgression and fate of the condemned.

"sanitary cordon": In biology, a barrier (administrative or otherwise) erected to prevent the spread of disease to "uncontaminated" areas. In politics, a similar barrier erected to prevent the spread of ideologies.

strips of privilege: Denotes those areas of activity permitted to different social/religious groups.

synchronic: A synchronic study examines the topic at a particular time.

uchronic: A study examining a topic at an undefined time.

Introduction

Anti-Semitism has a long and tragic history. The details differ depending on the time and the place, but the larger patterns repeat themselves over the centuries and across national borders. Thus, the expression of Spanish anti-Semitism has elements that are universal and idiosyncrasies that are unique to the Spanish experience. It is the goal of this work to explore the historiographical controversy that these idiosyncrasies have suscitated.

I begin in the Middle Ages but the nature of the persecution begins to change in the late 14th century, when socioeconomic factors collided with changing cultural norms. The mass conversions of Jews to Catholicism meant that Jews could take jobs and hold offices previously restricted to Christians. Old Christians—who were often less educated than Jews—suddenly had a much smaller piece of the socioeconomic pie.

Around the same time, the "Black Legends" being spread through Europe hurt Spanish prestige and pride. Generically, Black Legends are derogatory myths that demonize a target group. Several of the Black Legends of this time related to Spain. One relevant to this book developed originally in the Catholic countries, especially in Rome. Fueled by anger over the Spanish sack of Rome in 1527 by Charles V's troops and the Spanish occupation that followed, this particular Black Legend said that all Spaniards were *marranos* (Jews).

This Semitizing legend grievously wounded Spanish pride. Writers then and now cite this legend and socioeconomic competition from the Jews as major factors in the increased expression of Spanish anti-Semitism. *Limpieza* policies—those that judged "cleanliness" and "purity" of blood by the absence of any Jewish taint in a family tree—had already emerged in the mid-15th century. Gradually, these policies evolved further; among the Jesuit Order,

Limpieza persisted in statutory form well into the 20th century. *Limpieza* became a tool of discrimination and persecution. Its genealogical approach was used by the Inquisition to identify Jewish targets. Centuries later, Germany and Italy replicated *Limpieza* in the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and the Italian Fascist Racial laws of 1938.

As I trace the varied arguments of the historians, political scientists and anthropologists who have explored the similarities and differences in the conditions leading to the Inquisition and those leading to the Holocaust, it becomes clear that Spain's expression of anti–Semitism during Franco's Fascist regime—both before and after World War II—differed from that of the German Fascists.

This work closes with a look at the way that Franco's regime balanced three different approaches to the Spanish Jews. Franco tempered his regime's anti–Semitism with political pragmatism. Internationally, he was allied with Germany and Italy. Domestically, he had the more radical Falange to placate. Franco claimed that Sephardic Jews, who, for the most part, supported Francoist Spain, possessed "Spanishness." On the other hand, Franco considered Ashkenazi Jews as Communists who had supported his enemies during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). So, the first of Franco's approaches played to Franco's German allies. The second approach played to the more anti–Semitic elements of the Falange. The third approach addressed the Allies and the Jewish community abroad. One legacy of this delicate balancing act is a scholarly debate on Francoist Spain's role in saving Jews during World War II.

In a certain way this book continues my earlier work entitled *La Leyenda Negra de España y los Marranos*[1] (The Black Legend of Spain and the Marranos). Therefore, I have taken from it the chapter "*Los Jesuítas y la Limpieza de Sangre*" ("The Jesuits and the Cleanliness of Blood") to show a historical continuity of almost four centuries, a continuity that, although debated, is certain. It is the unifying thread that strings together the events that we analyze and that can be best perceived from the history of that religious Order, born in Spain and influenced by the special characteristics of that nation's anti–Jewish hatred.

The earlier book described the different versions of that legend relating to the Jews (be it as active protagonists and alleged instigators thereof, or as passive individuals, the object of contempt), leading then to the description of the contemporary version, resulting from the adaptation of Inquisitorial policies into Nazism and the Holocaust. These, for some, would constitute another Black Legend as hurtful as the earlier ones.

My earlier work is extended by the further examination of that parallelism, based essentially on the work of Benzion Netanyahu. This author, in

a polemic with his detractors, examines German and Spanish anti–Semitism comparatively. He also refutes Américo Castro's theory that assigns Jewish origins to the "cleanliness of blood" and the creation of the Inquisition.

I also rely on the work of the Belgian Hispanist and anthropologist Christiane Stallaert. She details her anthropological comparativism with specific events and examples. Additionally, she brings it up to date by projecting that ethnic-religious worldview onto the current Spanish reality, in order to make it comparable to German National Socialism (sustained by the *völkisch* ideology).

For the second part of this work, in order to analyze that Spanish reality that relates to its post–Inquisition history, I have taken as the main bibliographical reference, in addition to Stallaert's work, the excellent work of Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida. This is the most complete and comprehensive on the subject known to me. In addition, I found of interest and of great help the work of Joseph Pérez about the Jews of Spain, that of Isidro González about the Spanish Civil War and the Jews, those of Bernd Rother about Franco and the Holocaust, and that of Alfonso Lazo about Franco's propaganda. For this latter historian the regime was not so monolithic because of its obedience to different ideological currents.

The outline I have followed in this book is both a diachronic and synchronic study. It is diachronic because it travels through almost 14 centuries of anti–Judaism in Spanish history, starting in the age of the Visigoths and continuing to the present day, with different milestones depending on the historical contexts. All, however, have had something in common: a hatred that eventually transcended the religious to become racial.

What tinges this contempt as racist is that it was directed at the Jews, who were one of the three ethno-religious castes that existed on the Iberian Peninsula. To which later were added the Judeo-Christian *conversos*, persecuted at times for religious motives (given that they and their descendants continued to practice their former religion), and at other times and perhaps most of the time for the simple fact of their birth. That hatred is seen as a persistent phenomenon throughout the centuries and is what allows its comparability with modern secular and racist anti–Semitism: the fact of having been born Jewish is a blemish that is not corrected by conversion nor assimilation.

Synchronicity, in turn, arises from the comparison of present day's casticist world views (supposedly a continuation of the Inquisitorial period) with modern anti–Semitism and Nazism. It must be pointed out that there are historians who consider inappropriate a diachronic study because of the lack of causality, beyond the marginal affinities or analogies that might exist among the events studied. One of them is Yerushalmi, because he believes that they

have originated and developed independently, although he notices phenomenological affinities between the models he calls Iberian and Germanic.

It is because of this that intertemporal comparisons often are, at times with much reason, much questioned due to their decontextualization. Nonetheless, in this work these comparisons appear recurrently, occupying a good portion thereof. This introductory chapter is to provide the reader with an overview of where the controversy on the subject lies at a doctrinaire level. To this end I have used the opinions not only of historians but also those of intellectuals from other sociological disciplines.

Precisely from sociology there have been important contributions, especially from the American sociologist Charles Tilly, who seeks the convergence of that discipline with history. He thus aims to make transhistorical studies possible, which we interpret as being the intertemporal comparisons previously mentioned. His conception is based on the fact that good sociology takes seriously something more than history, also trying to escape the narrow view of the present in order to analyze directly the ways in which time and space have affected the processes.[2] He understands that, although historical analysis seeks the relationships of cause and effect, it cannot focus on them by identifying patterns and reconstructing the past in such a manner as to provide form to the choices of humans in the present and the past. In summary, it is a question of identifying historical patterns, structures recurring through time and space. Furthermore, as he speaks of historical patterns, we cannot but link his opinion to Netanyahu's that, although much questioned as we shall see later, states that "the patterns of history can repeat themselves incessantly, but they never repeat themselves totally."

Similarly, Sztompka states the following when referring to historical sociologists: "[They] take up concrete time-bound and localized historical problems and subject them to generalizing sociological analyses.... The most common procedure is the inductive and comparative study of selected historical cases, in search of common mechanisms in historical processes."[3] Consequently the author compares and attempts to detect "common mechanisms" within the historical processes, which I again interpret that we find ourselves in the "historical patterns" mentioned earlier. That is why, to determine if there exist similarities between phenomena separated by so many centuries, I analyze the origins of modern anti-Semitism, which originated in Central Europe.

To this analysis we add the comments of Moradiellos, who notes that after emancipation through conversion the Jews became visible entrepreneurs and also formidable competitors in occupations and professions associated with economic modernization. Paradoxically, their vulnerability and renewed exposure to prejudice and denunciation were rooted in that associa-

tion and professional success. From there would arise the latent social basis of the new modern racial anti–Semitism.

Moradiellos stresses the evident concentration of Jews in certain occupations and professions due to the elimination of barriers to upward social mobility. He also notes that they became integrated into the bourgeoisie; for example, in Vienna Jews represented 61 percent of the physicians and 58 percent of the lawyers.[4] With the sensitivity typical of a contemporary of that phenomenon, Bernard Lazare expressed it in this manner: "As conquerors, not as guests, did they come into modern societies. They were like a penned-in flock; suddenly the barriers fell and they rushed upon the field."[5]

Comparing those opinions with that of Vicens Vives, a scholar of the social and economic history of Spain, the similarities emerge immediately when referring to the Spanish Jews, even keeping in mind that the intervening historic process is long and complex. When referring to their expulsion, Vicens Vives highlights the economic damage caused by that measure in stating that "it eliminated from social life the only groups that could have developed the first movement of capitalism; (it) undermined the basis for the prosperity of many cities."[6] However, when referring to the Spanish Judeo-*conversos*, Solomon notes, "They entered Catholicism and Christian society vigorously and enthusiastically, quickly penetrating into the ranks of the Castilian upper and middle classes."[7] To enter "vigorously" or as "conquerors" are expressions that have very similar connotations.

Nevertheless, the majority of authors who study modern anti–Semitism in Central Europe, among them Moradiellos, omit references to the situation of the Spanish Judeo-conversos that assimilated into Christian society, not even expressing their disagreement with the comparability. Therefore, the recent work by Elisabeth Roudinesco with reference to this deserves to be noted.

This author places the cleanliness of blood as an episode in the history of Christian anti–Judaism, something that no one questions, but she admits that the theme of race was in a certain way already present in Spain at the end of the Middle Ages. She then concludes by remarking on the difference by maintaining that, in reality, the reference to the cleanliness of blood was related to lineage and not to biological race as it was conceived in the 19th century. However, if we correctly interpret those terms and concepts, we shall see that that difference does not affect those aspects that are most comparable.

In fact, later the author states, when referring to the racialist anti–Semitism that 40 years later will feed Nazism, "with it, the old concept of race, in a genealogical sense, acquires a new meaning called 'scientific.'" I believe that when something acquires a new meaning, that "something" continues to exist, albeit in a different way. So many centuries could not have passed with nothing

changing, above all the religious factor that was weakened in modernity, but that which was essential persisted: the discrimination because of their origin, independently of their behavior.

Thus she recognizes the existence of the concept of race based on genealogy, but while acquiring a new meaning, it does not eliminate the previous one, which in practice remains the same: the exclusion, as we have seen, of individuals because of the condition of their birth. Moreover, by placing the word "scientific" between quotes, Roudinesco in a way questions the image that the word conjures, since science currently has arrived at the conclusion, as stated by Augé, that anthropology, which in its first phase contributed to promote racism, has currently reversed the process. Roudinesco's description of the question is flawless, beyond the debate of whether the tie that unites both concepts is causal.[8]

The authors who admit to the racist nature of the concept of the cleanliness of blood, as well as those who for different motives do not acknowledge it (some prepared to negate it completely by invoking exclusively religious reasons, and others by believing it to be an anachronistic consideration, without dwelling on the substance of the question) are historians and Hispanists who specialize in the history of Spain. The British historian Henry Kamen must be mentioned among those who expressly believe that the cleanliness of blood is a racial discrimination. As a case in point he mentions the city of Villena, to which the Crown granted the royal privilege of prohibiting *conversos* from residing there, in some ways similar to the discrimination by the Basque country,[9] where Prendes, as will be seen later, understands that the expulsion of the *conversos* adopted by the Basques was nothing other than an inkling of what was to be the Third Reich's final solution. It is difficult to argue with that conclusion, especially if one considers that the prohibition of residence recalls the Nazi policy of social engineering.

In another work written recently, Kamen ratifies this criterion by maintaining that the enmities and rivalries between Old and New Christians were centered on the concept of race; however, he additionally indicates something that very few discern because of its lack of historical importance: namely, to note the nonracist characteristic of the Expulsion, since the decree that ordered it allowed the Jews to remain on the condition of becoming Christian.[10] Although it is used by the author to demonstrate *contrario sensu* the racism of the cleanliness of blood, it places matters in their place: the Expulsion, one of the most serious adversities suffered by the Jewish people and retained in its collective memory, in some way casts a shadow on the discrimination against New Christians, something not exempt of historical importance given the precedent that it set.

To explain the motives and causes of this rejection, I also discuss the correlating parallelism of the phenomenon of assimilation and its failure, generally noticed by prominent Jewish figures that I shall mention. One recalls the often told anecdote of Trotsky, who when asked by the grand rabbi of Moscow for his help in protecting his congregations, replied that he no longer was Jewish, to which the rabbi snapped bitterly, "The Trotskys create the revolution, but it is the Bronsteins (which was Trotsky's surname) that pay the bill."

All that has been presented heretofore is part of the outline that I intend to use in the consideration of the first point: that of intertemporal comparisons.

I shall then describe how I have developed the next point, the synchronic, related to the comparison of events where there is contemporaneity (without detriment to the interweaving that exists between the synchronic and diachronic aspects). This occurs because of the nature of Spanish history, which occasionally makes inevitable the discussion of subjects that belong to the first part of this work. All this leads us to ask ourselves and analyze whether the anti–Semitism of Central Europe's modernity entered Spain, that country "without Jews." (Spain went, centuries after their expulsion in 1492, from being one of the nations with the most Jews to one not having any.)

Precisely because of that circumstance, Pérez believes that such European anti–Semitism not only did not enter Spain, but that Spain had forgotten its Jews. A different opinion is held by Álvarez Chillida, who together with Finkielkraut believes that modern anti–Semitism has two aspects: on the one hand, the negative as to the admittance into society of individuals of Jewish origin, and on the other, the conspiratorial. For this analysis we must address liberal Spain and Francoist Spain, and, as a part of the latter, the Spanish Civil War, the Jews, and Franco's attitude with regard to the Holocaust (still very controversial), to determine eventually the degrees of comparability of Spanish anti–Semitism. These include both the Inquisitorial and the post–Inquisitorial, with modern anti–Semitism, the Nuremberg laws, Nazism and the Holocaust.

To achieve these ends it is also important to show the peculiarities that Spain presents in relation to the Jewish issue. One of them is the existence of a certain Sephardophilia of the right, of the nationalistic Catholic sectors, which include Franco himself, and the continued existence of a social but not official anti–Semitism that still exists, as is in the case of the *Chuetas* of Majorca, even though they are Catholic.

Perhaps this makes it possible to apply the concept of Allo-Semitism described by Zigmunt Bauman, because it is neutral from that viewpoint. It also serves to understand both the love and hate for the Jews, and therefore being ambivalent.[11]

It is precisely the tragic Civil War, with all the propagandistic sequels entailed in any warlike conflict, that created a fertile terrain for the political exploitation of the Jewish issue. At the same time we see the tension caused by the racial concept of German National Socialism, an extremely valuable ally for the nationalist faction, with the Spanish conception of that subject. I analyze how the worldwide, mostly Ashkenazi, Jewish public opinion stood in relation to the warring faction, and how the Sephardic Jews were affected by the division of the Spanish nation.

Within this framework it is important to consider the high proportion of Jews that joined the international brigades, also involving Argentine Jews who constituted approximately 5 percent of all the volunteers of that nationality. According to Boragina, Argentina established the *Comisión Israelita de Ayuda a España* (Jewish Committee for aid to Spain) with branches abroad, which edited propaganda and a newspaper in Yiddish, as also did the Brigades in Spain.[12]

Within that nationalist propaganda that exuded an intense hatred toward the abstract Jew, there must be noted also the conspiratorial component of modern anti-Semitism that—as will be seen within the text of this work—is the result of a long tradition—that goes back centuries.

With the beginning of the Second World War, there is an intensification of anti-Semitic persecution by Nazi Germany, which caused a change in what was originally a policy of expulsion of Jews with the prospect of exile to other countries. Regrettably this was difficult.

At the outset I remarked that there is a strong controversy regarding the role that Franco played in relation to the Holocaust. This occurs because, with or without reason, a version was created describing him as "savior of Jews." The question has its complexities, particularly when one considers the possibility that some Sephardic Jews residing in other countries had to acquire Spanish citizenship as made legally possible by a provision enacted during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. (In 2014, the Spanish government extended the opportunity to Sephardic Jews to gain Spanish citizenship.[13]) Those who see that characterization of Franco as an exaggeration understand that it responds to a myth with which important Jewish sectors of the United States had a good deal to do.

In the conclusion, I refer to my understanding of the degree of comparability of all the aspects analyzed: an analysis from which a consideration of the Holocaust cannot be absent nor that of the differentiation between German society's anti-Semitism and Nazism. After gaining power, the latter imposed upon the former its own extreme and exterminating anti-Semitism. There are testimonials concerning that divergence, as when the philologist

Klemperer recounts his having been subjected to forced labor in a factory where a "Nazi atmosphere" was not present, and where he was treated with a certain respect by being addressed as "Herr Professor."[14] The peculiarity of the Holocaust and of Nazism itself are confronted within the Nuremberg Laws, which, in some ways, reflected the internal tensions in Nazi Germany, since Nazi groups like the *Sturmabteilung*, or the SA, criticized that legislative policy for being what they considered excessively moderate.[15]

Finally, we examine Hanna Arendt's important contribution of the essentialist conception of "Jewishness." For this author it was possible to escape Judaism by conversion, but from "Jewishness" there is no escape.

1

Historical Comparisons

Questioning historical comparisons. Anachronism. Establishing the limits of comparative terms and concepts. Critique of Le Goff, Domínguez Ortiz and the alleged *Letter from the Jews of Constantinople* as an antecedent to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Opinions of historians and other authorities.

Distant historical events are often compared temporally, but these comparisons are also often discredited as being considered anachronistic. This qualifier almost always comes with such forcefulness as to suggest its unappealability. It is historians who are the most sensitive to these questions. Terms such as "decontextualization" are used when historical contexts are not kept in mind, and because of that omission the concept of "dehistoricization" arises.

One of the most questioned analogies is that which is made between the Spanish Inquisition and the Holocaust, which, on the other hand, is facilitated because the events that punctuated the Iberian persecution are more a site within Jewish memory than mere considerations of historiographical relevance. On this subject, the sociologist Zigmunt Bauman, without proposing to refute those questions, maintained that "few links of causality are more evident than those that exist between anti-Semitism and the Holocaust."[1] The majority of the historians that study premodern societies, especially the Spanish, believe that to consider as racist the discrimination of Judeo-*conversos* before the Modern Age is an anachronism susceptible to the introduction of error because they consider that racism is a radically discontinuous manifestation within different historical contexts. According to Nirenberg, they have established a kind of historical "sanitary circle" around that ideology that does not allow the in depth study of the question.[2]

Nonetheless, we can state that because of the imprecision of the terms,

the raising of questions generally is on legitimate ground. Therefore, to prevent such occurrence, the comparison should essentially be made having as subjects the racisms of Germany and of Spain. The terms used are almost always emblematic and encompassing a wider context. In addition to this, the uniqueness of the Holocaust with all that it implies must be considered.

When the purpose and the terms of the analysis are rigorously defined, the objections diminish and the comparison cannot be so lightly contested. There is no one who, in one way or another, does not use such means to make certain historical situations more understandable. The protectiveness of historians regarding these questions is also related to the fact that writers, politicians, philosophers, anthropologists, journalists and other intellectuals outside of historical science encroach into it.

It is because of this that the anthropologist Stallaert suggests an enriching complementarity among the different disciplines. She maintains that "Spanish history offers to anthropologists a very interesting and extensively documented case which allows the study of the ethnicity phenomenon from a longer term perspective so as to understand better an ethnic conflict, and to such end these studies should adopt a double historical-anthropological lens."[3]

Some historians, in their invalidating zeal, which in some heretofore mentioned cases is amply justifiable due to the abuses that are committed with highly out of context comparisons, set some principles that must be heeded so as to determine in each case the degree of congruency of the parallel that is being analyzed as well as the agreements arising when comparing different times and places, that, nonetheless, present troubling similarities. When Isaiah Berlin maintained that the insistent concern with context may have devastating consequences on the rationale, he received a severe broadside from British historian E. H. Carr.

The historians' protectiveness is usually strictly professional, as it is in Bloch's case. For him the anachronism is the most unpardonable of sins with regard to the science of time.[4] Nevertheless, it is precisely Marc Bloch who, although not backtracking from that strict pronouncement, adds the concept that there is something unchanging in history: "mankind," which must be considered, because although it has changed much throughout time, there is in its nature a backdrop that allows us to understand the present by the past.[5] The comparison—according to Bloch, who is a passionate defender of comparative history—suggests a presence of the non-contemporary in that which is contemporary. It is Bloch who—according to what Kollesek and André Burguière assert—has demonstrated that with comparativism, history could gain scientific rigor without losing its identity.[6]

Another example of that forceful effort to disqualify is that provided by Eric Hobsbawm, who warned about the flaws in certain images of the past that

shape the anachronism (which for history is more dangerous than the lie).[7] The reality is that evaluating intertemporal comparisons negatively, because of the sole fact that that is what they are, is often somewhat hasty and, at times, contradictory, thus analogies should not be rejected just because they are analogies. According to Raquel San Martín, that is what the medievalist Le Goff believed, adding, "Although he rejects anachronisms, his popularizing style always places him close to them" and because of that he "comes and goes from history to the present—as shown by Bloch—to find echoes of medieval mentality in contemporary events."[8]

As can be seen, when undertaking such comparative exercise Le Goff invokes Bloch. At the same time the criticisms to that method of interpretation should be considered when, as is noted by historians Sábato and Lobato, they flatten the past, simplify it, and equate it to the present without pondering the differences and the changes undergone by society; that is to say that analogies should be used carefully and critically. Despite that demolishing criticism, let us note that it is not absolute, inasmuch as it permits historical comparisons, as long as those differences and changes are noted. That recommendation is made so as to prevent scientific history's being used as a source for political disputes and so that genealogies not be traced back so lightly. It is no more or less than a critique to biased accounts.[9]

Another objection is that which is formulated by Spanish academic and historian Domínguez Ortiz. He, as will be seen, has been one of the most severe critics of the parallelism we are studying but nonetheless uses that construction to compare events that occur centuries apart. He does so when he deals with an anti–Judaic falsification of an alleged 16th-century *Letter from the Jews of Constantinople* as a conspiracy against the Spanish nation and concludes that it can be considered as an antecedent of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It should be noted that these events, so historically distant, are specifically framed in the history of anti–Semitism, which is what concerns us, something that makes the comparison more consistent.

Likewise, Álvarez Chillida holds that that apocryphal letter mentioned by Domínguez Ortiz (purportedly directed to the rabbis of Zaragoza answering their query on the attitude to be adopted in response to the 1492 Expulsion decree), which was circulated by Cardinal Silíceo, is of exceptional importance because with it we face one of the first anti–Semitic falsifications in European history and the precursor of that sadly famous defamation, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Faced by this, we ask ourselves; how can these two defamatory "monuments" not be allowed to be linked historically?

Further, Álvarez Chillida draws our attention to an antecedent of falsi-

fication in the work of Quevedo, who, when inspired by the *Letters from the Jews of Constantinople*, imagines a secret meeting of Jews and *conversos* to finalize their plans against Christianity.

He also cites Furio Jesi, an Italian scholar of ritual crime and myths in general, who believes that those falsifications already existed in the Spain of the 16th century. For their part, the French anti–Semites adapted that message to their environment.[10]

It is important to pause on that work of Quevedo, for whom the true enemies were the *conversos*, as congenitally perfidious beings:

> *una gota de sangre que de los judios se deriva ... siempre empeora la buena sangre con que se junta, y por eso la busca* (a drop of blood that is derived from the Jews ... always worsens the good blood with which it joins, and thus it seeks it).

Here Álvarez Chillida notes that, by mixing heredity, lineage and religion as inextricably linked, we find ourselves in the "Old Christian protoracism" that is casticism.[11]

That persistence of the anti–Jewish hatred should not lead us to the other extreme: to consider the Jewish people as without a history. Netanyahu notes this very well when he refutes Sánchez Albornoz, who maintained that there existed a great difference between the Jewish and Spanish mentalities, because he viewed the Jewish people as something monolithic from the days of Moses up to his own time, without considering the change of circumstances that exist in different epochs.[12]

When disagreeing with Kisch,[13] who considers the aspects being analyzed as not comparable by maintaining that they are two distinct histories, Netanyahu contends that the two must be aligned because "the patterns of history may repeat themselves endlessly, but they never repeat themselves fully." It was so, as observed by Netanyahu, when the massive conversions of Jews in 1109 and in 1391 are compared, and there we have more than two centuries between the two events.[14]

Another caution critical in nature is that made by Corbin with respect to another situation very much related to this work: the Inquisition. In his history of Christianity, Corbin considers the difficulty in doing a comparative analysis of history without anachronisms, maintaining, "The overall evaluation of the Inquisitions and their impact on the modern era, despite everything, still is a challenge, given the large number of documents left by such fastidious institutions, and also considering the distorting lens of the totalitarian experiences of the 20th century, from which it is difficult for the historian to become detached, in order to analyze without anachronisms that 'thought police.'"[15]

It is undoubtedly a correct observation, but let us not forget the plea for forgiveness by the Church for the abuses of those tribunals, something that at a minimum shows some historical embarrassment.

Another example of how difficult it is to observe all these recommendations so that historical analyses are not anachronistic, is Bunge's (who as an epistemologist is even more strict) statement that: "Social changes ... are irreversible. Not even counterrevolutions can succeed in fully re-establishing the previous status quo." Notwithstanding, this did not prevent him from accusing the University of Cordóba of having returned to the Middle Ages by having regulated the field of Homeopathy in the Medical School of Cordóba.[16]

From the varied spectrum of scholars who are not historians there are also references that deserve to be noted because they have an impact and lead to reflection. One of them is by the philosopher Feinmann and has the uniqueness that it expressly mentions that, because he is not a historian, he does not feel obligated to adopt the precautions that are generally required so as not to fall into comparative excesses. The explanation will appear simplistic, but at the same time merits attention: "These parallelisms—I know—are risky and irritate many historians, only because I am not a historian and—like Borges—I am fascinated by the symmetries because they open channels for the deeper understanding of the events." With this, Feinmann joins those who find no epistemological drawbacks in that comparative task.[17]

In a pedagogical sense, and despite the fact that it does not deal with the comparability that concerns us because he does not find any racist signs in the cleanliness of blood, Moradiellos in his book *El Oficio de Historiador* maintains along the same line, that the historical sciences exercise essential tasks of pedagogy, illustration, and also a critique and cathartic filter in our societies. He mentions the case of the common and journalistic language that uses historical themes to relate comparatively present human realities as clear and persistent examples of the past in the present. As an example, he mentions that it is often said, "He was as prudent as Solon and as harsh as Draco," referring to the seven Greek sages, or also when it is said, "This task will take as long as the Reconquest," when taking as a comparable example the eight centuries during which the Moors were on the Peninsula.[18]

At the same time, Agamben curiously praises the anachronism that, together with remoteness at times, grants a special ability to grasp its moment.[19] All this does not mean failing to recognize that no context is preserved in a pure state and that the intertemporal comparisons always are constructions of the imagination. In this sense Bauman explains that anti-Semitism over time has adapted itself to the contexts, and that is precisely what makes it relatively comparable (over time).[20]

Despite the fact that Netanyahu, the historian who most has stirred the waters on the real motivations for the creation of the Inquisition, clarified that he did not wish to establish a parity in the events and pinpointed the differences, significant similarities must be noted. For example, the racial purity intoxication alluded to by Mechoulan was defined by way of the vital fluid (blood), and the Regulation in the Reich's Citizenship Law also speaks of preserving the purity of the German people. Further, the work of Rosenberg, the ideologue of German racism, mentions the word "blood" three times in one paragraph.[21]

With these qualifications, I believe that it is around the comparative connection of the policies of cleanliness of blood in Spain and the racial laws sanctioned in Nazi Germany where the analysis of the question must be focused, because it is those historical realities that best show similarities. The comparison is facilitated by the statutory format, which is what happened when a revolt sanctioned both the "Cleanliness of Blood" Statute in 1449 in Toledo[22] and later the racist legislation of Nuremberg in 1935.

I have chosen all these considerations in order to give us a sufficiently critical and balanced view when undertaking the comparison that is the subject of this study using the most appropriate approach, while taking special pains to avoid that which is called Godwin's law, which is to try and end a discussion by resorting to derogatory statements, for example, by mentioning Hitler or Nazism.

2

History and Background of the Discrimination That in Spain Went beyond the Religious Boundaries

History and antecedents of the discrimination (that went beyond religious boundaries) in Spain. Américo Castro's theory that attributes a Jewish origin to the Inquisition and to the purity of blood. Opposing opinions and refutation by Netanyahu and Baer. The massive conversions during the reign of the Visigoths and the Church's reaction. Discrimination of the converted by the Almohads. Importance of the migration of the Jews to the kingdoms of the North during the *Reconquista* (Reconquest). The Jews in Christian Spain and the social reaction to massive conversions. The 1109 events in Toledo. Legal discrimination of the *conversos* limited: *nuper renati*. Proselytizing activity of the Dominicans in defense of the converted. Civil authorities waver between agreeing with anti-*converso* hate and its repression in legislation by forbidding offensive terms like *tornadizo* (turncoat) and—the appearance for the first time in history—*marrano* (swine). 1449 Revolt of Toledo and the *pesquisa* (inquiry) as the immediate precursor of the creation of the Inquisition. Outline of a racial theory based on the statutes.

Although the historiographical controversy that we have analyzed allowed us in some way to delve "quickly" into the question, we shall address some antecedents of Spanish genealogic discrimination. I had taken as symbolic of the discrimination against the Judeo-*conversos* the events that took place in Toledo in 1449, but there are historical precedents that in some ways marked the path.

Netanyahu deals with them by considering them as antecedents to the Toledean explosion that statutorily consecrated the cleanliness of blood, which he considers the founding dogma of the Inquisition. This institution—he believes—was created by a racial impulse that remained more or less hidden while King Ferdinand lived because he did not permit that this tribunal extend itself beyond the limits of its functions as guardian of the faith.

Before studying the precursor events, and because for some it is an important antecedent, I will examine Américo Castro's curious (odd) theory, apparently obtained from Menéndez y Pelayo, that attributes to the Jews having inspired the Spanish racists.[1] It would be a cruel irony of destiny if the victims were to be the inspirers of the instrument from which they suffered. Examining such a historical hypothesis in some detail will allow us to perceive the porous boundaries that separate the religions of peoples or ethnicities.

But what is even stranger is that Américo Castro, together with Sánchez Albornoz, also confers a Jewish origin to the instrument that most strongly distinguished the persecutions of the Jews in Spain: the Inquisition. I shall analyze this hypothesis as well, although the basis on which it rests is based more on the process for the judgment of heresies (which would be based on the procedural rules of the Aljamas).

The word *pesquisa* is approximately equivalent to the expression *inquisición*. Nevertheless, we must note *ab initio* some differences, including within the procedure itself as stipulated by the Castilian laws. Effectively, when the objective of the penal prosecution, which is the attainment of the real truth, could not be obtained by other regular means, there existed procedural alternatives.

Castilian laws are clear on this subject, inasmuch as they grant several legal guaranties to the accused, such as the right to request the names of the accusers and to receive a copy of the allegation, etc. All this is precisely defined in *Las Partidas*, VII.1.14.

Contrarily, in the ecclesiastic inquisitorial process of Torquemada, the accused lacked the basic legal guaranties. Because of this, Sánchez Albornoz reasons that the Jewish proceedings were imitated. It must be noted that the *Privilegio General* of 1283 and the *Fueros* of Aragón forbid the performance of an *inquisitio* against anyone for any cause.

On the other hand, as is affirmed by Yitzhak Baer, several Jewish communities obtained "privileges" that protected them from inquisitorial type proceedings. In this vein, for example, in 1274 the Jewish community of Perpignan obtained the "privilege" that, if a Jew were accused, before the corresponding inquisition was started, he had to be provided a copy of the accusation and the name of the accuser, the latter being subjected to the *lex talionis* in case he

could not prove the accusation. In addition, the accused was to be provided with an lawyer (*advocatus*) to defend him; likewise, torture of the accused was prohibited.

The Inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church, so-called because it used the requirement of inquiry, has its structure and foundation in the Roman judicial tradition. It was developed in the first half of the 13th century against the heretics in the south of France. Thus, the 1246 Council of Béziers established the inquisitorial process, which had the same characteristics when later applied by Torquemada's Inquisition, which itself descended directly from that earlier Dominican Inquisition.

What is certain is that in this process the historical evolution of the conflict which exists between the "accusatory" and the "inquisitive" procedural systems can be noted. Curiously, the latter still remains in effect in many parts of the world.

According to Baer, the method of the *inquisitio* (trial without previous accusation and keeping secret the names of the witnesses) began to be established in the Middle Ages—during the 13th century, especially in the south of Europe—through the influence of Roman law. This was the procedure that became established in the inquisitorial tribunals of the Church and was also introduced into the civil and royal tribunals, and finally traces began to appear even in the procedures of the tribunals of Jewish communities.

However, in this latter case, it is necessary and imperative to point to substantial and fundamental differences: during the times of the autonomous Jewish State they are found in the Sanhedrin tractate of the Mishná. The sole method of proof was by the testimony of witnesses. The whole proceeding was oral, but the accused was kept informed both of the nature of the charge and of the testimony of the witnesses. Any member of the Sanhedrin could serve as defense advocate for the accused.[2]

Although Baer believes that some common features can be found in both procedures, the inquisitorial was a tribunal whose objective was to preserve the Holy Catholic Faith, whereas in Jewish communities there never were special tribunals for matters of faith. The Holy Office Tribunal often acted through accusations by informers or also by secret denouncement. Here is where the defamer (*malsin*) or informer appeared. In the inquisitorial proceeding the names of the informers were kept secret, and in the majority of the cases this gave rise to unjust proceedings resulting in tremendous inequities and irregularities. Inversely, Jewish tribunals did not accept the testimony of defamers in any case, and in that same vein, it can also be stated that questions of religion generally were not objects for any judicial or political proceedings.

Accordingly then, to establish the differences noted earlier, a valuable

antecedent is the Privileges, obtained by the Jews of the kingdoms of Aragón regarding the Penal Law relating to the maintenance of internal order and the defense against slanderers and defamers.

It is because of this that Netanyahu disagrees with Sánchez Albornoz, who stated, "Today there is no doubt that the Spanish Inquisition was a satanic hispano–Jewish invention." For this assertion Sánchez Albornoz uses as a basis the description by Neuman of the treatment that Jewish tribunals gave to "informers," a treatment where occasionally one can find indications of inquisitorial procedures and the use of torture to guarantee the confession. However, Netanyahu points out that Sánchez Albornoz does not refer to Neuman's clarification of the matter, where the latter says, "Fortunately these ideas did not find fertile ground in Jewry." Thus, by generalizing, Sánchez Albornoz reveals what appears to be an anti–Judaic predisposition.

Those "informers," who were members of the Jewish community, "informed" the authorities of offenses supposedly committed by some, in general wealthy and influential members of that community, but which generally were false and fabricated for purposes of revenge. More than "informants," Netanhyahu points out, they were libelers (*malsines*) and slanderers intent on undermining the king's trust in the Jewish leaders and the good relations that generally existed between the Jews and the royal administration.

Consequently, they endangered the well-being and the very existence of the community itself, and when they could not be dissuaded from persisting in such behavior, they were considered incorrigible criminals, enemies of their people that deserved to be silenced by any means possible, including the death penalty, for which royal authorization was required.

The kings were aware of the danger created by those individuals, since those accusations and libels could lead to the people rising against prominent Jews, and, therefore, gave the Jewish communities the right to proceed when the judgment entailed mutilation or death.

Netanyahu studies the antecedents of that type of privilege given by the kings. He notes that the procedures for the judgment of the *malsines* kept being modified. Eight decades after the first grant, we find that Pedro IV of Aragón in 1346 granted to the Jews of Zaragoza (Saragossa) a new privilege giving them the right to sentence *malsines* to death

> without reliance on Jewish law and permitted them to proceed with or without an inquisition with the witnesses made known or not with the accused given or denied the right of offering a defense, all this in accordance with what the judges, or most of them, will regard as the best procedure.[3]

It is, without doubt, a matter of unlimited powers and with procedural boundaries that negated every possibility of defense. The danger in such an

arbitrary procedure became evident in a dramatic case that, for Netanyahu, was a "hard nut to crack" for the Jewish community of Castile. The case in question was the execution of Joseph Pichón, who became the victim of a maneuver orchestrated within the bounds of that procedural discretion.

We believe that the history of the Pichón case will be useful for the better understanding of that procedural situation, which made it possible for those historians to elaborate such a controversial theory on the models followed by the inquisitorial tribunal. To such an end we shall summarize Netanyahu's extensive development of the case.[4]

This question falls within the setting of the Civil War that originated from the conflict of Don Enrique, Count of Trastámara, the illegitimate son of Alfonso XI, who wished to replace his half-brother don Pedro as king. According to Netanyahu, during Pedro's reign Jewish influence attained levels perhaps never reached before in Spain, and Enrique, looking for support, took advantage of this situation by stirring up an anti-Semitic campaign because he believed that by attacking the Jews he would attract the cities' masses, a belief that unfortunately was confirmed.

After a series of military actions, in which many Jews that supported the King in the defense of Toledo died, Enrique succeeded in overthrowing King Pedro. When Enrique assumed the throne, he changed his attitude toward the Jews since he was looking for financiers and well-prepared tax farmers. He soon realized that the top experts in that field were mostly among the Jews. Since those experts had been employed by Pedro, they would not adhere to Enrique while there was the remotest possibility that Pedro would again rule Castile.

Accordingly Enrique tried to manage his economic needs with the help of some Jewish businessmen that had never been in Pedro's service. Joseph Pichón was one of those Jews that he thought was particularly promising. Pichón did not belong to any of the eminent Jewish families nor did he participate in community activities. He was a man engaged in his business and did not enjoy the prestige of Pedro's Jews. Even so, he was able to win the trust of King Enrique and became the head of the tax collectors. This new situation gave rise to jealousy by King Pedro's Jewish economists, who feared that he would be successful in his difficult task. They conspired against his work, and at the same time they described his image as that of a fortune-hunting adventurer to whom the fate of his brethren did not matter. In addition, they accused him of breaking the Jewish front at such a delicate moment.

When Pichón requested the collaboration of those experts, they turned deaf ears to his requests; however, he did obtain the collaboration of some wealthy Jews, and his results pleasantly impressed Enrique. This also gave rise to jealousy on the part of the Christians of the court and of the city councils,

who, in addition, were astonished to see that the King followed the steps of his predecessors. The higher Pichón's position was, the greater was the desire to topple him, and finally, as Netanyahu states, that desire was transformed into determination and that determination into a subtle plot, something not new among the Jewish courtiers in Castile.

They influenced the King by rousing the suspicion that Pichón had misappropriated considerable funds. However, after being arrested he overcame those suspicions and returned to his position of *Contador mayor*. It was a proceeding, as expressed by the chronicler Ayala, of ill will. Mutual threats were uttered until the King took the side of the accusers, but Enrique died in 1379, and the plotters feared that with the new king, Pichón would attempt to take revenge.

Apparently Pichón was negotiating with the new King Juan I to be reappointed as *Contador mayor*. When his enemies found that he was about to achieve his goal, something that would harm them because he would be in a position to deny them rental contracts, consequently considering themselves threatened, they decided to get rid of him before he could do them greater harm. To this end, they developed the complex procedure for the judging of the *malsines*.

We have already seen that the Jewish communities of Castile and Aragón had at that time the right to pronounce death sentences against "informers" (*malshinim*), in reality maligners who because of grudges or a desire to destroy them, falsely accused members of the community of offenses. The kings also considered the *malsines* as a threat against law and order, and, therefore, they normally confirmed those sentences and authorized that they be carried out by the royal executioners.

According to the privileges granted to the Jews, it was permitted for their judges to sentence the "informers" with testimony that they considered to be credible, without the need to show the proofs to the accused or to confront him with the witnesses that declared against him. On the basis of this strange right, Pichón's enemies prepared their plan, understanding that if they gave him the opportunity to respond, he not only would refute them but the attempt to have him judged as a *malsin* would turn against the accusers. Further, Pichón's Jewish friends, among whom was Abravanel, an individual who, until his conversion, had great prestige in the Jewish community, would expose the shameful motives of the instigators.

Thus, using the influence that as leaders of the community they had over the rabbis, they were able to convince them not to summon Pichón and to sentence him based exclusively on the evidence that they, the conspirators, would give. This accord with the rabbis was the first part of the plan. They also agreed

with them that they would pronounce the judgment when they obtained the extraordinary right from the king that allowed the Jews to sentence the *malsines* to death without the requirement, which had existed until then, that the king confirm every decision, because were the king to see the name of the accused *malsin*, the sentence would be rejected.

Nonetheless, the plot could fail because the king might likewise ask who the *malsin* was that they wished to be rid of. According to Ayala, to prevent that from happening, the plotters bribed some of the king's favorites so that, if necessary, they would tell the new and inexperienced monarch that the kings of Spain generally had confirmed those sentences and almost automatically authorized their implementation.

Finally the king signed the decisive document. There was one more obstacle to overcome: the possibility that the bailiff, the probable executioner, upon noticing that the man he had to kill was Enrique's famous chief accountant, could delay the execution so as to obtain confirmation. However, he did not do this because he felt honored by the order and the mission.

They then went to Pichón's home early in the morning when he still was half asleep. They convinced him to come outside, where the bailiff arrested him and decapitated him then and there. Needless to say, the execution surprised the court and the kingdom, because it was considered an assassination, and from then on, following the judgment and death sentence for those conspirators, the Jewish communities were impeded from imposing penalties that would entail the spillage of blood.

This treatment of *malsines* is the system that, according to Sánchez Albornoz, the Inquisition copied from the Jews and which, additionally, was extended by a specific action of Jews and directed by ex–Jews.

According to Netanyahu, the Toledo rebels in 1449 were the first mentors of the inquisitorial idea. All of them were Old Christians that installed a tribunal of the faith to judge *conversos* accused of Judaizing. Additionally, Pope Nicholas V authorized the establishment of an Inquisition, and the *conversos* had neither art nor part in all of that. It is on this point that Netanyahu considers that we must dwell, because as he explains, although an analogy exists, this is not definitive proof of a causal relation. Moreover, Sánchez Albornoz's previously described analysis would be extremely biased because it uses only that one event, omitting the consideration of the methods followed by the papal Inquisition in Languedoc, in other countries and, of course, in Aragón.

He also reproaches Sánchez Albornoz for not having taken into account an important work, such as that of Lea, where the author describes in detail how the procedural system arose. In addition, Netanyahu considers that he could not have been unfamiliar with other sources, such as Eymeric's *Directo-*

rium Inquisitorium, which would have permitted him to arrive at Lea's conclusions. Eymeric, a Dominican friar and Aragón's Inquisitor General, wrote a treatise that was based on Canon Law, papal bulls, encyclical letters, Conciliar decrees, and on the constitutions of the various local Inquisitions. That directory was much respected by popes and theologians and soon became the most consulted work on inquisitorial matters.[5] It is indisputable that the Inquisition—which was a creation of the Dominicans, who, in addition, formulated its rules—guided itself by that treatise and not by Jewish judicial procedures.

Netanyahu stresses: it would be unsustainable to assert that the Pope would authorize an institution proceeding from the Judaic system and not from the inquisitorial methods known by the popes and rooted in a tradition of more than 250 years. As Lea says it very specifically, "This infamy was the inheritance of the Old Inquisition."[6] Nonetheless, Netanyahu considers that the origin of the Jews' procedures in the prosecution of the *malsines* was, as previously mentioned, a "tough nut to crack" and is a phenomenon that belonged to the sphere of political warfare rather than to law. However, they were procedures that although excessively arbitrary would not have been granted by the king had they not had a foundation in the legal system.

There also exists another very interesting hypothesis that analyzes the possibility that the causal relationship would have been the reverse: the Jews (who knew of the Inquisitions of Aragón and Languedoc with their formal rules as well as their practical modes of procedure) would, according to this hypothesis, have succeeded in persuading the kings of Spain that if the Christians considered it possible to prosecute their most vile offenders with actions not based on their Common Law, they (the Jews) likewise should have the authorization to proceed against their most degenerate criminals in the same manner. Had it been thus, then the relationship was exactly the opposite of what was affirmed by Sánchez Albornoz.[7] Finally, Netanyahu considers that Sánchez Albornoz's theory is characterized by its misunderstandings and large errors, all due to his biased idea of Jewish behavior, and concludes that Sánchez Albornoz makes assertions that are not only wrong but are also absurd.[8]

Dealing with the other theory, we can say that, although an anti–Judaic predisposition can't be attributed to Castro as is evidenced by the strong debate between himself and Claudio Sánchez Albornoz regarding the Jewish presence in Spain, he comes close to those who put forth the previously mentioned interpretations of the origins of the Inquisition.

One of the few who noted that attitude of Castro was Azancot, who criticizes him as an undercover anti–Semite. Azancot contends that Castro is not the great "conqueror" as it is believed, given that despite being considered a

"black sheep" by traditionalist historians, he lays upon the Moors and the Jews the responsibility for all the communitarian vices, such as fanaticism, intolerance, dogmatism.[9] This contradictory situation is noticed by Castro and motivates his acerbic remark that he was misinterpreted from opposite sides; for some he attained the high rank of "head rabbi of New York," while among upper-class Jews he is seen as an implacable anti-Semite.[10]

In his eagerness to illustrate his assertions relating to racism, Castro does not limit himself to the mention of biblical or Talmudic sources or situations from the past, but rather without fear of anachronisms he takes examples from the present. Thus he states,

> I have proven with documentary evidence in *De la Edad Conflictiva* that the statute of the cleanliness of blood was above all derived from the books of Ezra and Nehemias. To this, I shall add this gem taken from the *New York Times* (Jan. 19, 1965), a company which, as is known, is Jewish-American. The article is signed by Brooks Atkinson. *"Miss Rita Eitani is the daughter of a Jew, educated as a Jew in Germany, suffered pressures under the Nazis, was interned by the British in Cyprus while trying to enter Palestine. Later she belonged to a Kibbutz where, according to the Jerusalem Post, 'she literally built Israel with her own hands.' But in 1965 a malsin denounced her to the Ministry of the Interior, that then declared that this woman 'is not a Jew because she did not have a Jewish mother.'"* In our language she was not an "old Jewess."[11]

It is with these expressions, when referring to a case that contains some of the aspects around which he constructs his theory, that he displays a certain prejudiced attitude, as when characterizing the *New York Times* as a Jewish-American firm, when the correct thing would have been to say that it is an American firm and that its current owners are Jewish. I believe that he would not have had a similar view, in the case of a medium whose owners were Catholics so as to describe it as a Catholic firm. It might also be understood that he mentions a source linked with Judaism so that his point of view not be attacked as biased. I hold that Castro is mistaken, because although it is true that the Jewish lineage is transmitted by the mother (some—like Parkes—find the reason in the certainty of descendancy given by the mother in contrast to the father), it is a trait that transcends the religious to enter into what today we would call the requisites for the acquisition of a "nationality."

In the Jewish religion conversion is accepted without there later being differences of "quality" between the converted and those that are not. This woman, had she formally converted, would not have been faced with that outcome. With respect to the irony that he incurs on mentioning a *malsin* of the 20th century, we shall soon see that that image is not exclusively prototypical of Judaism. By assigning Jewish origins to both the cleanliness of blood and the Inquisition, Castro originated, as could not be otherwise, a historical con-

troversy in which, with regard to the religious tribunal, he curiously found, as we have seen, the support of Sánchez Albornoz and of Caro Baroja.

Another of the arguments wielded by Castro to bolster his theory on the model followed for the "cleanliness of blood"is that of the "elected peoples," that according to the Bible are those of Israel. In my work *La Leyenda Negra de España y los Marranos,* I endeavored to refute that argument precisely when the subject is raised within the historiographic debate on "being Spanish" between Castro and Sánchez Albornoz.

The latter emphatically differentiated the Spanish and Jewish peoples by arguing that "nothing of that which is essential in the psychic structure of the Hebrew people left tracks among the Spanish. Even more, a sharp antagonism confronts that which is Hebraic and that which is Hispanic.... It is easier to join fire with water than to find kinship ties between the Hispanic and the Hebraic." One of the reasons that he advances is precisely that which, despite their differences, is invoked by Castro.

Sánchez Albornoz also believes that that difference occurs because in the Hebrew religion the collective overcomes the individual. He believes that more than the relationship of man with God, the most essential bond is that of Israel with the Most High. For belonging to the people that have received the Law, it is not man but rather the Israeli man that is at the apex of the hierarchy of the masters of the world. Undoubtedly he is alluding to the "chosen people," a subject that has served anti–Semitism well by confusing that designation, since the "choice" as people was not a privilege but rather a burden. Because of this the use of that rationale by the Spanish historian is, to say the least, mistaken.[12]

A text by Levinas covers the concept masterfully: "It is for the whole of humanity that Judaism came. We have the reputation of believing that we are the chosen people and this reputation causes much harm to that universalism. The idea of a chosen people should not be considered as a source of pride. It is not awareness of exceptional rights but rather of exceptional duties. It is the attribute of moral awareness itself. An awareness that is felt at the center of the world and for which the world is not homogenous.... The selection is a gain of obligations which are felt in the 'I' of moral conscience."[13]

Netanyahu also decisively refutes with great scholarship Sánchez Albornoz's hypotheses, analyzing each and all of the reasons used, highlighting, as previously mentioned, their errors, pointing out "two fundamental flaws introduced by the Inquisition: the system of proofs, that was the key for their verdicts in their prosecutions and which made it impossible to obtain justice, and the racist ideology that it supported and promoted."

It must be noted that this author, faithful to what he states in his work

The Origins of the Inquisition, does not separate the two aspects, the inquisitorial and the racial, but rather, on the contrary, for him they hold an intimate bond.

When Netanyahu considers the theory of the purity of blood, he notes with particular irony how Castro shows us that, for the Spanish, racial discrimination was installed not through the fault of the Spaniards themselves, but rather that of those who became its victims: the Judeo-*conversos*, because at the moment of conversion they would have brought into Spanish society "the Semitic system of purity of lineage."[14]

He holds that Castro did not make a systematic presentation of his theory but rather that he offered it in a piecemeal fashion based on biblical, Talmudic and medieval documents. With respect to the divine selection implying superiority, he (Castro) means that it is just that: a choice by God, and only He knows the reasons. For Castro the biblical concept reflects "the magic and spiritual value that some primitive people assign to blood." Netanyahu justly criticizes that affirmation by maintaining that the corresponding verse states that Israel was chosen among all the people of the earth to dedicate itself to the service of the divine and that in it there is no allusion to the "magic of the blood" or anything that would point to a racial tenet.

Additionally, Netanyahu explains that it does not contain the minimal reference to the reason for the election, which, on the other hand, he points out, is one of the most complex and ambiguous biblical ideas that arose from two traditions than never melded. He adds, in this regard, that Castro's misunderstanding arises from his confusing race with blood by relying on Latin. However, Castro does not consider that in the old Hebrew the word did not designate race or lineage: the term most used for that purpose in Hebrew was not "blood" but rather "seed."

In this manner, he continues, Castro attributed the policy of purity to the biblical doctrine of "the choice" and additionally thought that the proofs were in the prohibitions against mixed marriages of Israelites with Canaanites and in the severe restrictions against four other neighboring nations. In addition, to sustain his assertions, Castro mentions the statute established in Guipúzcoa, which forbade Old Christians from marrying with the "New"; he cites Pulgar as an attestation by stating that "those persons [meaning the New Christians] are paying now for Moses' prohibition that his people should not marry gentiles." Netanyahu sees this as an analogy with no basis whatsoever in history.

It is at this point that I believe that Netanyahu omits an argument that can also be used to make shambles of what Castro intends: that that prohibition corroborates the racial hermeticism that he attributes to the Jews. In

Guipúzcoa, in Basque country, not only was the prohibition of marriage in force, but also the one which prohibited the *conversos* from dwelling there, without noticing that this goes beyond an analogy and shows a racial design that went beyond the supposed retaliation. It is not even comparable to the 1492 expulsion, because the latter was not applied to the *conversos*. If examples in history are sought we can find them only in German Nazism, where Jewish ancestry was also equivalent to elimination if they did not find a place of exile.

It is Pulgar who with irony precisely describes that situation of racial contempt by the Basques with the following statement:

> *¿No es de reír que todos o los más enbian acá—a Castilla—sus fijos que nos sirvan y muchos de ellos por moços d'espuelas y que no quieran ser consuegros de los que desean ser servidores?* (Is it not laughable that all or most send here—to Castile— their sons to serve us, many of them as grooms, and that they do not wish to be in-laws to those they wish to be servants?)[15]

Netanyahu notes that Castro's idea of the prohibition of mixed marriages is false, both in biblical and postbiblical times, because that class of marriages, between Israelites and non–Israelites, already occurred in the times of the First Temple. Moreover, four of Israel's tribes, among them the most powerful and numerous, descended from mixed blood, and the marriage restrictions against certain people seen in the Bible were not based on an ethnic sentiment, but rather on religious, moral, historical and cultural reasons.

He adds that Castro "passed over in silence the great drive for proselytization which the Jews developed since Hasmonean times on and which made such deep inroads into the Hellenistic and Roman worlds that it moved a man like Cassius Dio to state that he could not define who the Jews were 'except to say that that they are people of different races who follow the laws of the Jews.'" Netanyahu also notes, with much wisdom, that Castro confused "purity of race" with "purity of religion."[16]

But, he also adds that the most concrete evidence for Castro's idea that the cleanliness (purity) of blood, established by Siliceo, was derived from Judaic concepts can be found when Castro states, "Here is the foundation for the statutes of purity of blood in the sixteenth century, even though no reference is ever made to it, because it is not a pleasing topic for either Christians or Jews. Cardinal Siliceo purged the Cathedral of Toledo of impure priests, in accordance with the model of Ezra and Nehemiah."[17] Netanyahu refutes this point, arguing that Castro basically confuses the hereditary principle in the hierarchy of the Jewish priesthood, which was eliminated by Christianity on the basis that priesthood is granted and not inherited. On the contrary, Castro does not explain something that indicates the opposite, when Silíceo applies

the hereditary principle to the Christians of Jewish origin, violating that merit-based Christian mode of attaining the priesthood.

With a long linguistic and historical analysis, whose reproduction is beyond the scope of this work, Netanyahu also objects to Castro's parallelism of the social institution of chivalry, which presumably would have followed the model of Judaic nobility. I shall limit myself to highlighting some of the questions he notes as being key in the resolution of the controversy.

Netanyahu states that in Israel, as in other nations, social differences were determined by wealth, ancestry and lineage. However, these were realities of the actual social life, not of the Law, since the latter permitted no privilege or exception in favor of the wealthy, the prestigious or the famous. Indeed, it did not recognize any secular noble class, and consequently it could not give that class special privileges, whether hereditary or of any other type. Without a legal and hereditary base, in Israel more than in any other place prestige could only be based on public opinion.[18]

In addition, he adds that beyond the resemblances that all aristocracies have, according to the Partidas, "*Hidalguía es nobleza que viene a los omes por linaje*" (*Hidalguía* is nobility that comes to people by lineage). Because of that, from its origins until its disappearance, the life of the *hidalgo* was governed by the principle of lineage, in a manner that has no similarity to that of the Hebrew aristocrats. This is made evident because when an *hidalgo* married a *villana* (commoner/townswoman), he lost the nobility, while among the Jews those restrictions did not exist; additionally, the moral and idealistic principles came from very different roots.[19]

Netanyahu addresses Castro's reliance on the teachings of Rabbi Arragel—who between 1423 and 1433 translated the Bible into Castilian and also wrote a commentary on it at the request of don Luis Guzmán, Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava—specifically on that part relating to Ezra's chapter 9 on mixed marriages, which states: "*quien toma muger de agenas naciones ... fase muy fuerte pesar y enojo a Dios*" (he who takes a wife from an alien nation ... causes much sorrow and anger to God). Netanyahu says that this should be interpreted Arragel's simply referring to the prohibition against Jews marrying or cohabiting with Christian women. This prohibition, Netanyahu notes, was expressed in Christianity more than a thousand years before the time of Arragel, clarifying that it did not apply to the Christians of Jewish origin nor for gentiles converted to Judaism. Therefore, it becomes clear that what was sought to preserve was the purity of the religion, not of the race.

Netanyahu believes that what misdirected Castro was the term *agenas naciones* (foreign lands), instead of *religiones agenas* (foreign religions), because

from the point of rabbinic law they are synonymous. Since Arragel knew all too well that when a gentile converted to Judaism he became *ipso facto* a member of the "[Jewish] nation," he used the first expression because he lived in a country in which conversion to Judaism was prohibited. Since he wrote for Christian readers, it was natural that he would abstain from anything that could be seen as an attempt at proselytism.

For the same reason, Netanyahu believes, Arragel did not, as Rashi did, use the term "pagan," because Ezra's prohibition did apply to Christians, and had it been included, it could have given the impression that Christians were so designated, which would have been offensive to them and consequently dangerous for the Jews. Therefore, it was to avoid both dilemmas that the term "alien nations" was used, which was more acceptable to Christians without making it less acceptable for Jews.[20]

Essentially, for Netanyahu, Castro's opinion that "the thousands of *conversos* that passed into the Christian cast" injected into it the "biblical idea" of the cleanliness of blood is erroneous from whatever side one looks at it, and that which the Law sustained was a moral or religious stance. Thus, in the end, Castro's idea can in itself be considered racist. Not even Sánchez Albornoz shares in this Nazi-like thought, as he expresses in relation to Saint Therese of Jesus, contesting those who held that her ideas were influenced by Jewish ancestors. We shall examine this in more detail in Chapter 7.

Looking at the antecedents of the cleanliness of blood in Spain, one of them strangely does not belong to Christian persecution, but rather is found in Muslim Spain, then governed by the Almohades. At the beginning of the 13th century, in their religious fanaticism, they forced Jews, among them Maimonides, to convert to their religion. Later these Muslims also distrusted the Judeo-*conversos* and forced them to wear a badge. In this case it can already be noticed that that attitude is not a mere religious differentiation but transcends it and goes beyond it.[21]

Toledo, as noted by Netanyahu, did not erupt as lightning from nowhere, so one of the most remote precedents of Christian discrimination, or prejudice in relation to the converted of Jewish origin, is seen during the reign of the Visigoths. This was because in those days the Jews were a numerous group, which together with those Germanic tribes constituted minorities within the Christian population. While the Visigoths were Aryan, they maintained good relations with the Jews, and there were significant numbers of interethnic matings. However, when, with the evident political purpose of unification, they officially adopted Catholicism, they imposed on the Jews either forced conversion or the alternative of expulsion.[22]

According to Netanyahu, this situation paradoxically, far from pleasing

the Church, worried it because it considered that many would relapse into Judaism. Additionally, and this is what is important, because as we shall see, the crux of the matter is the size of the Jewish population taken *en masse* into Christianity: would that then free it from the habitual restrictions and end by confronting the Ibero-Romans with a competitive force?[23] Here, and early on, the religious argument is used as an excuse, because as Netanyahu mentions, although the *conversos* could not be "de-Christianized," their Christianity could be demeaned by putting into question its worth, when in reality what was hidden was a sociological problem because the Church questioned advisability of the *en masse* entrance of those *conversos* into the Ibero-Roman society.

We shall see that, independently of the historical contexts, the use of the religious argument will eventually recur in all the cases of massive conversions, and that it will be a very important element for definitive evaluation of the nature of the discrimination directed at the Jewish *conversos*. For Netanyahu the situation in relation to the Visigoths and Almohads is tied to the first cycle of Jewish life in Spain. He further notes that the second cycle is that marked by the *Reconquista* (the Reconquest) and the expansion of the Christians, when, starting from the year 1000, after a hiatus about which there is not much information, one can see a great increase in the Jewish population in Christian Spain resulting in an increasing number of Jews in Catalonia, Asturias and León, and later in Castile and Navarre.[24]

The Jews, who had originally supported the Muslim invasion, when they later suffered the persecution of the Almohads' fanaticism tended to immigrate to the north toward the Christian kingdoms where the kings for their part, as Sánchez Albornoz explains, encouraged their settlement. The Christian authorities needed them, no matter what the social forces and the Church thought. It is one of the best eras for Judaism and one of its greatest expansions, despite some problem of social reaction that arose from so much integration.

Netanyahu further notes that this attitude, whereby the Jews were granted help and privileges at a time when the Church urged for their cancellation, causes puzzlement because the change of attitude of the Spanish Christian rulers was in contrast with that of rulers in other places in Europe who engaged in crusades that gave rise to disastrous Judeo-phobic consequences. He believes that the precedent for that change in attitude was the policy of Charlemagne (Charles the Great), who for commercial reasons favored the settlement by Jews. The thorough analysis of that matter that Netanyahu makes will shed much light on the peculiarity of that process that started well and ended badly.[25]

Sánchez Albornoz also describes that situation very well. "Reconquest and repopulation were enormously important factors in the numerical increase

and in the social and political influence of the Judaic minority in the Christian kingdoms ... the Hebrews would not have reached the number and the importance they achieved in León and Castile and also in the other Peninsular states ... thousands and thousands entered Castile." Since the need to repopulate was so intense, the devil would have been invoked for that reason. "With what greater pleasure the laborious Jews be accepted as colonizers...! The Christian Kings happy to see the population of their cities grow this way, opened the frontiers of their kingdoms to them."[26]

Both these latter expressions together with other praises, using expressions such as "industrious Hebraic masses," compensate for others he uttered with an anti–Judaic tone in which a certain rancor can be perceived, because of his belief that Jews outside of Spain contributed to the making of the Black Legend of that nation. Another factor to be considered is that which is noted by Baer, for whom the "Jews that emigrated from Al-Andaluz to the Kingdoms to the north soon adapted to the way of life of the Christians."[27]

For Castro, "The Jews, for their part, were culturally more rooted in Castile and León than in Catalonia and Andalucía,"[28] and Suarez relates something that might have influenced the change in attitude toward the Jews, since until the end of the 13th century there existed an important cultural interaction that ended because of the action of the Dominicans. This activity by that mendicant Order occurred specifically because in the rest of Europe, Spanish Christianity was considered to be very fragile and in some way could be characterized as less European. All agree that during its existence interreligious relations were frequent and almost normal. The intolerance and fanaticism arose later.

This period should not be confused with the one that follows, when anti–Jewish preaching started, directed by the Vatican and designed to develop a Christianity aligned with that of the other European countries. For their part the Dominicans undertook the task but with a proselytizing eagerness, which was accompanied by the defense of the *conversos*.[29] The actions of the Dominicans were influenced by a Christian Europe, totally unfamiliar with the Spain of the three religions that had made it necessary for the Peninsular Christianity of that era to adapt in some ways to coexistence.

We must note here that the attitude of the Dominicans toward the *conversos* differed from that which—as we have seen—the Church had in the early Middle Ages, at the time of the Visigoths, when it warned about the excessive proselytizing zeal because it believed that it would become a social problem. It was precisely in the inquisitorial historical phase which followed that period of intense proselytizing activity when the actions of the Dominicans became persecutory and even discriminatory toward the *conversos*. From this we con-

clude that there were three temporal stages in the Church's attitude regarding the conversion of the Jews: first, one of a quantitative caution in the number of conversions within the political power of the Visigoths. It started with forced conversions followed by acceptance of the existence of Judaism; then, with the arrival of the Dominicans an attitude of intolerance in relation to that existence and ample support for conversion; and lastly, the inquisitorial stage intolerant of Judaism as well as of the *conversos* of that origin.

The pre–Inquisitorial antecedents, which we shall describe later, were not influenced by the Church, but—as we have seen—it rather was quite the opposite, and this opens the way for an interpretation that the discrimination against the Judeo-*conversos* at some moments went beyond the religious, just as has occurred in modernity. That is to say that when the Church was defending the *conversos,* and the religious pretext disappeared, the racial nature of the discrimination became clearer, approaching modern anti–Semitism, which is secular in nature.

In addition, the discrimination due to lineage will not be understood if it is not emphasized, as noted by Netanyahu, that the process of massive conversions was possible because of the little predisposition to martyrdom by Spanish Jews, a predisposition in which the German Jews surpassed by far those of Spain. This produced an exceptionally (large) number of *conversos* compared with the relatively small number of Judeo-Spanish martyrs.[30]

Although the piety and religiosity of Spanish Jewry can not be disparaged, as can be attested with absolute clarity by the martyrs that resulted from the violent attacks of 1391, as noted by Netanyahu, it is important to link earlier history and the experience of forced conversion under the Almohads that they overcame by maintaining their Judaism secretly. It convinced many of them to believe that a forced conversion, although not sanctioned by Maimonides, was not the end of the world provided that they had to return to Judaism as soon as the conditions that forced them to convert no longer existed.[31]

With the combination of all those circumstances, an anti-*converso* movement started to take shape, not to be confused with the racial explosion of Toledo, which is considered its initial volley, and which in turn would have been the consequence of the massive conversions of 1391. Netanyahu notes that the animosity against the *conversos* does not start in 1449, as is often explained, by stating that the previous periods were characterized by a benevolent and friendly attitude of Old Christians toward the New. That *explosión* in Toledo in 1449 was not the "first spark of persecutorial hatred," as stated by Menéndez y Pelayo, but rather, as noted by Netanyahu, it records a conflict of tremendous magnitude and popular force, and like all those of that nature, it required a long time to take shape.

According to Netanyahu there were previous tensions, and it was not as stated by Menéndez y Pelayo "that Spanish society used to welcome the neophytes with open arms, in some manner insinuating that the *conversos* did not correspond with dignity to such a fraternal welcome." To arrive at that conclusion, other large-scale conversions during the *Reconquista* and the ensuing reaction of the Spanish people must be tracked.[32]

Netanyahu stresses that, essentially, the 1449 events in Toledo did not signify a shift in the history of the *conversos*, but rather the start of a new phase in the lengthy conflict between the Old and the New Christians that would be followed by others with higher climatic points, forming part of the same social tendency that pursued identical ends and that crossed different stages.[33] As we shall see, this social tendency at times had legal or governmental and religious acceptance, while on other occasions it was confronted by the authorities and the Church.

In the described cycle, he equates the process of conversions of Jews to Christianity in the region of the Rhine during the first Crusade to the conversions that occurred in Spain following a series of massacres that in 1109 almost simultaneously devastated many communities in Toledo, in the north of Castile, and around Burgos.

This process of mass conversions gave rise to the enactment of various laws included in the *Fuero* of Toledo by Alfonso VII in 1118. Netanyahu notes ironically that, from their reading, one can reach conclusions on the "welcome" given to the *conversos* on that occasion. Those legal dispositions responded to the petitions from the citizens, and here one already notices that they do not refer exclusively to Jews, but also to the *conversos*. In essence they read as follows: "Wishing to obey and fulfill the instructions of the Holy Fathers (of the Church), the King has decreed that neither Jew nor recent convert may assume authority over any Christian in Toledo and its territory."[34] The recently converted were known as *nuper renatus* (reborn).

Previously the population had reacted against Alfonso VI, the conqueror of Toledo, who, ecclesiastic (Church) law notwithstanding, placed various Jews in positions that conferred authority and prestige. The population had interpreted that attitude as mocking not only the ancient prohibition of the Church but also his Christian subjects. Consequently the contained anger erupted into violence with the assassination of Ben Ferruziel, courtier of Alfonso and ambassador extraordinaire. This was the precursor of the massacres that occurred a year later, in 1109, after the death of the king. As commonly happened, those events erupted in the *interregnums* (between reigns) because of the relaxation of authority that occurred then.

Never before had an attack of similar magnitude been seen in Spain, and

the large number of *conversos* that resulted from it gave rise to pressures on the recently designated king, Alfonso VII. This led to a discriminatory legal provision that particularly affected the *conversos* and which is an important antecedent.

Although Netanyahu clarifies that this provision related to the recently converted, it appears that there are reasons to believe that in 1145, that is several years later, the king agreed to extend that prohibition to the *conversos* because of origin and without regard to the time of the conversion. However, he observes, it soon lost implementation due to pressure from the Church, but continued to be enforced for the *nuper renati*.[35]

Netanyahu further notes that the concept continued to evolve from that time-based limit to the non-time-limited New Christian, because it was feared the *converso* upper class would situate itself above the Old Christian elite and that the social order of the city would be subverted. As we can see, the contexts change and at times the reasons relating to the religious factor, also. However, the results will always be the same: opposition to assimilation.

In the 1449 Toledo rebellion these Toledean measures were invoked as the basis for prohibiting positions of authority to the *conversos*. The animosity toward the *conversos* did not stop, not even when they moved to other places, where the *Fuero* of Toledo was also in force. That happened in cities such as Córdoba in 1241, Carmona in 1247, and Alicante in 1251.[36] That specific anti-*converso* animosity was not limited to those cities, but as Netanyahu notes, it acquired a national character that was legislatively blessed by the *Fuero Real* of 1225, a code of Alfonso X, and by a second code, the Partidas, which unlike those granted by the kings to specific cities were national in scope. Those laws were later modified as a specific reaction against that animosity, forbidding the characterization of the *conversos* with the demeaning term *tornadizo* (turncoat). Netanyahu explains that the sanctions were severe and were directed at combating that insult because it was said "that it stops many from becoming Christians." However, the customs were so strong that those laws did not have a great effect.[37]

According to what we saw, the legislation reversed its goals. This was due, according to Netanyahu, to the actions of the Dominicans, who, directed by their head, Raimundo de Peñafort, had mounted a vigorous proselytizing campaign, and also to the wishes of the Crown to please the Church. With those laws, he correctly argues, it is shown that the legislator does not find a justification for that systematic harassment of the *conversos*, nor that they were unfaithful to Christianity, although that is what is probably used recurrently as a pretext. On the contrary, the legislator shows himself to be understanding of their difficulties, such as, among other things, the significance of their separation from their parents and relatives.

The insistence by the population was a demonstration that they discriminated against the *conversos* because of their lineage or race, and therefore with it, he concludes, although still veiled by a religious pretext, a strong racial sentiment is insinuating itself.

However, the success of the *conversos* was ephemeral, because in the decade of 1360 the Castilian Civil War took place, characterized by bloody attacks against the Jews. Those attacks were followed by a new wave of *conversos* that attempted to enter the Christian society and were favored by new legislation that placed them on an equal footing with other Christians. They were expecting a "favorable welcome," but were received with a renewed outbreak of hostility, which the laws of the kingdom were unable to counter. It is here that the rapid dissemination of the new insult *marrano* now appears.

Later, in 1391, there erupted the well-known disturbances that resulted in new masses of *conversos*, the greatest that Spain had ever known, to the point that the baptismal chrism in the churches was not sufficient. From then on, and because of that flood of neophytes, the extension of the hatred toward the *conversos* will be accentuated, in a process that started, as we saw, in 1118. In 1392, that is, scarcely a year later, in Burgos, where the majority of the Jews converted, they were discriminated against, with arbitrary incarcerations which merited the attention of the authorities (king) that called them acts of brigandry.[38]

Additionally, the 1391 torrent (of converts) resulted in the *conversos*, that theoretically had all paths open, encountering for the first time the reaction of the Catholic Church, a sector of society that had traditionally been a strong supporter. The Church was opposed to massive forced conversions, but, because of its proselytizing stance, accepted them after their conversion and rejected the opposition to their integration into Christianity. As we shall discuss later, this attitude would change centuries later.

It was in those Catholic circles where the principle of cleanliness (*Limpieza*)—discrimination based on racial grounds—appeared for the first time. It became evident in 1410 when a college for theology students, known as the Colegio Viejo de San Bartolomé, was founded in Salamanca, which included in its statutes the nonadmission of any descendent of Jews, even though the degree of kinship might only be partial and no matter how remote.

In this way, the problem of the integration of the *conversos* was not limited to secular society, but rather entered the ecclesiastic circles. The resentment caused by the infiltration of the *conversos* developed for the first time into an organized opposition that sought legal formulas to stop the thrust of the *conversos*. That organized opposition became publicly generalized in the 1449 revolt in Toledo. Those who guided it found themselves with the problem

that, in order to be able punish the entire *converso* community, they could not relate it to the political conspiracy that they alleged. Consequently, they passed from politically-based allegations to religious ones, which turned out to be more credible. According to Netanyahu, it was thus that they presented the New Christians as heretics and traitors to Christianity and that those accusations developed deep roots.

To justify them, a commission for *pesquisa* was created, charged with the investigation of the allegations, and according to its conclusions the collective of New Christians was riddled with secret Jews. It is this commission that Netanyahu considers to be the most immediate antecedent of the Inquisition. The description that he makes of the process of that revolt is important. With much pomp, on June 5, 1449, in Toledo's City Hall a law is proclaimed designed to regulate the relations of the city with the *conversos*, which now gives them legal entity.

The law consisted of two parts: a preamble with an opinion or reason and the legal restrictions whose philosophy was based on something primordial: the Jewish question could not be resolved with conversion, and it denied to the *conversos* the right to any position or ecclesiastic benefit or to act as witnesses in the tribunals. These restrictions were applicable to their descendants.

Later, when the prince (Enrique) regained the city, he did not modify the law. Thus, it remained in force and the discrimination was institutionalized in such a way that it can be considered as the most important precedent of State anti-Semitism and of race as a State matter. That it was not a simple nightmare—Netanyahu also says—is demonstrated by the attacks against the *conversos* with atrocities that had not been seen since 1391 (it is appropriate to recall that in that case they were not committed against *conversos*). They occurred in different areas of the kingdom such as in Ciudad Real, exactly a month after the enactment of the *sentencia*.

The Old Christians not only suffered the contagion, but they organized a pogrom against their New Christian neighbors. That is to say that there was not only legal and social discrimination against the *conversos*, but also collective violence that also did not exonerate the *conversos*.[39] This was something that did not even occur in Nazi Germany until *Kristalnacht*, when the organized extermination began.

In reality the *pesquisas* did not give the results that the rebels had expected, since, had they obtained the proofs in the desired direction, they would have made them public. The review of all the historical circumstances that led to the outbreak of 1449 in Toledo leads us to some considerations that will be evaluated when final conclusions are drawn.

For example, we saw that at times the social tendency of hatred toward

the *conversos* coincided with the governmental jurisprudence. In other instances, on the contrary, the authorities as well as the Church confronted them, the latter, almost always as a function of proselytism, because it could not on the one hand encourage conversions and, on the other hand, permit anti-*converso* discrimination.

We mean to say that the Church at first started to proselytize and then, when it saw that the results were not accepted by society, preferred not to antagonize it and to accompany it in its racial hatred. In every period the constant of the hatred was social and exhibited unquestionable racial characteristics. When instead of employing the term *converso*, "the descendants of Jews" was used, it did not signify an external relationship, but rather something essential and immutable and that the descendancy was not simply a factor of contact and an intergenerational description, but rather was the raison d'être for sharing common attitudes and forms of conduct that were due to ancestry, that is to say race.

When they were referring to the common perverse lineage of the *conversos*, that characteristic was accentuated; the perversity that was the essential deficiency of their race was responsible for social and religious offenses, and since all of them share it without need of proof or any *pesquisa,* they must all be treated as outcasts from Christian society.[40]

Netanyahu notes that it was not an accidental situation, but rather an intrinsic condition where no moral or religious criterion was applied. A whole theory of race was developed, and the word *lindos (puros)* [beautiful (pure)] appears three times in the *Sentencia Estatuto* of Toledo when referring to the Old Christians.

The detail in the innovation in the terminology is not a minor fact. It reveals—according to Netanyahu—that it was "the first time in Spain that any social or political organization ... formally adopted a racial principle and made it the cornerstone of its policy," and for many centuries it mattered that "the Spanish attitude toward the Marranos would be influenced—or even determined—by the letter and spirit of the Toledean Statute."[41]

He highlights the word *formally*, that for us signifies what we shall see further on, and that is State anti-Semitism. From this—he deduces—emerge some very important aspects which must be recognized as racial and social motivations in the creation of the Inquisition. That became evident with the cleanliness of blood for the appointment of its officials or in the genealogical investigations designed to determine it. However, according to what has been seen, these did not become visible while Ferdinand the Catholic lived because he did not permit racist measures and prevented their implementation within the Order of the Hieronymites (Jeronimos).

Another turning point in Spanish racism was Siliceo, who promoted and obtained the exclusion of *conversos* or their descendants from the clergy of the Cathedral of Toledo. He also pressured the Jesuits so as to obtain the same outcome within that Order.

3

The Nature of the Cleanliness of Blood

Opinions of Nirenberg, Salazar Acha, Márquez Villanueva, Pérez, Stallaert, Álvarez Chillida that consider the social factor. The religious factor in the thought of Silíceo, Torrejoncillo and Alonso de Espina. The epistemological argument: opinions of Hering Torres, García Cárcel, Ginio. Sociological approach that focuses on assimilation: opinions of Stallaert, Todorov, Walz, Vassallo, and Bauman.

As we have seen, the objections to the thesis that racism existed in medieval Spain are related either to the assertion that the nature of the cleanliness of blood displayed only religious or social characteristics, or because, for reasons also discussed earlier, the comparison is deemed to be anachronistic. We now shall delve further into a critical analysis of each of these objections.

The importance of inquiring into the first objection arises from the consideration that the religious and social factors were always present, at least in their contributory form, even for those who believe that racism was present.

Before any further discussion, it is important to ask, as suggested by Nirenberg, the following question: is there some relevant viewpoint according to which the Christians viewed the Jews as a race? If it is believed that the answer is negative, then it is erroneous to speak of racism. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, who bases himself on osteologic anthropological studies, as well as Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada and Joseph Pérez, believed that the only thing that differentiated the Jews from the Christians was their religion and the customs derived from it.

As seen previously, when the "sanitary cordon" was mentioned, Nirenberg

emphasizes the orthodox historical trend followed by British medievalist Robert Bartlett, who, when referring to the terms related to race, states that although they are biological in nature, their medieval reality was almost entirely cultural. This is interpreted by Nirenberg to mean that, although medieval people adopted a language colored by a biological hue, what is certain is that the differences they alluded to were cultural. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of a racial ideology.

Nonetheless, Nirenberg notes that Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, although joining in that same historical trend, has revised his position by asserting that "in some medieval ideologies, as for example those of the Spanish Lower Middle Ages relating to the purity of blood, the immutability of the Jewish nature was postulated [in other words, the notion that conversion was not able to erase that nature]." With this idea, it became possible to recognize a racial basis "which made it possible to compare it conveniently with the German anti-Semitic ideologies of the 19th century."

For Nirenberg, "the equivalency between immutability and race" is too vague to be convincing because there are important ideas relating to immutability that have been based on concepts with little to do with race. Thus, many modern racial theories (almost all the Darwinian ones) allow for a great degree of mutability and base their views on the risks that are inherent in change. On the other hand, the same historian explains that the orthodox logic that denies comparability because of the discontinuity has also not been concerned with studying, in the necessary depth, the phenomena it discards. Moreover, the question is reduced to the application of 18th and 19th centuries' terminologies for biological classification, and its followers show themselves assured that the concept (of race) cannot be found in previous eras.

I also believe that those of Nirenberg's opinions deserving to be highlighted are those that he presents with a polygenetic focus (in our judgment it is this which defines racism) of Judaic ancestry and that these fanciful genealogies provided an important theoretical alibi for the doctrine of cleanliness of blood. On that matter he recognizes that there was a premodern debate between biology and culture with some seeing the danger in it, since there was almost no noble house in Spain without a *converso* in its family tree. If the Jewish essence were tied to the blood line, genealogy would become a weapon in the hands of the weak, and it would end by destroying the nobility of the kingdom.

In conclusion, Nirenberg holds that those genealogical definitions could be called racial if race is understood, in a general sense, as a set of strategies seeking to establish human hierarchies as belonging to nature (biology) and to explain and legitimize their perpetuation by using the language of reproduction. However, at the same time he maintains that those processes were

very different from the racial anti–Semitism of later periods. For this he bases himself on the idea that no matter how implacable the genealogical arguments may appear, they sought only to define the range of aristocratic and political privilege, much as was done using ideologies based on lineage in countries such as France.[1]

We believe that argument to be flimsy, since those ideologies belong to the nobility, in general a very limited hereditary class within the population. On the other hand, in the case of the *conversos*, the ideology involved them all in their relationships with all of the Old Christian population, which was greatly in the majority and which occupied space in the "strip of privilege."

Similarly, as he points out, the fact that the boundaries were porous (for several reasons, including corruption) does not counteract the framework of ideas. Finally, despite acknowledging many consequential concurrent events, Nirenberg states that the compared ideologies were very different among themselves. I believe that it is inappropriate to characterize those concurrent events as consequential because he admits that both are strategies for bringing the ideologies into the realm of nature (naturalizing), although he allows that it may signify the history of the evolution of the concept of races within the ideologies of the 15th and 20th centuries.

In an attempt to describe the nature of the cleanliness of blood, Jaime de Salazar Acha reconstructs a narrative in which he indirectly presents those motivations, both social and religious. He notes that "the *conversos* constituted a very high class, the most cultured and wealthy and, therefore, the most dangerous for the community of Old Christians." He then raises the following questions: "Were these ancestors of ours so different from us? So different from us in their way of thinking that they behaved, in our opinion, in such a racist manner? What were the reasons for and the origin of such a peculiar social behavior? Was it only a racial urge or was it due to deeper reasons?" Salazar Acha then explains, because a

> peculiar and anti-evangelical proselytizing spirit at times actually fostered forced conversions and—most often—many saw in that forced conversion the surest way to avoid death and seizure of their possessions. Since the 15th century was a period of enrichment in all of Europe and of the creation of an emerging urban bourgeoisie, the Renaissance fostered the creation of a more cultured, richer and more industrious society. The Jews—*conversos* or not—had close to a monopoly of this burgher class in Spain, because who besides them had the preparation necessary for this orderly, industrious and learned life?

In further support of his interpretation he notes that

> In the reign of the *Reyes Católicos* the expulsion of unconverted Jews took place for purely religious motives. It was a matter of endowing the unified kingdoms with

> unity also in religious matters. Here we already find a political motivation. This and no other was the cause of a political decision that could not be attributed to animosity, since the court of Isabel and Fernando was a hotbed of old *conversos*, recent *conversos* and practicing Jews. All of them enjoyed the most intimate confidence and sympathy of the Monarchs.

Delving further into the analysis, he concludes that

> The *conversa* population was an urban entity, alien to the rural world and thus with no relationship with the farmers and herders, that in those times comprised the majority of the Spanish population. They were artisans and merchants, scribes and physicians, that is, an industrious middle class against whom the Old Christian common people could do nothing to compete, because of their lack of training and wealth.

"All this"—Salazar Acha states—"created a magnificent culture broth that was to foster the appearance of the first *estatuto de limpieza*, and the persecutions that got more intense with the most varied pretexts and which—while still being religious in nature—encompassed authentic class conflicts." Faced with this,

> they [the *conversos*] have no other avenue for social advancement or for exiting their traditional occupations than the ecclesiastic career. This was because access to the nobility was very difficult and it [the Church] was the only institution where there was no need to show family origins but only one's training and piety. Thus in a very short time a cardinal's red hat, several Episcopal seats, and the majority of the positions in the cathedral councils with the best and more substantial revenues were in the hands of prominent *conversos*, albeit most of the times faithful, pious individuals of profound religiosity.

As can be seen, the author himself admits that the religious factor served—at times—as a pretext for another type of persecution, although, in general, both factors came together. It is for that reason that there existed both the "fruit of the fear of the Old Christians on seeing their faith undermined, as well as that of an unacknowledged jealousy and class resentment."

Nonetheless, Salazar Acha insists that "in spite of what it may appear, it is not, in principle, a racist concept, but rather one of ideological purity. Its purpose, in other words, did not consist of the preservation of a pure race, which moreover did not exist, but rather in the preservation of the Catholic dogma in its entirety and without impurities."

According to him, the cleanliness of blood was due "to religious motives, but in practice it originated, in great part, from social resentments and class envy."[2] Evidently it is an interpretation that does not address the consequences. As can be seen, he attributes its nature to the religious factor, but concedes that "in practice," much darker and deeper motivations prevail. In that way

the factual stage he sets, and upon which those motivations rest, leads us away from the religious.

Francisco Márquez Villanueva is another historian who, from a religious and social viewpoint, is strongly opposed to considering the cleanliness of blood as being racist; he questions the relationship between the "myth of cleanliness" and any racist connotation. He believes that the problem of the New Christians was in no way racial. Rather, it was social and, in second place, religious. The *conversos* were at no time the bearers of an indelible biological stigma.[3] This author, just as the previous one, does not consider that racism was involved, because for him racism is based on biology, and the *converso* was not recognizable by any trait or biological mark. He, also, does not consider the practical effects of the discrimination.

For his part, Joseph Pérez does not even analyze the religious factor, because he considers the matter as simply sociological in nature. He believes that, to comprehend it, it has to be analyzed as a struggle between the lower classes and the nobility, since common sense observation did not make it plausible that, after three, four or five generations, the descendants of 14th century *conversos* would still retain remnants of Judaism. It is because of this thinking that the authorities attempted to limit the restrictions on a generational basis. In spite of these intentions, the cleanliness of blood was repealed only more recently in the 19th century for civil authorities, and the University of Huesca kept that requirement for that entire century.

Pérez bases his analysis on what happened in the cathedral of Toledo, which was considered as a preserve of aristocrats. When Siliceo, a commoner, was named primate, they isolated him. To this he replied with the cleanliness of blood with which he succeeded in removing several New Christian offspring, thereby benefitting meritorious commoners of obscure origins.

Pérez clarifies that that measure harmed the lower nobility and not the higher, despite the fact that its blending with Jews was known, although no one would dare to reveal their genealogic trees. Only one case is known where it was applied, which as a reaction resulted in *El Libro Verde de Aragón* (Aragón's Green Book).[4]

As the system could not fail to cause serious concerns within the realm of Spanish society, and to indicate that its motivation was not religious, Pérez notes that the Dominican monk Salucio spoke of the need to moderate the genealogic inquiries. He further stated that they should not go back more than 100 years. Despite counting on important support, including that of the Inquisitor General, the highest religious authority of the kingdom for the protection of religion, Salucio's initiative did not prosper. Among the arguments advanced by the Inquisitor General for the mitigation of that unlimited dis-

crimination was that that excessive zeal was damaging to Spanish prestige because abroad it was believed that Spain was infested with Jews.

Nonetheless, the cleanliness of blood continued to be enforced because the aspirants of humble origin desired to eliminate competitors, and the mass of the Spanish people enjoyed watching the humiliation of the powerful. On the other hand, the members of the monarchy's Council were alumni of colleges that were the first institutions to require the *limpieza*, and since they had already passed that filter, they did not wish to facilitate matters for others.[5]

I shall analyze later in greater detail another interpretation, the one offered by Christiane Stallaert. Because she considers it exclusively from the point of view of an ethnicist, she believes that when one seeks to differentiate the nature of the so-called "metaphysical" Spanish anti–Semitism from that of the German anti–Semitism, characterized as "zoological," the cleanliness of blood is something that makes that whole differentiating attempt totter. In other words, it goes beyond the social in the broader sense and includes the religious factor. This differentiating idea was developed by National-Catholicism under the influence of the doctrine of "Hispanicity" developed by Maeztu. However, Stallaert states that "that entire model of interpretation based on antithetic comparisons totters," because they reveal that "Nazism and casticism rather are historical variations on the same theme, that of a governmental construct around an ethnic ideal." As an example she provides the model of inquisitorial interrogation, which generally became a genealogical examination, or the one of not considering abandoned children as being of pure blood. "Casticist society"—she believes—"refused to renounce its ideal of absolute ethnic purity."[6]

One who has no doubts about the racist nature of the cleanliness of blood is Bartolomé Bennassar. He concludes this based on the language used, which specifically reads that those excluded from "the high spheres of politics, religious or economic, and forbidden access to honorable posts and to respect" were sons of "a bad race."[7]

On the other hand and as far as we know, there are few authors who recognize as cleanliness of blood the reaction similar to those which occurred in some European societies and which came to be called modern anti–Semitism. One of them was the historian Pierre Vilar, who wrote, "We have the sad privilege of starting in our country the modern anti–Semitism that goes parallel to the emergence of the Nation States already mentioned by Hannah Arendt in her History of Totalitarism."[8]

Regarding that matter, Álvarez Chillida, in a thorough study of Spanish anti–Semitism, provides very specific details derived from the comparison of the anti–Semitism of modernity with that of previous centuries. When iden-

tifying the historical periods, he makes a differentiation: "The hatred for the Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries is nothing but a continuation of a secular tradition in Europe with significant new elements that distinguish it." This, he believes, as also noted by Netanyahu, is due to the development of a strong process of secularization within those periods. He means that the Jews go from being the enemies of Christ to being the enemies of humanity, and that "the old idea that what is Jewish is an essentially religious phenomenon, although, as seen in the idea of purity of blood in Spain, with strong biological connotation, is giving way to the modern idea of race."

In the manner of Domínguez Ortiz, Álvarez Chillida takes a Judeophobic example from the middle ages, the ritual crime that appears in *Der Stürmer*, to agree with Joshua Trachtenberg that in the Jew of current anti–Semitism, there still persists the diabolic medieval image, showing that the religious root is a component of the political myths of that era.

Because of this, when referring to the modern anti–Semitic mode of expression he notes—and he says it without reservations—that

> at a time of crisis for the national identities and the development of the new nationalities, there developed the rejection of the upstart Jew that wished to integrate by erasing the old barriers ... it is a "reaction" that can remind us of that of the Spanish people when medieval Jews were completely emancipated via conversion.[9]

This statement by one of the most prestigious Spanish historians on the subject confronts us, within a context of great conceptual clarity, with the question we are debating since it focuses attention on the assimilation of the Jew, be it socially or religiously by means of conversion.

On the other hand, the conjunction of factors that made the purity of blood possible creates a certain confusion regarding its scope, and it is because of this that we see that its principal champion, Siliceo, while being depicted as a racist, might be considered as having had an exclusively religious position. This is based on his not having had hatred for all *conversos*, but rather for those continuing to practice Judaism in secret. This conclusion results from Siliceo's noting that in France all the Judeo-*conversos* are considered Old Christians, because the majority of the Jews who converted did so willingly and faithfully remained Christians.

Siliceo considers similarly those Spanish *conversos* that converted at a much earlier time because they left no trail of apostasy. On the other hand, those who converted recently against their will were often guilty of apostasy, and in that case he justifies the *estatutos*.[10] This has a certain logic when the compromise solution was adopted, between Siliceo and the Jesuits, for it to be applied exclusively in Spain.[11]

As we did to the thoughts of Siliceo, an exclusively religious motivation

can also be ascribed to those of Francisco de Torrejoncillo, despite the fact that a first reading of his thoughts would appear to express the contrary. That interpretation was possible by reading the complete text, because if it is analyzed partially, it leaves a strong impression, since it shifts the inclination to apostasy to up to 20 generations forward, thereby exceeding the generational requirements of the Nuremberg Laws. Nonetheless, Torrejoncillo's prejudice can be considered religious in nature, since in the construction of those analogies a paragraph of his writings is omitted that returns to the concept of the original sin as the basis for his discriminatory policy. In what appears to us a correct observation, Hering Torres believes that this notion, which allows for a common origin, diverts us from polygenetic racism, which we believe to be an accurate observation since that is what defines biologic racism.[12]

This author maintains that, in any case, it is noteworthy that within the principle of monogenesis there arose different lines of origin. Shem is specifically differentiated from his brothers within the explanation based on the crucifixion of Jesus, and as a consequence his lineage is segregated and marked with an amoral stigma. He is also correct when he explains that although the nature of the discrimination is different—religious, as we have seen—both pursue the same goals because it would be conditioned on birth. The difference appears, he continues explaining, because the polygenetic arguments are substantially different from the aforementioned biblical exegesis.

Since we find ourselves in the realm of the opinions of the times, one could conclude that those of Alonso de Espina share that religious basis, since he also turns to a biblical interpretation; however, in this case we must say that it does not necessarily lead to monogenism. This is shown by Netanyahu when he analyses the thinking of this singularly Judeophobic Franciscan monk, who, by the way, as is agreed by the majority of historians, was not of *converso* origin. Among the reasons mentioned by Netanyahu for this conclusion is that de Espina could not have been of *converso* descent because of the contempt that he felt for the ethnic strain of the Judeo-*conversos*.

De Espina bases himself on some statements from the Talmud, such as that which states that "Adam cohabited with all the beasts and from this were born monstrous beings." Furthermore, before the creation of Eve, Adam had a wife named Lilith, and from her he begot demons. This, according to Netanyahu, would show that according to that prelate the Jews are also brothers of demons and relatives of monsters.[13]

That thought on the part of that author of *Fortalitium Fidei* goes beyond that of Torrejoncillo. Although filled with fanciful and implausible diatribes, it shows a racist, although crude conception, which ventures as few others into polygenism, since it supports a variety of origins in the human species.

I had mentioned that another manner for questioning validity of the parallelism we are studying is epistemological in nature and is related to historical anachronism. Although the refutation sustains itself principally on the chronological differences when considering the nature of the *limpieza*, this position does not disregard the factors we have discussed.

In that sense Hering Torres argues that "to take the 16th century as the starting point for an investigation on racism, could, for many, be an unreasonable design, since the majority of the studies date the beginning of this phenomenon starting with the anthropology of the 18th century." Consequently, it is a mistake to "interpret over and over the pattern of thought of the 'cleanliness of blood'" by attributing to it that quality [racist or anti–Semitic] "without pausing to reflect on the anachronistic character of those designations and without considering their significant contents in a specific historical context."

This author considers as essential the definition of the concepts of race and racism, stressing that the first is a contemporary category relating to a natural pseudo-science created and used to classify human beings into different groups. The racists resort to it in order to define hierarchically the purported human races.

Nevertheless, he later contradicts himself because he says that, although the concept of "cleanliness of blood" is nothing but a metaphor, created and instituted by theological dogmatism, the concept of the *limpieza* partially displaces religion as a criterion for differentiation. It returns, for the first time in European history, to two fundamental criteria for marginalizing: "race" and "stained blood." This last conclusion is invalidating for the question, independently of the intentions of who practices it, whether it is because of pathology or if it is done with the conviction of the existence of races. Finally, it may be the fruit of the hypocrisy that uses it as a pretext. Hering Torres attempts to explain that contradiction by stating that *limpieza* moves between theological and proto-scientific axioms (the reason for which he believes it to be an "oxymoron") and that it is the first "racist anti–Judaism" in history. With this he contradicts his earlier assertion.

At the same time the anachronism, with which he questions the comparison, is related—according to him—to the idea that "the concept of 'race' in early modern Spain does not allow us to state a causal relationship between 'purity' and contemporary scientific racism." I do not share his view because I believe that an anachronism is not limited to the absence of historical causality.[14]

It is to another aspect of "ahistoricity" that García Cárcel refers when he states that the terms "race" or "racism" are uchronic for the period when the

cleanliness of blood emerged. This is a criticism that we do not understand because uchronicity is related to counterfactual history.[15]

Additionally, as has been already stated, biological racism is often a pretext that masks a deep social motivation, both in modern history and in the Spanish Middle Ages.

We had seen that the process of massive conversions occurring at that time, as Stallaert explains, did not amount only to an act of faith but also to a change in identity that the ethnic group sustained as the process of assimilation progressed, with new barriers that hampered the crossing over and threatened its cohesiveness. Crossing of that line and that reaction to it are known as ethnicism. It is because of this that she considers that the progressive assimilation of the *conversos* into the Christian caste and their infiltration into social spheres traditionally reserved for the latter are key for the understanding of the later ethno-religious conflicts.

Stallaert notes that the Old Christian ethnicism, socially institutionalized in the *Estatutos* of cleanliness of blood, focused more each time on the biological-genealogical criterion as a marker for ethnic identity—the line between "them" and "us." Such focusing on the genealogical becomes particularly evident in the absence of other cultural elements (religion, language, etc.) or somatic elements (skin color), which would permit the drawing of the line between the ethnic groups.

It is for this reason that modern social scientists attribute to racism other motivations, which have much in common with those previously discussed, and which Hering Torres insists on recalling as the genesis of the appearance of that marginalizing strategy.

Faced with this, we do not find ourselves very far from what is maintained by others, among them Vassallo, who teaches that from anthropology and psychoanalysis we learn that "the difference is appeased when it is distant and inoffensive." In this sense, it is not true that the difference with the "Other" is the source of racism. Rather, racism appears when we realize that the different "Other" may resemble us.

In summary, anachronism cannot be invoked with the argument that the scientific concept of race did not exist when the examined events coincide in the motivations and their effects. As explained by Ginio, that the events exist before their theoretical conceptualization is something obviously true and is aptly systematized by Todorov when he distinguishes racism from racialism.

Ginio alludes to behavior while Todorov to ideology or doctrine, and when the two elements coincide—Todorov believes—catastrophic results can occur. However, behavior comes from earlier times and its extension has prob-

ably been universal. In contrast, ideology or doctrine develops as a movement of ideas in Western Europe between the 18th and 20th centuries.

Starting with these certainties, Todorov observes, and this is noteworthy for the subject we are analyzing, that the common racist is not a theorist that is able to justify "scientifically" his behavior, whereas the ideologue of race is not necessarily a racist in the common acceptance of the term. He believes it is possible that the latter's theories do not imply that the consideration of the existence of races is intrinsically evil.[16]

Thus we can conclude, as does that author, that the cleanliness of blood was a behavior framed in racism without this opinion being considered anachronistic. This does not exclude that, already, some theory was being developed as the debate was occurring at the time. This makes it play a part, in some fashion, in racialism and its most distinguishing characteristic: that the physical (appearance) determines what is moral. Aranzadi, agreeing with Todorov, believes that both Basque *foralismo* and casticism are classified as protoracisms or nonracialistic racisms.[17]

Let us note that Hering Torres concedes that both those who believe that racism is present and those that emphasize the religious, "pursue the same goals." This is the argument that Netanyahu uses to dispute Kisch. The attitude is always the same. What changes historically is the manner of justification that, like the case for colonialism, is almost always linked with ideology.

Another perceptive explanation, because it uses a metaphor that perfectly fits what we are pointing out, is found in an interesting study cited by Hering Torres, titled "multiphase growth model" (*mehrphasiges Wachstumsmodell*), by Rainer Walz. Hering Torres considers racism as a concept that has been adapting itself to each one of the relevant historical phases. This leads Hering Torres to compare the concept of "race" to a chameleon continually camouflaging itself, adapting with the passage of time to the vague areas of "knowing" and of "the truth." It survives, with different meanings, by fulfilling its marginalizing role.[18]

The cleanliness of blood doctrine was, undoubtedly, the result of several factors that, depending upon the times, joined together in different ways. Religious fanaticism was one of these. However, as we maintained earlier, what defines racism is the marginalizing activity resulting from genealogical questions of birth. This also determines the moral outlook to be attributed then to the victim, independently of the intention of the person ascribing it. This means that the individual who discriminates in that fashion, even though he might have done it exclusively for religious reasons, is guilty of involvement in a racially tinged type of action. In any case, the religious excuse would be a mitigating moral factor for his behavior.

For a better understanding, a comparison can be made with the image of the crime of homicide as defined in criminal law. The perpetrator may commit it intentionally, with premeditation, or with culpability, namely, unintentionally but negligently, which from the moral and also the legal point of view deserves a lesser sanction precisely because of the absence of intentionality. Nonetheless, what is important is the result, which is the death of an individual, which in all cases gives rise to a sanction appropriate for the behavior.

In the case that we analyze, the victim is unfairly discriminated against regardless of intention. It is well explained by Bauman: in racism, "One is before one acts. It is not the conduct which is pursued, but rather the condition of birth. This is, in a few words, the philosophical essence."[19] It is an ontological consideration.

4

The Jesuits and the Cleanliness of Blood[1]

Converted Jews in the Order. Attitude of Ignatius de Loyola, founder of the oOrder, toward the New Christians. Mention by Sacchini, Historian of the Order, about the origin of Laínez (Laynez). Decree 52 adopting the Cleanliness of Blood. Ribadeneira's (Ribadeneyra) memorandum; Hispanophobia and relationship of that attitude to the Black Semitic Legend.

Having defined my opinion on what I believe to be the nature of Spanish racism, I shall dwell on the comparative aspects within the debate. These happen on two levels: that of the historical linkage or at the conceptual level between the terms used in the comparison.

As we shall see further on, although the historical linkage is questionable, the case of the Jesuits and that of the *Chuetas* deserve special consideration. It becomes apparent that although the linkage is not neatly identified, a historical continuity of the same phenomenon is seen, where the marginalization within that religious order lasted for several centuries. For the *Chuetas* a similar situation still exists.

I have chosen the Jesuits because, as it will be seen, racial discrimination in that religious Order underwent extreme transformations, and also, as I have noted, it shows an undeniable historical continuity. Just as for Spanish racism, there is that same juncture that Marcel Bataillon describes for us[2]: a desire to eliminate the "infamy" of having Spaniards viewed as *marranos*, and this desire was projected into the 20th century. This persistent concern can be seen in a criticism appearing in the Order's publication *Razón y Fe*, in a 1939 article by the Jesuit Fernández Almuzara on Henry Ford's book *The International Jew*,

a markedly anti-Semitic work because of its reliance on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* whose historical authenticity cannot, according to Almuzara, be defended using sound judgment.

However, this 1939 defense against the slanderous allegations by the American industrialist was not gratuitous. It was also due to the racial obsession, noted by Bataillon, that according to Stallaert motivated the Jesuit Almuzara, to attempt to cleanse the reputation of the Society of Jesus from Henry Ford's accusations that the Jesuits "were the instruments of the Jews" and "were an underground force at the service of the synagogue." He argued that "no one is unaware that one of the impediments to becoming a Jesuit is the absence of the cleanliness of blood." Stallaert notes insightfully the important contradictions embodied in "the criticism of the racial anti-Semitism of the 20th century as a reality foreign to the Hispanic tradition" that governs *Razón y Fe,* "while the publication resorts to the use of its own Hispanic anti-Semitic tradition as an argument to affirm the cleanliness of its own Company."[3]

Thus, what happened with the *conversos* within the order at that earlier time allows us to perceive it in all its dimensions, historically even projected to our times. What happened then was due to the fact that the implementation within the Order of the regime of *limpieza* occurred tardily, and in Spain, mainly when there almost were no Judaizers, which made the debate between proponents and critics more passionate and become entirely theoretical and doctrinaire in character. The order was the last to repeal it; it remained in force until 1946. The historians of the order entered into this debate, since their publications recorded the lives of the founders, among whom there was Laínez, of *converso* origin.

According to Rey, the *conversos* that joined the Order were good religious observants, and some, such as Laínez, the second General of the order, and Polanco, the secretary destined to be a successor to Ignatius of Loyola, provided important services. The latter was challenged for that succession by the Spaniards and the Portuguese as well as by the historian Ribadeneira,[4] among others. This was taken advantage of by the Italian Jesuits to impose a countryman. In addition, Sicroff rightly states that the Society of Jesus (*Compañia de Jesús*) was conceived as such with the energetic collaboration of New Christians. Thus, it was the religious Community that most acutely suffered the painful consequences of the cleanliness of blood.

The relationship of the Jesuits with the New Christians was unique, but so also was the *conversos'* entrance into the religious orders in general, so that in this regard it was a consequence of that movement so well described by Vicens Vives. The considerable interest in becoming a part of them was due, according to Rey, to two historic causes: one social in origin and the other based on the religious

psychology of the *converso*. The first was derived from the defensive instinct of removing oneself from the permanent humiliation within a Society excessively sensitive due to its mania for the cleanliness of blood. The situation that produced that "stampede," as it is called, occurred before the creation of the Company. Therefore Rey believes that for the Company the second reason comes into play. This was the religious motivation that consisted of freeing themselves from the formalisms and ritual constraints of their religion and then frequently throwing themselves with true exultation into the profound exercise of Christianity.

Because of this there arose a very large number of prelates, inquisitors, monks and nuns, and their intervention was decisive in the whole Catholic reformist movement, which had started in Spain sooner than in the other European countries, and in which the Jesuits played such an important role. This situation led some to look upon the New Christians within the order as a possible spiritual danger, which gave rise to a dispute between the memorialists and the seditious. As we shall see, this dispute will be important in that at the margins of the racial factor it is related to a trait that later will be frequently found in modern anti–Semitism: the invocation of the troublemaker personality of the Jews, which will then be tied to other conspiratorial attitudes.

As is known, while he lived Ignatius of Loyola was opposed to the introduction of racial purity into his Company and, on the contrary, became emotional about the possibility of carrying the blood of Jesus. Moreover, he gave many signs of his understanding of what the New Christians meant, like the great work that he carried out in Rome for the conversion and catechization of the Jews, creating the House of the Catechumens. Nonetheless, some, especially those of the Portuguese Order, wanted to see in Ignatius attitudes favorable to Judaic discrimination.

Thus it is said that in the beginnings of the Company, faced with a question concerning Jews, Loyola when answering expressed with some irony that in his land there usually are no Jews, an answer that taking into account his Basque origin, some suppose was due to a wariness regarding them. The Basques as seen previously were the most harshly anti–Jewish in Spain, since not only were the Judeo-Christians discriminated against, but they were expelled or prohibited from residing in their country. Others interpreted that, although his posture based on the no-exclusion principle was clear, sometimes he made concessions so as not to irritate others and to accommodate himself to "the Spanish moods," thereby "territorializing" the matter.

In another instance he reportedly recommended being more careful and requiring greater assurances in the examination of New Christian candidates ("it looks appropriate to have more circumspection with them"). Another

more extreme interpretation, which would belong more to the Portuguese tradition than to the Castilian, states that Ignatius wanted to exclude the New Christians from the Society, but because of respect for some of his companions of that origin he relented.[5]

Nonetheless, we can say that while alive, as the good Christian he was, he remained firm, despite the attacks and the internal and external pressures. That policy was continued by his successor Laínez and with San Francisco Borja, Laínez's successor, who ratified it with even more fervor. This resulted in his being maliciously marked with impure blood. Only in 1592, when the company was ruled by General Acquaviva, was the cleanliness of blood established by means of Decree 52 (*Decreto* 52). This general later writes to Father Ribadeneira, in answer to his protest, that he personally did everything he could to prevent it, and that he was prepared to put some remedies in place.

I shall dwell on this point, because the memorandum directed by the historian Ribadeneira to General Acquaviva, the former having been witness to the path, taken by and the mentality of his predecessors in the directorate contains rightly so what, in my opinion, is his negative opinion about the measure. It is this negative opinion and the complaint that fully encompasses the Legend that concerns us. Ribadeneira, in Point 7 of his memorandum, states that the measure went against the honor of the Company (its supporters opined exactly the opposite) and also against the entire Spanish nation, which would be considered Jewish and *marrano* as it is called in Italy.

This historian (Ribadeneira) reasoned logically, beyond whether his complaint obeyed a humanitarian and Christian motivation or a concern about his own origin, with the logic which will be seen in all the cases that I analyze. These I can summarize in prosaic terms: if positions are presented in an obvious way, to point out that one does not belong to something, effects that most assuredly, many poorly disposed toward the person that so does will be suspicious of such a position and, in addition, will disseminate that suspicion.

It is almost axiomatic that a malevolent version will arise, and in this case it is paradoxical, that in Italy, the nation in which it is forged, that discrimination does not exist, and that is why the memorandum highlights that Jews still live there: "There is that difference."[6] In this way, through Ribadeneira's belief that it would generate an amplification of the idea that the Italians held of the relationships between Spaniards and the *marranos*, we can see how the adoption of Decree 52 was in itself related to the development of the Legend.

To demonstrate why that happened in that religious Order and not in the others, or at least not in the same way, it is enough to analyze how the question of the cleanliness of blood evolved differently within them. In the Order of the Jerónimos, the first to adopt it (with the express opposition of the Catholic

Kings), we find that "shame" (always the engine that, like foreign legends because they always come from an exaggerated or suspect origin, mobilizes genealogic concerns) fundamentally had religious motivations, given that there were reverberating cases of Judaizing clerics of *converso* origin, because at the time of its implementation, there as an indeterminate number of Judaizing *conversos*.[7] If we had to speak of multi-causality, we might say that the religious is the immediate cause while the racial is the secondary.

This is contrary to what happened with the *Limpieza* in the Order of the Jesuits, where the racial appeared immediately, overshadowing the religious. It is so because of its implementation by a process, well described by Netanyahu and by the Catholic publication *Razón y Fe*, too, which also emphasizes that there no longer were any Judaizing converts. Let it not be forgotten that this Order was the last to adopt it, with a lapse of at least one century, and that they, precisely because of that, were the most rigid in their racial intent. Moreover, it was in the Order where it was in force for the longest time, not being abolished until 1946, as a consequence of the Holocaust, the event that exceeded everything imaginable in the matter of discrimination for reasons of birth.

Despite what has been said, and as is noted by Rey at the beginning of the "highest point of the exaggerated Spanish susceptibility," the *limpieza* had not yet reached the Order because Ignatius of Loyola was tolerant, to the point that the second general of the order, Laínez, came from the origin later rejected. The moderation of the founder of the order perhaps was accentuated by his long sojourn in Rome. Additionally, he attempted to attend to the needs of the Jews of that city who wished to embrace Christianity. At the same time he indicated that it would be opportune for the New Christians in Spain, who were discriminated against, to move to Rome because there their status attracted less attention. This is how Rey clarifies it very precisely, when he maintains that when the subject is broached in relation to the Company of Jesus, one must understand that it relates to the Peninsular Company, because in the other countries it was of little or no interest.

I point this out because it bears on the outcomes that we are studying. It is not by accident that that severity should be seen in Spain despite the fact that the Order was present worldwide. Wright so indicates when he allocates the discrimination initiative to the Spanish branch of the Company, which was a permanent dissenter, because that nation always attempted to develop its own variety of ways of doing things.[8] Anyhow, this special modality, typically motivated by the Legend that concerns us, should not be confused with the Catholicism found in the Peninsula during the Middle Ages, a Catholicism that as we saw was characterized by tolerance and was thus frowned upon by European Catholicism.

The questioning became more acute when some of Laínez's biographical data became known. The scope of that questioning makes it possible to fully perceive the impact of the Black Legend. It puts in view how the national honor was wounded, when from abroad the supposed Jewish lineage of some Spanish public figure was mentioned, and much more so in his case, because of Laínez's acknowledged prestige. When Ignatius and Laínez disappeared from the scene, the respect that their memories commanded led several biographers to deal with their lives. Two of them (Ribadeneira and Sacchini) gave rise to polemics and censures within the Company. Notwithstanding the paradigmatic nature of the history written by Sacchini in relation to the Jewish theme in general, it also fully impacts his presumed Hispanophobia, be it because such tendencies did, or without any basis, were presumed to exist. However, in this case it was not a question of a version with a Hispanophobic bent, since only a historical truth was written about. There was no exaggeration or falsification of any fact, and thus it was not the case of a malevolent use of the Black Legend, but it was treated—as we have seen—as if it were so. As for Ribadeneira, his veracity was doubted as a consequence of having mentioned the parents of the second general, saying that they were honored. In a different sense, it important to mention a polemic that arose when Sacchini mentioned Ribadeneira's Jewish lineage, which led Rey to say that Sacchini "aired those situations 'to the four winds.'"

In addition, the Italian Jesuit criticizes Ribadeneira for having hidden his origin, and Rey continues by saying in relation to this, "As if there existed a historical norm that obliged one to report that a fourth Jewish grandfather had been a *converso*." That evaluation by Rey about Sacchini's conduct (airing Jewish lineages to the four winds) is a concrete accusation of having been one more shaper of the Legend that so disturbed the Hispanics. Rey considers it characteristic of those foreigners stirred by a marked hypersensitivity for whom all Spaniards were *marranos*. All of this caused the Provincial Congregation of Toledo, feeling injured, in 1622 to ask General Vitelleschi to order the removal of Sacchini's history from circulation until that slanderous smear was deleted.

Note that this discussion takes place 30 years after the enactment of Decree 52, so that by then the entire Company was obliged to comply with the purity of blood. Consequently, that the Jewish genealogy of no less than one of its great men should be aired could not be more scandalous. Beyond the injustice of Vitelleschi's order, the censors, perhaps rightly, proposed it as a concealment tactic, but a detail was missed: the recipient of the censure was an Italian, for which reason, perhaps, they should not have even tried it. If it were achieved, because of his Hispanophobia, as noted by Rey, the only thing that that attempt would have achieved would be to reinforce the Semiticizing

Black Legend. Because it was a very much commented-on event, it actually did serve to reinforce that Legend. Likewise, Sacchini, were he not a Hispanophobe—as I believe him not to have been—would not have accepted the censorship, because as an Italian he did not share the "Spanish mood" or its "exaggerated susceptibility."

Rey additionally believes that not all was the fault of the malevolent historian, but rather of the Spaniards, who at that time had given and continued to supply weapons to foreigners so that they could continue to exploit Laínez's Jewish lineage. This "supplying weapons" to foreigners so that they were able to continue exploiting Jewish genealogies is what we identify as the dialectic relationship (the tension between openness and privacy—both work to condition and *define* the other) between the Legends and the zeal for the purity of blood.

However, could we consider Sacchini to be a malevolent official historian of the Vatican, one more Hispanophobe, bearer of the classic Semiticizing Black Legend, and to make matters worse, an Italian from the country that was its cradle? To respond to this question and regardless of the reply, we shall be able to dwell again on the nature of the Semiticizing Black Legend. In that sense, we can affirm that the Catholicism of that period was compatible with that sentiment, but with a limit, which was the discrimination because of lineage that was characteristic of Peninsular Catholicism. On the other hand, every historian is obliged to narrate the events that have occurred, and those that are tied to the lineage of individuals are easily ascertained. Therefore, we do not see how Laínez's lineage, a matter of enormous importance, could have been omitted; an omission of that nature would be equivalent to a falsehood.

Even so, his nationality could have led to the presumption of that anti–Spanish animosity. Moreover, it was not enough to belong to a religious order to dismiss the presumption, since no less than Pope Paul IV showed that animosity. Nonetheless, Sacchini did not leave statements of that nature. Yet, although Rey does not expressly attribute to him a hatred toward the Spanish nation, we can interpret that he considers Sacchini in that manner when he uses phrases such as "air to the four winds" or "as if there existed a historical norm that obliged one to report that a fourth Jewish grandfather had been a *converso*." That is, without the requirement to do so, combined with other related phrases such as "some foreigners stirred by a marked hypersensitivity and for whom all Spaniards were *marranos*," Rey takes us close to where for logical reasons of hermeneutics (text interpretation) we may presume that Rey believes was what the Italian historian wanted to say.

However, in my opinion, Sicroff succeeds in his attempts to debunk those accusations. Since in this case we cannot put the word Hispanophobia into

this author's mouth, we will have to make an even greater interpretative effort to determine that his arguments are related to this discussion, despite the previously mentioned approximation. Nor is Sicroff's disagreement directed at Rey, but rather at Sacchini's challengers of his time, who maintained that by describing the Jewish origins of Laínez the Company of Jesus was harmed. Sicroff indirectly refutes that preconception for the reasons that we shall see. Fundamentally, these are based on the ideas that exalting the virtues of Laínez would be very far from a Hispanophobic vision. Among his arguments Sicroff asks: how could it be said that he, Sacchini, had dishonored the name of Laínez when he had written so much about his wisdom, about his circumspection and piety? Sicroff recalled that Sacchini had stated that "the brilliance of the virtue cannot be diminished by the flaws in lineage" and that "it was the virtue that makes the lineage resplendent." This Sicroff considers a challenge to the foundation itself of the *Estatutos* then in full force for the Company.[9] It is worth remembering that Sacchini wrote when the Statutes governed the life of the Company, and that those objections to his traumatic, not to say scandalous, affirmations are understandable.

This is the challenge that Sacchini makes (to the demand for censorship) when he says that the second general was of Jewish blood and that this constituted one more proof of the charity of the first Jesuits, given that they had no reservations, as long as those who had that blood showed laudable qualities. In regard to Laínez, these became evident from the moment that he was entrusted with an important undertaking in the Council of Trent. Further, when he maintained that the "dishonor" does not affect the entire Company if its members residing outside of Spain do not consider it so, he made evident the little importance that was given to the quality of blood. With these considerations we believe that it is shown that Sacchini was not a Hispanophobe, because it was typical of them to highlight the vices and not the virtues of designated individuals. Nonetheless, and we have already seen this, the discussion that became public functioned like the typical reaction confronted by a Hispanophobic attitude: what was desired to be hidden or censured was spread even more. Ultimately, Rey is doing nothing but dealing with this matter presumptively.

The law of presumptions teaches us that, things being a certain way, a conclusion can be assumed, which can be absolute when no contrary evidence can be brought forward, or relative if it can be rebutted by showing (with proofs) that that conclusion is not correct. In the case at hand, if an Italian mentions as a mere historical fact that a Spaniard has Jewish roots, must we necessarily suppose that he is Hispanophobic? Since we are dealing with presumptions, it is appropriate to make it clear that conclusions of that nature

can also be considered absolute or relative. The case (of presumed Hispanophobia) we are dealing with is of the latter type, namely, that it can be invalidated with sufficient reasons, like those we have given. In this discussion I believe I have neutralized the presumption that Sacchini was a Hispanophobe bearer of a Black Legend.

To capture Sacchini's skills as a historian, thus dismissing the prejudgmental Hispanophobic attitude attributed to him, let us let him speak:

> Should anyone be unwilling to set down aught save the good, then let him not call his book History, but rather Select History.... To wish to persuade the world that our Society never was touched by a breath of scandal would be ... extravagance of pride seeing that there were scandals among the Apostles and the first deacons.... All history, sacred or secular, has the same tale of imperfection to tell, so why should we want our history to be something special?[10]

On the basis of what has been said, we can maintain that the introduction of biological selection in the Company is very much tied to the Semiticizing Black Legend. This conclusion is reinforced if we abide by Ribadeneira's memorandum directed to the Company. In its seventh argument he clearly states that the measure would go against the Company, including even the entire Spanish nation, which will be seen in Italy as totally Jewish and *marrano*. However, in his response to Ribadeneira, General Acquaviva states that he did all he could to prevent the enactment of the *Decreto* (52) and gave proof of wishing to diminish its impact.[11] Thus, the two attitudes are well defined. General Acquaviva like the Italian that he is, possibly aligned with the sensibilities of all non–Spaniards of that time, does not identify himself with the measure of segregation because of condition of birth. Additionally, Ribadeneira relates that he had been informed that the priests in Italy were saying that as far as they were concerned, "it could be undone," but that they did not know if the Spanish priests "would come to it."[12]

I would exclude Rey's interpretation about Sacchini's presumed Hispanophobia as wrong in my judgment because of too sensitive an attitude toward the foreign Black Legend. However, looking at the background of the question, Rey believes that the historical reasons for the problem of the New Christians within the Company have to be looked for in the simple fact of the large number of prelates, inquisitors, and other clergy of Jewish blood, even though sincere, who enter the religious orders and who never constituted a spiritual danger for the order, and while some, he states, intervened in disputes as rogues and memorializers, so did others who did not descend from Jews, who mostly were good religious observants.

This decisive intervention that he believes has been biasedly interpreted by Bataillon and Castro, the latter being accused, as is also Sánchez Albornoz,

of rejoicing in discovering Jewish blood in famous Spanish persons, something that if true would promote the Legend.[13] The argument that Bataillon and Castro advance is that the entire Catholic reformist movement that started in Spain ahead of the other European countries[14] was the result of the resentful and extremist mindset of the neophytes. This would also account for the strictness of the Inquisition. We have already seen that these assertions were refutable. Additionally, by saying that "at the end the Company of Jesus, better said the Spanish and Portuguese Companies, since the others had little or no interest, had their Statute of total and absolute *limpieza* with no generational limit and without exceptions of any other type,"[15] Rey is overemphasizing the matter regarding the Spanish Company, something of decisive importance for the outcome I wish to show: it is a Spanish problem due to a fear of a loss of prestige because of the rumors.

An attempt to neutralize this problem of loss of prestige was made with a bloodline discrimination within the Company more stringent than that imposed in other religious orders, that happened when the existence of Judeo-Christians was real and the Judaizing risk was certain, as happened in the Order of the Hieronymites. In the years 1592–93 when the Statutes were enacted the possibility of Judaizing was almost nonexistent and only in very isolated cases. It was a question of social prestige, easily seen when the authorities that were asking for it complained that of the 600 students enrolled in the Colegio de Córdoba, among them sons of the most noble families and of the purest blood in the city, not one professed in the Company. It was alleged that the explanation for that aversion to Cordobese Jesuits was the reputation that all were Jews.

Here we have the peculiarity that the Semiticizing Black Legend, which consisted in exaggerating the bloodline of that origin, is forged in the interior of Spain, in advance of that which I shall analyze in the next chapter and call the internal Black Legend. It replaces the Hispanophobic foreigners, but when faced with the danger of losing fame or prestige, the reaction is the same: the remedy must be genealogical. Because of that, when the ignominious system is consecrated, the basis used is the "need to safeguard the Company's reputation." As nothing was said of preserving religious integrity, the measure clearly appeared to be racist without any mitigation.

Beyond this social consideration based on prestige, new bases were used, something that became the issue for the rebels and memorialists within the Company, since there arose the accusation that they all were New Christians. Ribadeneira responded that there were no more nor less in that group than there were in the group of the observant. [Old Christians.]

Such jumble of genealogy mixed with religion could bring about nothing

more than resentments and hatred, something that Domínguez Ortiz describes quite well: "Those withered sealed documents distilled blood and bile; they were cries of human beings that convulsed with hatred, with anger, against the fate that imposed upon them a sin of origin in which their will had not had a part."

With these considerations I believe that I have contributed to showing that in the Spanish Company of Jesus, the bonds between the Semiticizing Black Legend and the cleanliness of blood, between hatred and shame that fed on each other, constituted a model for historical study. This is because in it that Spanish tragedy, so vividly described by that Spanish historian, developed as in no other order or aspect of Spanish life.

At first its effects were "if anyone wishes ill to another, from now on he will be able to give him trouble and worry." Then, when the restriction was attenuated, it was more symbolic than real.[16] Its effects continued until recent times to such an extent that their influence extended beyond the Second World War when it was repealed, we suppose for a reason of conscience related to the Holocaust. At least that is what Reites leads one to believe.[17]

That obsession had such an effect that, according to Domínguez Ortiz, "There were theologians that justified murdering the slanderer ... because the Spaniard lived in a state of anguish and excitability that reflected his internal insecurity. He did not have the calm certainty of his own worth and, carried by the current, gave more value to appearances than to facts."[18]

5

Netanyahu and Racism in Germany and in Inquisitorial Spain

Differences based on the religious factor. Bauman's opinion of German racism. Disagreements and agreements between the opinions of Roth and Netanyahu. Massive conversions as trigger of the racial aspect in one instance, and the weakening of the religious factor in the other.

Just as the nature of the first racism mentioned in the title of this chapter is not questioned as being such because of the era in which it is described (which is when the anthropological classifications of the races begin), the nature of the second is controversial for the reasons which we have considered previously.

For some the "Judaization of the *conversos*" was a generalized phenomenon, and paradoxically, this idea is shared by the so-called throne and altar national-Catholic historians, but also by learned Jewish historians with a victimist conception of the history of the Jews in Spain like Baer, Roth, Révah, Baron, and Beinart. These by so doing indirectly justify the Inquisitorial intervention and, in some way, do not acknowledge the racist character of the cleanliness of blood. Effectively, if all the *conversos* Judaized, the discriminatory measures would have been explained because of their behavior and not for having been born Jews. If the *conversos* incurred the offense of heresy, the persecution to which they were submitted would be religious.

Those Jewish historians used to see in the persecuted *conversos* a community of martyrs of Judaism, and it was precisely Netanyahu who attempts to dismantle those convictions by maintaining that in reality the Inquisition "burned" Christians and not crypto-Jews, because in time the latter ended by professing Christianity sincerely. In Spain the *conversos*—he explains—

attempted to live secretly like Jews, but soon began to feel the difficulty of leading a double life. Gradually, in increasing numbers they started to abandon the Jewish customs and laws and started to live as real Christians. The generalized lack of hope for the future of Judaism accelerated that process, as well as the wish to free their children from a crisis of identity.

As we have seen, Salazar Acha in some way shares that opinion in the sense that the *conversos* ended up by sincerely being Christians. He believes "that, in the first generations, there was a certain awareness of race and of belonging to the *converso* class, but this, very possibly, did not go beyond the third generation." This in some way confirms that assimilation was complete by the third generation.[1]

As was noted in the previous chapter, the Jesuit historian Rey corroborates that interpretation in the Catholic publication *Razón y Fe*. Rey maintains that that Order incorporates the cleanliness of blood when no Judaizers existed any longer, an opinion also shared by Spinoza. Accordingly, Netanyahu infers that the Inquisition's attacks were racial, just as were the outbursts that occurred after each event of massive conversions.

Beginning the analysis that includes German racism, Netanyahu reflects on whether the *Sentencia Estatuto* of Toledo did not have a racial but rather a religious nature. He wonders why those that believe thus can evade the following question: how could a policy that was essentially religious lead in fifteenth century Spain to results corresponding to those aimed at by modern racial legislation in Europe?[2]

The German 19th century racism that Netanyahu compares is all-encompassing of different eras in Germany, from its most intensive peak reached during Nazism as well as those earlier times in Germany that would have served as its antecedent.

On the other hand, the previously mentioned correlation or affinity of both racisms had already been observed by Cecil Roth in 1940, when he maintained that "the prejudice which had previously been ostensibly religious became racial."[3] And Netanyahu in his work mentions that he agrees with that conclusion, but he believes that the Jewish-British historian erred in his evaluation of the reasons for that passage from religion to race. The reasons that Netanyahu advances make a better understanding of the similarities and differences of both processes possible.

According to Roth, the transformation in both countries of the prejudice in the manner described happened because of the elimination of the prohibitions (in Spain when they converted). Netanyahu believes that in Germany racism appeared before that liberation and that the jealousies were not the causes but rather the weakening of the religious factor as a barrier to the social

equalization of the Jews. This produced the fear in many Germans that that would lead to the full assimilation of the Jews into German culture and, finally, into their ethnic fusion.

Netanyahu interprets that that fear was not unfounded as shown by the advance of assimilation and the "plague of conversion" that erupted around 1805. That decline in the religiosity is noticed by Börne, who states that "even the most vicious hypocrite does not dare say that he persecutes the Jew because of his religion."[4] The difference perceived by Netanyahu is very subtle, but despite its subtlety he had good reasons for its delineation.

Conversion in Spain was equivalent to emancipation in the European countries in the modern age, and that was the factor that emerged in racial form, while the weakening of religiosity within German society (thus reducing the social barrier it created) made the assimilation of the Jews possible, whether socially in Germany or in Spain by means of the "plague of conversion," which came much before emancipation. We could say that what causes the emergence of the racial element is assimilation in both cases, but in the Spanish case conversion leads to this assimilation through something similar to emancipation, while in the German case assimilation is achieved because of the weakening of the religious element.

Netanyahu states that contrary to what happened in Spain, the decline in the influence of religion in Germany obliged the racists to develop another barrier that would be impassable: the alleged racial inferiority of the Jews. This was taken advantage of by the anti-Semitic agitators of the times such as Ruehs and Scheuring.

Netanyahu describes how the German racist campaign that advanced toward 1840, within its first wave that spanned the years 1815–1850, could not detain the progress toward Jewish emancipation (1860). This was so because predominantly antiracial international currents were circulating during that same period. However, when between 1860 and 1880 the social penetration of the Jews continued in all directions, the second racist campaign was initiated, which was able to conquer new ground and set the base for the third—and final—racial campaign at the end of the First World War.

Consequently, he is interested in pointing out that in Germany the racial crusade was marked by a constant and progressive neutralization of religion; in the first stage Christian theological arguments were still used, much less in the second, and in the last they were dispensed with almost completely. This is how he believes that racism in Germany came to serve as the obstacle to equalization, and quoting E. Sterling, "National Socialism took most of its slogans from the teachings of the Germanomania and from the fanatic wing of German conservatism in the first half of the 19th century."[5]

In brief, for Netanyahu the development of racism was similar and different in both countries; similar because the religious argument by itself proved inadequate, and different because of the causes of that insufficiency in exploiting the religious differences. The decline of that factor in Germany resulted from the general reduction in the religious factor, while in Spain, where the triumph of Christianity was at its peak, one could not rely on the religious difference because it had disappeared due to the mandatory conversion of all its inhabitants, for which reason they had to reinforce their campaign by resorting to the theory of race.

In Germany secularism advanced, thus reducing the religious influence that was a barrier, and therefore racism emerged, while in Spain everyone was Christianized and the religion was in its fullness; religious persecution did not stop because it continued against the heresies, but the racial persecution accompanied it, and as Netanyahu reiterates, on occasions, it surpassed it. In one case the religious barrier, despite society's being at the apogee of its faith, no longer served because all the Jews were Christianized, and in the other (German) case that religious barrier was weakened.

6

The Polemic of Netanyahu with Historians and Hispanists

Netanyahu's work that merits plaudits from his own critics. The opinions that sparked the polemic. Refutation by Domínguez Ortiz and by Escudero, editor of the *Revista de la Inquisición*. Opinions of Jackson and Pardos. Involvement of Contreras. Bibliographical review by García Gárcel. Clarification by Netanyahu. Alcalá and his extensive commentary on that work. Debate on the percentage of *conversos* that Judaized. Opinions of Domínguez Ortiz and Márquez Villanueva. Genocidal purposes of the anti-*converso* leaders. Testimonies from Old Christians Montalvo, Oropesa and Barrientos. Study of Hebrew historical sources. Alcalá contests the opinion of Monter on the interpretation of the concept of race. Articulation of the factors or motives that led to the creation of the Inquisition.

Benzion Netanyahu, professor emeritus of Cornell University in the United States, delved deeply into his studies on Judeo-*conversos*. In 1999 he published a 1,367 page book on the origins of the Inquisition, a book that has been considered, even by those who do not agree with him in some aspects, as a book of great scholarship. [Here, the author is referring to the Spanish translation of the original 1995 English edition.]

Its publication in Spain generated a fiery discussion that transcended academia, because the polemic between qualified historians and Hispanists was published in the Spanish newspaper with the widest circulation, in a section intended for public opinion.

Thus we can say that Netanyahu's thought, because of its influence, was at the hub of the debate that developed in *El País* and in the *Revista de la*

Inquisición.[1] The reading of those articles is very enlightening, and although it all originated in the search for the motives for the creation of the Inquisitorial tribunal, the racial factor was analyzed exhaustively. For this they refer to the "Spanish case" as being comprehensive of all that is related to that factor, including the tribunal, and with it (all) the comparisons that we have seen.

However, I believe that Netanyahu's opinions relating to the racial motivations (that he explores in his work *The Origins of the Inquisition*) would not have resulted in that polemic's harshness if he had limited them to the genealogical or to racial discrimination. This is so because in a certain way Domínguez Ortiz and Escudero, who are those who responded with the greatest acrimony, in some ways recognize, although belatedly and as an afterthought, some racism in the Inquisitorial proceedings.

It so happens that in that work Netanyahu makes statements that, although not so forceful and provocative as those of Juan Goytisolo, were not far from them. Goytisolo felt that "the Inquisition and the cleanliness of blood together configured a doctrine that, when reprocessed or rewritten, served as the basis for the Nazi barbarity."[2] Netanyahu assigned genocidal designs to the Inquisition, and above all, to Alonso de Espina, a fanatic anti-*converso*, who had been its guide and who suggested two possible ways for the elimination of the Jews: extermination or expulsion.

He bases that statement on the fact that, inasmuch as the racists were not satisfied with the anti-*converso* laws, because they understood that they likely would be undermined or that the *conversos* would influence the kings to abrogate them, the only way to avoid the disasters of assimilation was with a large scale massacre of *conversos*. According to Bernáldez, the whole lineage was infamous and therefore all the Judaizers deserve to be "consumed" by fire.

Nor was the result of their procedures satisfactory to the anti-*converso* party, as he calls it, because there occurred very few convictions despite the fact that, as Netanyahu believes, this tribunal acted in such a way that religion served as the excuse for a basically antireligious persecution. However, in reality the anti-*conversos* were seeking the genocide of a multitude of Christians, because that was what the *conversos* were.

Nonetheless, when Netanyahu compares those circumstances with German Nazism, he notes similarities but points out a very important difference: while the latter grew in a nihilistic culture able to value brute power without reservation, the Inquisition acted in a social climate permeated with religious concepts and principles. Consequently, while Nazism announced its goals openly, the Inquisition never revealed its true goal and had to present its brutal accusations as necessary means for the exaltation of the Catholic faith. Fur-

thermore, I believe that another important difference is the concurrent existence of other factors in addition to the racial.

The critique directed at Netanyahu by Domínguez Ortiz in *El País* encompasses all aspects of Netanyahu's work, but I shall limit myself to what interests us at this time. It is where Domínguez Ortiz's indignation is shown when he uses the following expression: "ends with a harangue in which Hitler and the Holocaust are alluded to, as if there were some parity between those events and the Spanish case, in which certainly there were very condemnable occurrences, but of another character and on another scale."[3] By this he believes that Netanyahu has gone too far. Nonetheless, he admits that the doctrine in question had a racist flavor: "it was a belated phenomenon, folkloric and not at all violent, because in modern Spain there no longer were Jews." According to Álvarez Chillida and also Caro Baroja the process in no way was folkloric.

For his part Escudero, editor of the *Revista de la Inquisición,* maintained that the only racist vestige of Inquisitorial history is the cleanliness of blood, which was a deferred and subsequent phenomenon.[4] While admitting the existence of an unfortunate presumption of guilt and uncertain guarantees, Escudero attempts to neutralize Netanyahu's opinions with reasonable procedural arguments, since for him the parallelism with the Nazi extermination is inadmissible. This is not only for quantitative reasons, but also for qualitative ones related to the penal code, where Inquisitorial procedures were individualized. Nevertheless, he considers these to be proceedings toward a goal, and that, when compared to the collective and indiscriminate massacres of German National Socialism, carried out without trial, is evidence that not everything has been the same.[5]

Gabriel Jackson, a historian and Hispanist of Jewish origin, reviewed that controversy in that same publication.[6] For Jackson it was a fascinating exchange of viewpoints, since Inquisitorial issues never cease to raise the passions of those who study them. He points out that he believes that the polemic illustrates an unfortunate tendency among academicians very committed to seeking clear and definitive answers to questions that, by their nature, are complex. This is so because the *conversos* were not a solid block, and, among them, there were several nuances in the degree of adhesion to Catholicism,[7] since the problem was not if the *conversos* were "sincere" or not, but rather if they were or were not "orthodox."

Although Jackson accepts that the Jewish documents of the time consider that the *conversos* of third and fourth generation reflect their (a) loss for the Jewish community, that in itself is not proof of (Catholic) orthodoxy. This last observation of Jackson, although correct, does not invalidate Netanyahu's opinion, since the latter accepts the possibility of the existence of embers of

residual Judaism in some *conversos*, related, more than anything, to cultural aspects.

As an example, the custom of not eating pork due to the lack of habit did not weaken the religious loyalty, although it must be admitted that such a dietary preference might reveal a clue that could lead to dire presumptions by the Inquisitorial tribunal. Jackson concludes by leveling a very severe criticism for what he considers a disproportionate comparison, because the complexity that he mentions should not lead to "melodramatic simplifications," because what did happen was not a "holocaust" since "two thousand killed at the stake and thousands of property confiscations because of thought crimes, although they do constitute a story of enormous cruelty, are not the equivalent of six million murders without the least pretext of criminal activity, simply death because of their Jewish ancestry."

Pardos,[8] for his part, believes that at that time Christianity "was diversified and stressed to the extreme" and blames Netanyahu for passing over important sources such as the *Católica Impugnación* by Friar Hernando de Talavera, of *converso* origin, which shows a sincere concern because of the existing heretic tendencies.

Contreras, who did not participate directly in the discussion, also mentioned his disagreement with regard to Netanyahu's interpretation, because he considers the historical extremes analyzed not to be comparable, notwithstanding having stated that the 1492 expulsion caused Spain to lose the historical moment to project herself into modernity and her encounter with capitalism. Because of this, he believes that the opportunity was lost to introduce the principles that have shaped Western thought: laity, human rights, and freedom of thought.

Although the cleanliness of blood policy, the one in play when the comparison is made, is not expressly addressed by Contreras, he refers to the expulsion, which I believe for him symbolizes, as the Inquisition does for Netanyahu, all the anti–Jewishness that is implied in it. In this way he considers that that tragic event in Jewish historiography/history resides, with somber colors, among other tragic events in Jewish history, like the destruction of the Temple and the Holocaust. It is precisely in relation to those disastrous milestones in Jewish history, from which he does not diminish the dramatic nature, that he is very critical of the possibility of equating them.

Thus, and with these terms, he explains his disagreement:

> The Spanish experience of the Jews was certainly tragic and painful, but it is somewhat grotesque to explain it as being inserted in a fatalistic loop in which the Inquisitors of the Holy Office dance the dance of the damned, together with the officers of the Roman legions and the officials of the Nazi extermination. To

> visualize Titus, the Catholic Kings, and the Führer within the same historical sequence may constitute an attractive scenario for an exercise of millenarian projection, but from every point of view it is inadequate for historical analysis. This is because to place oneself on the blind wheel of time entails awaiting with fatalism the next catastrophe, thus constantly filling with ghosts the compartments of memory. There is no possible remembrance without allowing for the exercise of hope.[9]

I also view as an important consideration the book review by García Cárce:

> Netanyahu's work above all merits our scientific admiration and respect. He has forced us to rethink the identity of the Judeo-*conversos* and to delve deeply into the reasons for the establishment of the Inquisition. These are rather more complex than the official view (the religious problem) and the overly simple alternative explanations (economic greed or search for the strengthening of the State). He has shown our true colors by pointing to our ignorance of the Christian sources of the 14th and 15th centuries. He has touched our sensitive fibers by referring more or less explicitly to the racist substrate that beats in phenomena like the cleanliness of blood. However, beyond confirming his value as a learned investigator, I also wish to stress that Netanyahu has the rare virtue of inducing an undeniable consensus in the irritation of his Spanish readers.[10]

For his part, Netanyahu then addressed Domínguez Ortiz, noting that his own opinions neither spoke to nor insinuated parity and that he delineated important differences. In Spain the anti-*converso* movement that inspired the Inquisition was never embraced by the entire Spanish people nor did it overcome the power always retained by the kings and which actually curbed the aspirations of some of the anti-*conversos*. He then adds that in Spain there always existed a minority of Spaniards who opposed those absurdities, showing sympathy for the *conversos*, and at times risking their own lives by sheltering them, in addition to marrying them. Because of those attitudes, the *conversos* soon disappeared as an ethnic group.

I believe that in this debate all the participants appeared very sensitive because, in reality, Netanyahu perhaps showed counterfactual aspects of a violence that did exist and, if we consider the statements of Alonso de Espina or Marcos García, had genocidal aspects. De Espina and García, according to Alcalá, are qualified representatives of the anti-*converso* movement. However, the principal part of Netanyahu's thesis was the racism that animated the movement, and this was not refuted.

Taking that into account, Domínguez Ortiz, in principle, admits the presence of racism, and, moreover, Netanyahu clarifies it very well when he explains that the racist profile of that tribunal starts when Fernando disappears (although as we have seen there is the concurrent installation of a racial motivation in its creation due to the pressure of those anti-*converso* groups).

Netanyahu additionally admits—as we shall see—the concurrence of other factors, since the Inquisition was created for the purity of the faith. I shall bypass analyzing this part of the dispute, because ultimately they agree.[11]

On the other hand, for Domínguez Ortiz the majority of the *conversos* were either authentic Christians or were disbelievers. His opinion agrees with that of Márquez Villanueva, who wrote, "The crypto–Jew in the 15th century was no more than a small minority and at the same time inconsequential," and thereby "the myth of the universal apostasy of the *conversos* passed away, to the grief of those who wished to acclaim them as a community of martyrs, as well as for the defenders of the heretical-catastrophist thesis." These words from two so well qualified historians as those mentioned, bring us close to Netanyahu's theory, whereby Domínguez Ortiz's criticisms cannot be well understood.

In addition, regarding what appears like a profound dissention, we shall see that it does not exist or is not so deep, especially if we consider what Alcalá states and the explanation that Netanyahu gave with regard to how his opinion should be interpreted. Alcalá translated Netanyahu's work and thus knows it like few others. He intervened in the polemic with a long article in which he describes in detail the aspects with which he agrees and those where he has objections. Alcalá also mentions Netanyahu's presentation at the International Symposium on the Inquisition in New York in 1983, which was anticipatory of the work that concerns us and the title of which, *Motivos o Pretextos*, well summarizes the question.[12]

A paper that Alcalá wrote regarding Netanyahu's *Origins of the Inquisition* contains opinions and comments that are highly instructive as to Netanyahu's positions.[13] Among the highlights that he deals with is the belief that in the documentation that was the basis for the request for the creation of the Inquisition, there is no mention that Judaization of the *conversos* was a massive and collective phenomenon. Alcalá thus believes that what Netanyahu attempts to show is that that approach for justifying the Inquisition was based on a fictitious accusation, and thus its creation must have been in response to other motives. With this Netanyahu tended to unmask that ultra–Catholic position shared, as we have seen, by not a few Jews. Consequently, after having investigated Jewish sources he came to the conclusion that the Jewish leaders of the time simply considered the immense majority of the *conversos* or New Christians as apostates, not crypto–Jews, but rather assimilated into the Old Christian majority or close to being so.

Another argument that weakens the presumption that the majority of the *conversos* Judaized is the one that Alcalá introduces with the following question: why at the moment of truth did it persecute and process so few *con-*

versos? It is calculated that in the first years, that is those during the more severe persecution, they did not reach even 5 percent.

Alcalá believes that we owe the detailed analysis of the reasons, motives, and pretexts that led to the creation of the Inquisition to the two great works by Netanyahu. In these he does not limit himself to listing them but rather articulates them intelligently and, at the same time, is faithful to the historical sources and within the very complex circumstances of the second half of the 15th century. The listing that Alcalá makes is simple: there were social, religious, economic, political, and racial factors, none isolated from the others. That study demanded of Netanyahu more than 20 years of perceptive research.

Alcalá points out that Netanyahu's analysis is also very significant when he provides the respected testimony of three Old Christian intellectuals like Montalvo, Oropesa, and Barrientos. These maintained that because the *conversos* were good Christians, the attacks on them were unjustifiable, even scandalous. We have already seen that Alcalá notes that Alonso de Espina and other vociferous fanatics demanded the genocide of both *conversos* and Jews alike.

Alcalá, addressing the criticism directed at Netanyahu, states that, as was noted, he has not gone too far but that he has been interpreted poorly. However, what is certain—Alcalá believes—is that with his monumental work he has split the waters and has made very interesting contributions, as for example, that the restrictions for reasons of birth are prior to the Toledo Statute that we are discussing, which would reveal that racism is not so belated. We have already seen that at the time of Sisebuto the *conversos* were not allowed to occupy public offices. Later, in various cities such as Córdoba (1241), Carmona (1247), and Alicante (1251), Jewish descent brought about a discrimination that the authorities attempted to stop by means of legal measures, like the *Las Partidas*.

Netanyahu's theory is that to fight the few large pockets of Judaizers, an episcopal Inquisition such as existed in the other countries would have been sufficient, but that it was instituted (in Spain) in the manner known responding to an already irrepressible racial pressure. One may agree or not with that interpretation, but some of the facts that Netanyahu points out speak for themselves. Furthermore, this historian dealt with the comparison by especially showing the difference between the two countries (referring also to Germany). This difference was thanks to a significant and distinguished minority in Spain (which he calculates to be a fourth of the Old Christians) that restrained the racists' aspirations. As noted by Spinoza, the disappearance of the *conversos* as an ethnic group was soon achieved.

It is for those reasons, he points out, that that way of thinking was never embraced by the totality of the Spanish people and that neither did it seize

power.[14] These are Alcalá's words interpreting Netanyahu's text, but to this we can add that the latter made clear that it was not his intention to establish the "parity" mentioned between the Hitlerian Holocaust and the Spanish case, but rather quite the contrary. Additionally, he only finds a common cause in the racism, which is what we assume to be modern anti-Semitism of both countries: the inefficacy of the religious motive, as a pretext for the persecution. This occurred in Germany because Christianity had lost its vigor and in Spain because the *conversos* already were Christians.

Netanyahu insists on denying having insinuated parity, but instead, on the contrary, he believes that he has clearly noted the disparity.[15] Furthermore, he considers in his Appendix on the racial issue that in Spain after the total blending of the *conversos* with the Spanish people had occurred, those who won the final battle were the Catholic Church and the majority of the *conversos*. What is certain is that this historian, to whom the most extreme position is attributed, and we could even add that his involvement generates the most clarifying polemic, recognizes the differences between the models. In that way we might consider the question resolved.

It is when one engages in rigorous and scientific study that the matching shows conspicuous dissimilarities. On the contrary, when the analysis is done swiftly and without observing the required precautions, the impression that one gets, is that the similarities flow easily.

Since it is a matter of observing to the fullest those historical precautions, I believe it opportune to insist on the cautions, so as not to fall into extravagant conclusions. Therefore, I find it appropriate to cite Vincente Massot, who also cautions us about the excesses into which one may fall when speaking of parallelisms and analogies. Thus he states, "The temptation to draw historical parallels and to find analogies wherever, in the facts of the past and the phenomena of the present, has become a practice—in truth, contagious—with the intention of giving authority to one's arguments. Those who so proceed not always are fully aware of the dangers that arise from looking with bygone mirrors at the realities of today."

In contrast Netanyahu respects the historical context in which the cleanliness of blood was forged when he maintains that it was completely different, because in Spain the descendants of Jews, who, moreover, easily outwitted the restrictive measures, were neither expelled nor was there a desire to annihilate them. As an apologetic literature related to the statutes developed, there were important figures and theologians who were questioning the measures in an environment where there was no uniformity as existed in the society, perhaps enforced by terror, in which the German laws were born. The Spanish legal measures were profoundly anti-Semitic, we might say the first in history, even

before Marr coined that term, and consequently ontologically discriminatory, but neither lethal nor expelling for the *conversos*.

If we pay attention to what Caro Baroja teaches, this historian makes other clarifications: German anti-Semitism by its eminently secular character is nonetheless a variety of anti-Semitism that can now serve us as a viewpoint for comparison, but only secondarily. This is so because although it is the heir of the older (that is, the one created by Christian peoples), it is, at the same time anti-Christian, as has been pointed out by authors of differing ideologies.

It is very interesting when Alcalá intervenes in the discussion by defending Netanyahu's position from the attacks of several authors, especially that from Monter because it provides us with some indications of how Netanyahu interprets the concept of race within the historical context with which he deals. When Monter says to Netanyahu that he uses a fallacious terminology, because he interprets race as a modern concept with biological roots, while the original documents simply cite "lineage," "generation," and even "nation," Alcalá believes that in the context that Netanyahu uses them they come to mean practically the same thing.[16] It is something similar to what Netanyahu said in response to Kisch.

Additionally, and as it is well clarified by Alcalá defending Netanyahu's position, there was not a total replacement, but rather there were several factors, among them the racial, and none isolated from the others. To articulate their greater or lesser importance is what Netanyahu has actually done, specifically clarifying it by saying, "What I have wanted is to show that the racial persecution accompanied the religious throughout a great period of the inquisitorial history and, at times, exceeded it."

In reality, Alcalá refutes Netanyahu's critics, perhaps with more effectiveness than Netanyahu himself. Among them is—as we have seen—Escudero, who, according to García Cárcel, interprets that for Netanyahu the Inquisition is essentially racist.

Alcalá agrees that (King) Fernando was not racist, but that the motive was, in Kamen's terms, an outright act of "Realpolitik."[17] He further cites a letter that Netanyahu sent him, in reply to one of his own, in which he expressed his doubts about the racist theory, and where in express terms indicated that he did not consider the racial factor as being exclusive.

7

Stallaert's Anthropological Comparativism

Policies and bureaucracies serving in a project of ethnic cleansing. Similarities between that which is *völkisch* and that which is *castizo*. Marcel Detienne and constructive comparativism. Broad or metonymical meaning of some terms. Introduction to the question by the work of Viktor Klemperer. Races, ethnicities and the racial inaccuracies of both ethnicisms. Reviews by González Calleja and García Gárcel. Racial invisibility of the Jews and other comparisons. Specific comparative aspects. Critiques of the thinking of Sánchez Albornoz.

When the repercussions of the disputes originated by Netanyahu's work had not as yet dissipated, Christiane Stallaert, a Hispanist and anthropologist from Louvain, published a book that according to García Cárcel would be its echo, commenting further that she "has taken the bull by the horns" by developing extensively and meticulously the comparative parallelism in question. The study analyzes that which Nazi Germany and Inquisitorial Spain have in common, starting by noting a bureaucratic apparatus established to serve in the execution of a project of ethnic cleansing initiated by the State and shielded by the law.

Both in Germany and in Spain the implementation of that bureaucratic machinery assumed a break from the earlier sporadic outbreaks of popular anti-Judaism in the form of pogroms. Thus, it is the substitution of emotional anti-Semitism (*Antisemitismus des Gefühls*) for rational anti-Semitism (*Antisemitismus des Vernunft*), as reflected in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the official newspaper of the Nazi regime. When commenting on the Nuremberg Laws, it states that "the Führer has taken advantage of the occasion to stress the

importance of the new laws and to show that the legislation constitutes the only means by which to establish acceptable relations with the Jews that live in Germany."

The foundation for the similarities is based on both *völkisch* and *castizo* having a semantic value equivalent to *ethnic*, which is translated into the quality of Old Christian or *völkdeutsch* based on the purity of the caste ideal shared by the three castes of Spain. Stallaert reaches that conclusion because the work of the anthropologist involves, above all, translating cultures and building bridges between them, and that is why her analysis of the key concept of Nazi ideology, namely the noun *Volk* and its adjective *völkisch*, provides linguistic and anthropological similarities between Inquisitorial Spain and the Third Reich.

It can be said that the comparative method used by Stallaert omits history, crossing both time and space. In this manner she converts the *völkisch* ideology into the casticist and concludes that the analysis of contrasts and the comparison of both political pathologies reveal profound similarities. A society, such as the Spanish, divided into ethno-religious castes, was accustomed to decode the religious identity in ethnic terms, and that is casticism sustained by a biological Catholicism that, on the other hand, is equivalent to the *völkisch* ethnicism.

This study of comparative anthropology is fundamentally based on the characterization of both movements as being inspired by a radically ethnocentric worldview that, starting from a narcissistic infatuation with a messianic design, seeks to create a worldwide order. Stallaert states that as an anthropologist she "accepts the challenge issued by Marcel Detienne to historians and anthropologists to join together in a project of 'constructive comparatism to compare the incomparable.'"

Late in the 15th century, historical science and European historians took over comparatism but impeded its development and evolution when they tied themselves excessively to the idea of "nation." Anthropology, on the other hand, never drew boundaries between the societies and cultures of yesteryear.[1] This avoided—as was said—stopping at temporal or spatial boundaries, and allowed being unafraid of circumventing chronology, even though that may entail disassembling and reassembling again the partial reasons for the idea.

In accordance with that method, she explains that "the terms Inquisition and Holocaust are used in a broad sense, symbolic or metonymic," originating, just as I mentioned at the beginning of this work, from a not very rigorous conceptual analysis. That is how both concepts persist in memory and common usage. For us both the Inquisition and the Holocaust are words full of meaning that transcends their mere literalness. For Stallaert the Inquisition,

despite being a delicate and sensitive issue, has not given rise, in return, to works of a philosophical, politically ideological or ethical nature, most of them being strictly historiographical. Consequently she intends, as we have seen, to approach the comparative studies with Nazism from the linguistic and anthropological point of view.

To this end she starts from the great interest raised by the question of social cohesion, even though it is a highly slippery concept, especially in regard to diversity. The ethnic projects analyzed attempted to resolve the threats to the social collectivity, even though there is a great difference in resolution by assimilation or by segregation. This is seen by Nirenberg, who then asks, "Why does a society demand the assimilation of its minorities and at the same time resists fiercely that assimilation?" The first solution eliminates ethnic diversity by smothering the differences in identity, and the second achieves it by scrupulously separating the "own" from the "alien" and both imply violence toward the dissimilar.[2]

Stallaert approaches the question by declaring, as the motivation for her interest, that while attending a congress on "Anti-Semitism in Spain" held at the University of Konstanz, "I came in contact with the work of Victor Klemperer, a German Jew of Protestant religion married to an 'Aryan' woman. In his diary he gives evidence of the daily life under Nazi domination and notes in his diary that on the 12th April 1933, only two months after Hitler's access to power, 'the Spanish Ministry of Public Education has offered to Einstein a chair in a Spanish university, and he has accepted it.' He continues, 'This is the most memorable joke in world history. Germany establishes the cleanliness of blood; Spain offers a chair to a German Jew.'" This anecdote that Stallaert brings us constitutes a very significant contribution relative to our theme because it fully reflects the perspective and testimony of a person that lives the drama of Nazi racism and who very probably saved his life because of a mixed marriage.

Stallaert's work that we are analyzing has the special feature that, in addition to laying down the central core of her cultural anthropological theory, it illustrates the parallelism with different specific historical cases and situations. For example, she suggests that in Spain the *Santo Oficio* performed a role comparable to that of the Gestapo of the Third Reich, and she mentions the conception of racism that the Nazis had in those cases where Jews did not look Jewish, a status they hid.

She expresses that in light of the organismic concept of nation as *volskörper* (national body), what is particularly threatening was the "Other" that had decided to stop being so, thus threatening the purity of the "Aryan" people. In the Spanish case it was the Judeo-*conversos* who were the most worrisome

source of contamination for the casticist society. Stallaert also specifically notes the parallelism between the manipulations of the language within Nazi propaganda, because it transformed itself into "infinitesimal doses of arsenic" that little by little poisoned the masses, with the same role attributed to language on the thresholds of that other imperial project born in 1492.[3]

To arrive at this conclusion Stallaert questions those who deny the similarity based on the belief that casticism did not have a modern concept of race, and that for them blood and the biological only had a metaphorical meaning. This is so, because she believes that Nazism, despite all its terminology, also did not have this modern concept of race. As an example she cites that Hitler spoke of race in a generic sense, free of scientific connotations, and that both in his political testament and in *Mein Kampf* the usage that he makes of that expression is the popular one as the equivalent of "people" or "ethnic group." It is precisely within the setting of the racial imprecision of both ethnicisms that she places the "Aryanization" of certain individuals like the Bishop Pablo de Santa María (formerly Rabbi Halevi).

In her lengthy historical trajectory Stallaert tackles terminology, linguistic, religious and geographical parallelisms (as when she compares the "methodical plan of repopulation and depopulation" of the Nazi Minister of Agriculture with that which was implemented during the Christian *Reconquista*), as well as other parallelisms which look ostensibly anachronistic but have comparative coherence.

Although this work did not give rise to the polemic level seen in Netanyahu's case, it received comments in reviews by qualified historians that dispensed praise but also severe criticism, because of being considered as excessively decontextualized. In that vein González Calleja considers that the book is a very stimulating and instructive study. Nonetheless, he objects that, in its Hispanic perspective, speaking of the totalitarian, anesthetic and intoxicating power of ethnicistic language implies affirming that in the middle of the *Siglo de Oro* in Spain there developed a conscious strategy for the creation and inculcation of a totalitarian language similar to Nazism. For him this is something that is highly improbable. He therefore concludes that to approximate this *castiza* reality to the well-established *völkisch* ideology of German nationalism based on the romantic concept of blood and land (*Blut und Boden*) gives rise to a serious historical anachronism.[4]

For his part, García Cárcel expresses that from his point of view, the comparisons that Stallaert raises are very useful, because of the insights regarding the subtle boundaries between intolerance, religious, ideological or racial, the fragile line of separation between the invitation to exclusivism and exclusion, the nature and the types of genocide, the difference between massacre and

sacrifice, the semantic pitfalls, the confusion of caste/social class and the substrate of modernity and rationalism that grounds ethnic cleanliness.[5] He adds that

> Stallaert's book is an invitation to a serene and rigorous self-criticism of all our history, not only of the inquisitorial influence, but also of the work of colonization in America, a good antidote for the imperial narcissism...." However, he objects that "in the Germanic culture there has been a certain tendency to alleviate by the comparative route, nor on the psychiatric couch but rather on the anthropologic one, the guilt feeling for the Holocaust. In this respect one might only say that each people should assume its own historic self-criticism. One's own redemption via the inculpation of others constitutes an exercise in immaturity and cynicism.

That reference about the psychiatric health is perhaps directed to Stallaert, and if it were so, it is an error, because then García Cárcel thinks that Stallaert is German, when in reality she is Belgian and belongs to a nation that was a victim of Nazism.

For me I believe that the importance of this work, without any doubt, resides in the methodological contribution of the comparison, but no less in the conceptual, supported by the differentiation between race and ethnicity, concepts that are often used indistinguishably. The first recognizes physical anthropology and biology exclusively, because of which it always had scientific pretensions, without it mattering that eventually it turned out to be pseudo-scientific; the second, on the other hand, acknowledges cultural factors. Lately, with the human genome project and modern anthropology the question has gained new life.

Because of that, Augé has been able to say that while in its first phase physical anthropology contributed to the promotion of racism, currently it has done the opposite.[6] While the concept of ethnicity does have biological aspects such as blood, Stallaert considers them to be metaphorical. Nonetheless, Stallaert quite rightly distinguishes between religious and racial ethnicisms, because she believes that both Nazism and casticism were based on physical as well as on metaphysical criteria and used them to fill the holes that resulted from the contradictions.

Where the racial approach fails, Nazism calls to its aid the religious criterion,[7] while on the contrary, casticism relies on racial arguments when theology deviates from the ethnicistic logic. As is known, the Nuremberg Laws introduce the religious factor in some cases where racial determination could not be made, that is to say, as previously mentioned, the Nazis invoked the religious factor to overcome the voids.

According to Stallaert, for the ethno-nationalist what really imprints indelible characteristics in the person is genealogic origin. It is the blood which

euphemistically symbolizes the chain of hereditary transmissions and of race itself, meaning that physical differences are used just for informational ends, as a device to explain the invisible fact of the genealogic and blood contaminations.[8]

Stallaert points out that "the Hitlerian vision of race resides in the popular tradition that renders blood the vehicle for ethnicity" and that "the sporadic references to a hierarchy of races, with echoes of 19th century doctrines, should not lead us into error." This she believes because also in the "Spain of the pre–Darwin *Siglo de Oro* recourse was made to skin color in an easily understandable attempt to visualize the invisible." She illustrates the relativization of the concept of race with a quote from Hitler where he speaks of the "racial invisibility" of the Jew, when he complains of the Jew's adaptation over the millennia, stating how highly dangerous he was since he pretends to be German, American, or French, and that he can undermine and bastardize the European peoples because of his somatic indistinctness from the rest of the Europeans.

According to Stallaert, to proceed to a racial pollution in the strict sense of the word, the Jew, because of his somatic indistinctness from the rest, would have to rely on those who on the pigmentocratic scale are at the opposite extreme of the Caucasian race. The French occupation of the Rhine with black colonial troops is attributed by Hitler to the Jewish stratagem to bastardize the white race:

> The French people, who are becoming more and more obsessed by negroid ideas, represent a threatening menace to the existence of the white race in Europe, because they are bound up with the Jewish campaign for world-domination. For the contamination caused by the influx of negroid blood on the Rhine, in the very heart of Europe, is in accord with the sadist and perverse lust for vengeance on the part of the hereditary enemy of our people, just as it suits the purpose of the cool calculating Jew who would use this means of introducing a process of bastardization in the very centre of the European Continent and, by infecting the white race with the blood of an inferior stock...[9]

This opinion of Hitler shows us how his judgment of the Jews from the racial point of view cannot be precisely considered as "scientific" and, consequently, would be of no use to those who question the comparison as being anachronistic. The Hitlerian vision of race is rather based on the popular tradition that makes blood the vehicle of ethnicity. In Spain, also, recourse was had to the color of the skin in a teachable intent to visualize the invisible, in other words, ethnic determinism and the implacable voice of the blood. In this vein, in a biography of Charles V, the stigma assigned to the Jew by Friar Prudencio de Sandoval consists of his evil inclination because of his long-

standing ingratitude, as also happens with the Negroes and their inseparable darkness.[10]

That is to say, that already at that time they pointed to the differences in skin color as being biological in nature, while the Jews were marked with the innate and invisible defect of their evil inclination, which is only explained by blood and not by the somatically visible as happens with dark skin. Nonetheless, I believe that although the example is sufficient to notice that the wickedness of the Jew was associated with the blood, in the racial context the cleric's comment is not derogatory toward the Negro race while Hitler's is. It is because of this that —according to Todorov—anti-Semitism poses a special problem for racism: since the Jews do not have common visible characteristics, they created the necessity for National Socialism to compel them to wear the yellow star, for—he explains—otherwise how could they be recognized? For this author, it is a matter of a purely cultural discrimination (of religion, of customs, etc.), reason for which he does not place it within classical racism.[11]

In support of her position and of the genealogical anxieties, Stallaert also cites the situation that we have already seen, of the foundling children for whom, notwithstanding a papal decision that they should be considered legitimate and of pure blood, the Inquisition decided the opposite. This occurred because of the uncertainty as to their fathers, and thus they could not give positive proof of their cleanliness of blood. She compares it with another situation, that of a German public official who lost his public post because he could not prove his Aryan ancestry because he was the son of an unknown father.[12]

Nonetheless, and beyond the frustrations that were created for the Nazis by the inability to define the Jews racially, and of other elements that relativized the supposedly scientific base for their racism,[13] Himmler promoted a project that meant a significant economic effort to give that scientific base to the studies that were being carried out. These studies should be highlighted because in casticist Spain precisely during the considered period there was nothing that resembled that effort. However, something similar definitely existed — as will be seen—during the Falangist regime, which is considered a continuation of that casticist Spain.

In Nazi Germany there existed what Pringle calls the "Master Plan" of that Nazi hierarch who created a "research institute to manufacture archeological proofs for political purposes—and set about recruiting a bizarre mix of adventurers, mystics and reputable scholars to help rewrite the history of humanity."[14]

They sought a primal race that had to be the authentic Aryans and on that basis justify the atrocities that they committed, and they were not deterred

by any of the numerous setbacks that they suffered. Like many of the investigators of that time, they worked to determine the racial characteristics by the shape of the skull. They discovered that the inhabitants of Northern Europe had a cephalic index between 77 and 79 centimeters, which indicated a narrow and long face. This was one of the most valuable pillars of the racial theory.

Nonetheless, Pringle remarks that they played with science because they ignored a series of powerful evidence that neutralized those beliefs, because the anthropologists began to ask themselves whether environmental factors might influence those cranial features. This gave rise in the United States to investigations with immigrants of different nationalities and their offspring, comparing those born in the United States with those born in the country of origin. They arrived at the conclusion that socio-environmental factors played an important role in the configuration of the human body. They deduced this because the former showed changes in the cranial features when compared to their parents. For example, the children born in the United States to Jewish parents whose heads were round, did not resemble them since their heads were longer. That is to say, that the racial features that have shown themselves as most permanent do not remain constant. This signified a severe blow to scientific racism, and from then on the most distinguished anthropologists abandoned the cephalic index as a racial indicator. However, the institute created by Himmler continued to use it.[15]

Likewise, Pringle holds that those investigators became disconcerted when not able to achieve a rapid and unequivocal way to identify the Jewish race.[16] To cover that need they resorted to the old stereotypes, because "the racial experts were not able to distinguish the fictitious Jewish race from the no less fictitious equivalent." She bases her opinion on a famous anthropological study carried out among German school children. It revealed that 11.17 percent of the Jewish children had light skin, blond hair and blue eyes, so that the researchers had nothing to fall back on, and those gaps deeply disturbed the racial experts of the SS.[17]

Similarly, Stallaert finds similarity between the reproductive prohibitions of the Nazis and the dismay that ethnic discrimination, according to Domínguez Ortiz, caused in the *conversos*, because many preferred to embrace a religious career or singleness rather than giving birth to a contaminated and honorless progeny.[18]

Stallaert, citing Pringle, also mentions that the Nazis spared neither effort nor funds in the search for a scientific method that would permit racially differentiating the Aryans from the Semites, since the Nazis did not have any definition of Jewish that was not genealogic. She then compares this with the efforts carried out in casticist Spain that were times of squandering of money

and energy due to the investigations related to the cleanliness of blood. To resolve those contradictions to identification by means of blood, Stallaert always returns to seeing them as metaphors for kinship and genealogy. She cites Jerome Friedman, who noted that the tribunal of the Inquisition of Toledo devotes four times more space in its archives to this subject matter than to the real prosecutions for Judaization. In other words, they dedicated themselves increasingly to determine if a given individual was genealogically 1/16, 1/32 or 1/64 Jewish.[19]

To highlight how preoccupied were the Nazis with the racial indetermination of the Jews, Stallaert relates how a popularizing publication caused scientists to become less skeptical in that regard because from time to time they published significant progress of methods for racial detection. In one issue in 1934, they announced a Russian discovery that permitted the chemical differentiation of Jewish blood from the Russian (this shows that the same anxiety afflicted the Russians). This elated the Nazis, who wrote on the importance of the finding for Germany: "Let us think on the significance of being able to identify the non-Aryans in a test tube. Fraud, baptism, change of name, of citizenship and including surgery of the nose would no longer be valid resources. The blood is not changed!"[20]

Within that framework—she concludes—the cleanliness of blood or the *Blutreinheit* are nothing but national historical versions of the same concern to determine who had the pure blood, despite that it was done by different methods; in Nazi Germany it was evaluated "physically" according to the scientific model of the period, and in casticist Spain, marked by the religious context, the cleanliness of blood was judged "metaphysically."[21]

Even so, in Germany as in Spain, rumors and slander came to fill the voids left by the physical proofs. There was the case of one of the most prestigious entomologists of the Nazi period, who was criticized for having protected Jewish scientists and when not able to prove the purity of the Aryan blood of his maternal grandmother became suspected of being Jewish. No one could be sure of not being subjected to allegations of that type, whether the Jewish blood be "real, fabricated or imagined. In addition, just as with the Spanish genealogical pamphlets, in Nazi Germany rumors spread about the Jewish blood that some of the hierarchs might carry, including Hitler himself, Reinhard Heydrich or no less than the rabid anti-Semitic Julius Streicher. As the Nazis did not have any definition for 'Jewish,' the concept of blood of that origin was close to having no meaning, so that those accusations could be dealt with or ignored depending on the political convenience."[22]

In that political expediency (Hermann Göring prided himself on being the one "who determined who was Jewish") and the possibility of racial rela-

tivization, another comparison inserts itself when the "ethnic mutation" for the carriers of impure blood results in enshrining exceptions. This was a process to which the Nazi hierarchy was not resigned and that in some way can be related to the poignant irony that the Nazi hierarchs themselves used to repress any feeling of compassion, consisting of the fact that of the 80 million Germans, every one of them knew a decent Jew. As related by Arendt, Hitler had no fewer than 340 first-class Jews that he had Aryanized, as is the case of the industrialist Imhausen, who had developed an important chemical product.[23]

This—Stallaert notes—happened in the same way in casticist Spain, when in 1604 Phillip III granted the privilege of cleanliness of blood: namely, he changed the quality of the blood of the descendants of Samuel Ha Levi, the ex–Rabbi of Burgos who became the Bishop Pablo de Santa María. Among other descendants was don Pedro Osorio de Velasco.[24] In this aspect we believe that Nazism was more generous, because Sicroff notes that this is the only known case of change in the quality of the blood.[25] Given the exceptionality of this case I believe that the comparison is not very appropriate, although it serves to show that Spanish racism was at times greater than the German.

When I point out that Stallaert divided ethnicism into religious and racial, it is because of what she calls "from Jesus to the Aryan Christ." This characterization is because both casticism and Nazism argued with both metaphysical and physical characteristics, which as we have seen, manifested themselves as follows: when the racial logic failed Nazism, it resorted to religion, and casticism proceeded in the opposite direction when the theology was insufficient.[26]

Stallaert describes this insufficiency well when she notes what she considers an important difference between the Inquisitorial policy and Nazism with regard to the ethnic minorities. The latter from the beginning opted without vacillation for exclusion, while in Spain it was defined by a policy of assimilation in accordance with an ideological project of religious homogeneity that started to "squeak" with the reality of a society divided into ethnoreligious castes, for centuries accustomed to decode the religious identity in (specific) terms. The clash—she states—between the political model of religious homogeneity that was sought to be imposed and that reality of ethnoreligious castes gave rise to a popular reaction of exclusion of ethnically impure Christians.

Nonetheless, there remained something to be resolved, and that was the contradiction of the thorny question that Jesus was Jewish, whereupon the biological determinism of blood failed, showing that it was not always effective and could imply a weakness of God. All this led to some reasoning based on the idea that the ancient Jews that accepted Christ were biologically different

from those who rejected him. However, since that reasoning could lead present day *conversos* to affirm that they also were Christians, Diego de Simancas negated that evasion by arguing in favor of the Statutes, that the lineage of the recently converted did not date back to the lineage of Christ, but rather to that of the Jews responsible for the crucifixion. For their part, the *conversos* tried to neutralize those accusations by arguing that the Spanish Jews of those times had attempted to dissuade their coreligionists from killing Christ.

In German racism there also was felt the need to give a satisfactory explanation to that contradiction, and this is how Chamberlain maintained that the Messiah was not Jewish, "neither because of race nor because of soul," and Stallaert refers to Poliakov, who maintains that the idea of an Aryan Christ goes back to Fichte. This question is also publicized in a novel published in 1917 that had an enormous impact on the diffusion of *völkisch* ideas. The central theme of that work resides in what the protagonist maintains with regard to the profound difference between the thinking of Jesus and the sensitivity of the Jews: Jesus—all internalization, disinterest, and sincerity, compared to the exteriorization and egotism of the Jews.[27] Some of this is what, following Renán, is believed by Sánchez Albornoz.

To make more apparent the link between religion and ethnicity in Germany, Stallaert describes some situations in which the Protestant churches entered into an agreement with the State to analyze the relationship between Judaism and Christianity. They arrived at the conclusion of the radical incompatibility between those religions, for which reason the New Testament had to be purged of all Jewish recollection, and several local churches, among them that of Thüringen, dismissed their pastors of Jewish ancestry.

Perhaps this case may be one of those that most clearly present an undeniable similarity to the *Estatutos* of cleanliness of blood, and, quite rightly, she remarks that in this manner Hitler's opinion was followed when he dismissed as ineffectual the possibility of excluding the Jews on the basis of religion. This is so since he said "a squirt of baptismal water was always able to save the Jew and his commerce." This recalls the Spanish proverb of similar content: "There are three waters that are completely lost: baptismal water poured on a Jew, the water that falls into the sea and the water that falls into wine."[28]

When addressing the concern that in some Spaniards was caused by the mixture of Jewish blood with that of the Spaniards, she relates that in the Spanish military campaigns in North Africa, the Spaniards "rediscover" their Jews. This was written in the newspaper *El Liberal* of July of 1887 under the title "Impressions of Morocco. The Jews": "If physiognomies are observed, it is necessary to go back to the recollection of those countenances... how many

Spanish faces among the Jews of Tetouan! How many Jewish faces among the Spaniards! If today that matter of the Old Christians and the new were reborn, anthropology, with greater certainty than that of an inquisitor, would say to many fervent and even fanatic Christians, you are Jewish."

In one of her most accomplished comparative insights, Stallaert tells us that in time the anthropologist replaced the Inquisitor, who was moving on shaky ground, and confirmed the fear that casticist Spain had always lived: the awareness that "we are all Jews." From there she goes back to the earlier centuries that harbored the famous genealogical Green Books that, circulating anonymously, attempted to demonstrate that the most important lineages of the kingdom were "touched" by Jewish blood. This situation had been noticed by Salucio, when he spoke of the danger presented by the statutes of cleanliness of blood, whose limitless investigations could lead to show that all Spaniards carried some part, no matter how infinitesimal, of tainted blood.

Stallaert notes that due to this the Spanish purifying process became a whirlwind that also affected Nazi Germany, as evidenced by Hitler's thought that held that the scientists, despite having delineated the different human lineages, were tormented by the variable nature of "the Jew," because of his ability to avoid scientific diagnosis.[29] She adds, in connection with this, that Hitler in *Mein Kampf* already had "evoked the nightmare of the possibly irreversible effect of the contamination of the German *Volkskörpe* by Jewish blood:" "Bear in mind the fact that this poisonous contamination can be eliminated from the national body only after centuries, or perhaps never."[30]

Stallaert also points out that just like the creation of the SS as an elite corps directed by Himmler (who not accidentally was labeled "Grand Inquisitor") whose members had to be recruited among pure Aryans, in Spain, according to Llorente, it was sought to create an ethnic militia in the service of the healing of the national soul and body. This was the "Project for a Military Order of the Holy Office of Spain," which was suppressed by Phillip II. Of course, purity of blood also was required to become a part of it. She considers that that project could be read as a curiosity, if it were not that its repetition by Nazism prevents such frivolity.

She notes, also, the same thought process in the various societies with an ethnical-racial criterion in accordance with the geographical origin. In Spain it was not the same to have come from the Cantabrian Mountains as from the Sierra Morena. The former was considered the quarry of the Old Christians. Nor was it in Germany of no importance to be from Austria, because of its racial diversity, as Hitler himself used to admit, or from Norway.

Another comparative position that appears to me consistent with my proposed goal is that which is related to the so-called "social engineering"

projects, entailing the forced relocation of population masses with an emphasis on the link between blood and soil. The colonization of the East, which in accordance with that comparative exercise is ironically referred to by Stallaert as the "reconquista," was presented as a condition for the survival of the German people.[31]

That "ethnic engineering" project, promoted by Himmler and called *Unsiedlung*, consisted of the repatriation of ethnic Germans to be distributed in the Eastern territories, previously cleansed of their non–Germanic population, while at the same time organizing the deportation of Poles, Gypsies and Jews with the goal of creating a "vital space." Stallaert relates that the fluid synchronization of both operations is astonishing, since in one and a half years they almost were able to repatriate more than half a million individuals considered ethnic Germans.

She finds that, within the boundaries of the comparative reading that she proposes, those Nazi dreams of reconquering and Germanizing the territories lost long ago are not so different from the purpose and success that the Kingdom of Granada had in Spanish history. There the goal was to settle 40,000 Christian repopulators in the city of Granada while exerting pressure to force the Muslims of the city to concentrate their dwellings into the Albaicin neighborhood. In addition, 12,500 families of Castilian settlers later flocked into the kingdom to repopulate 270 of the 400 localities abandoned by the Moors. Stallaert indicates that the Nazi terminology relating to that ethnic-racial engineering project sounds very familiar to whoever is familiar with the history of Spain.

On the other hand, because Stallaert shows that it is a matter of ethnic substitution, Old Christians for Moors, it is appropriate that in view of her statement "that at the hour of recruiting the repopulators, it was ethnic in nature with only Old Christians being admitted," we clarify that "repopulation" does not refer exclusively to the events relating to the capture of the kingdom of Granada occurring in 1492. Repopulation started several centuries earlier when during what is known as the *Reconquista* the territory occupied by the Moors was recovered; then, the Jews—as we have seen—constituted an exception to the requirement that the repopulators be Old Christians.[32]

In another situation related to the Moors, as was the case of the kidnapping of children with the idea of educating them in Old Christian families, it is important to highlight that the same author makes a not insignificant differentiation in relation to the racism when she notes, "Logically, unlike the Nazi case, where the ethnic questions were discussed within a racial framework, the debate surrounding the fate of the Moorish children presented theological characteristics. That situation perhaps contributes to not having to interpret

the general expulsion of the Moors as more grievous than the expulsion of the Jews, because for the latter expulsion did not include the *conversos*." [Converted Moors were also expelled, which made the measure racial; however the kidnapping of the children would tend to mitigate that judgment.]

After analyzing those situations relating to the Moors and the moriscos and excluding the issues of repopulation and social engineering, which, as we have seen, show strikingly similar aspects within the comparison at hand, within the other issues there would not be any other situations that would apply within that comparative exercise. For example, from the ethnic point of view, it must be noted that the Spanish Moors do not belong to another ethnic group, since the Muslim invasion at its outset consisted of a small military contingent. What occurred was the Islamization of the indigenous people.[33]

Additionally, as far as the Nazis were concerned, according to Payne, Hitler held a high regard for Islam and on one occasion proclaimed that it was the best of religions, because of its theological simplicity and its emphasis on the holy war. He regretted that it had not spread throughout all of Western Europe. The British historian believes that Hitler's opinion was that the Muslim hegemony had produced the "the most intellectual and the best and the happiest period in all the aspects of Spanish history."[34]

In this same vein, Stallaert points out that the Koran was the bedside book for Himmler and that Hitler even stated that among the Arabs at times are found descendants of Nordic peoples such as the Vandals, with blond hair and blue eyes, by which he meant that the blood is not lost, a concept that he extended to the Berbers.[35]

Stallaert tells that Hitler and Himmler made political use of casticism to repress the riots of resistance to the Nazi occupation of Holland, because they saw in Phillip II a model of how to deal with the insubordination of that country. That implacable repression and Inquisitorial memory were presented as the mirror image of Nazi intentions.[36] She thus retakes the parallelism posed by Netanyahu when he discusses an Inquisitorial decree that condemned to death all the inhabitants of the Netherlands and a proclamation by Phillip II that ordered its immediate implementation without regard to age, sex or condition.[37] It must be noted that this historical fact is one of those used by that historian to substantiate the genocidal plans to which the Inquisition tended.[38] That is to say that not only does he allude to the parallelism between the two racisms, but also that in the German case one may arrive at the comparison with the Holocaust precisely because of these genocidal orders.[39]

Netanyahu notes that Motley, who wrote that history in 1856, that is to say much before the Second World War, could not believe that it was the intent of the Spanish government to carry out the plan completely in all its length

and breadth. Netanyahu adds that in the Netherlands it was believed that for both Phillip II and the Inquisition, nothing was so monstrous that they were not disposed to carry it out.[40]

When Stallaert refers to colonial racism, she indicates that the African case serves as the example "to illustrate the continuity between the Spanish imperialism, sustained by a casticist worldview, and the new European imperialist cycle of the 19th century which, according to the analysis by Hanna Arendt, a line also followed by Enzo Traverso created the ideological conditions that would lead to the Holocaust." She believes that the encounter with the Other in the New World signifies historically the link that permits tracing the lineage that leads from casticist anthropology to the racist.[41]

Traverso, a distinguished intellectual who has written several works relating to Judaism and specifically about the Holocaust and the pre-war Jewish intellectuals, as well as an essay on Marxism and the Jewish question— a task for which he studied Yiddish—comments on Stallaert's book with specific reference to the interpretation that she gives to his thought. He does this after an extensive bibliographical analysis of her work, concluding that it goes beyond the limits of a historiographical controversy principally by the adoption of an interdisciplinary focus, involving the contributions of linguistics and anthropology. In relation to the historical linkage that she invokes, he is of the opinion that a genealogical relationship cannot be established between the two phenomena, which, beyond their affinities, remain separate, independent and free from direct linkages. I will return to this opinion further on.

Traverso points out that following the successful methodology of Marcel Detienne, Stallaert wishes to "compare the incomparable," and therein lies the interest and originality of her approach, but for it to be successful, we must first recognize its limitations. He further notes that an additional obstacle to the comparison between Nazism and casticism is the difference in the length in the time of their existence, a disparity that makes a diachronic approximation practically impossible, that is to say, that they form part of a historical process. We face, he holds, on the one hand a historical experience in a period of several centuries, and on the other a regime that has profoundly marked the history of the 20th century, but whose existence has been of short duration. The result is that in the consciousness of European history, Nazism is of a different nature than is the Inquisition.[42]

The Belgian Hispanist also finds a certain parallelism in the ethnicist vision that considers that at times through contact—voluntary or imposed—other people supposedly inferior in the "civilizational hierarchy become humanized so long as their racial predisposition permits it." This, as we shall see, is what Franco also believes.

On the other hand she also believes that the same idea is expressed by Hitler when he evokes the "Europeanized" Jews of Linz, the city of his childhood. However, from his text it becomes evident that for him the humanization of the Other can only be superficial, without affecting his essence, for which reason I do not agree with the parallelism that Stallaert described, as follows: "There were very few Jews in Linz. In the course of centuries the Jews who lived there had become Europeanized in external appearance and were so much like other human beings that I even looked upon them as Germans. The reason why I did not then perceive the absurdity of such an illusion was that the only external mark which I recognized as distinguishing them from us was the practice of their strange religion."[43]

Now, if casticism is what we are dealing with, we can find something similar in Ramiro de Maeztu—although, as we shall see later, on other assumptions differing from the Hitlerian—and in Menéndez Pidal, who justified the expulsion of the moriscos (Moors converted to Christianity) for being an unassimilable race.[44] Stallaert also cites other Nazi opinions that can be considered closer to the previously mentioned opinion of Franco (who distinguished Sephardic Jews from Ashkenazi Jews) by showing a certain eagerness to distinguish the German Jews from those of Eastern Europe.

In that vein she alludes to Eichmann, who, according to Hannah Arendt, also differentiated, and that led Arendt to believe that he was not in agreement with the treatment finally received by the German Jews. Also in disagreement was the Nazi general commissar for the occupied Russian territories, Wilhelm Kube. When apprised of the fact that among the deportees to receive a "special treatment" there were some who had been distinguished with the Iron Cross, he then protested by letter to his superiors. He argued, "Certainly, I am certainly tough and I am ready to help to solve the Jewish question, but people who come from our own cultural milieu are certainly something else than the native animalized hordes."[45]

An important differentiating modality is that which is noted by Stallaert when she distinguishes between genocide and ethnocide and uses as an example the expulsion by the Catholic Kings, who did not seek the genocide (the physical elimination) of the Jews, but rather their ethnocide, that is the elimination of their original ethnic identity and its ethnic dissolution into the Christian community. Thus, the Inquisition watched not only the status of religious assimilation but also the ethnic focusing on all types of cultural and ideological displays (eating bacon). It is because of this that we also do not see, at least as far as its consequences, the parallelism between the Inquisitorial actions and the Nazi extermination but do so in its causes, which in both cases is the exacerbated ethnicism of the dominating majority.

That sound differential nuance seen by Stallaert is also related to the penetrating observation, that we have previously seen, that points out that the described ethnicisms, no matter the parallelisms, differ in their intention: while the German was eliminationist, the Spanish because it was assimilationist jarred an ethno-religious society and paradoxically gave rise to an ethnicist reaction that in turn gave rise to the *Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre*.[46] This process is that which she calls "casticism" and is the subject of study, using the contrasting method, with the *völkisch* worldview of Nazism. She makes that approximation on the basis that in the last decades the ethnic has been dissociated from the mere cultural, religious or racial, in that way de-emphasizing the concepts of *völkisch* and *castizo*, that are stripped of their contextual and connotative meanings so that the anthropological notion of ethnicity is a concept which is culturally abstract and neutral.

Stallaert also bases herself on the fact that Hitler himself used the term "race" in a generic manner, which would be equivalent to ethnicity since his references were devoid of the scientific connotations of the time, and it is thus that he defines Jews in terms close to the current definition of ethnic group. She further mentions that both in his Political Testament and in *Mein Kampf* the usage that Hitler makes of the word "race" is the popular one and the equivalent to "people" or "ethnicity," where the reference to blood is the distinguishing criterion for the collective identity. This, above all, expresses metaphorically the biological continuity and the kinship that unite the members of the group as opposed to those outside of it, and not so much as a scientific idea related to the racial doctrine. That is to say that the expression "blood" is metaphoric and that ethnicity is the people and not scientific racism. Essentially—she notes—that both *völkish* and *castizo* had that semantic value equivalent to "ethnic"/"ethnicity," whether in the quality of Old Christian or of *volksdeutsch*.[47]

Stallaert further notes that what is confusing in order to typify correctly the casticist worldview is the legacy of the racialist doctrines from which it is difficult to break away, and to refute the comparison Spanish historiography shields itself in them based on 19th-century doctrines of that type. In reality those 19th-century theories were not even in Hitler's mind. For him, the rudimentary and universal concept of the purity of blood was sufficient to carry forward his "racial" measures without recourse to the opaque scientific technicalities in vogue in academic circles. It is because of this that the laws, which in no way reflect the scientific status of the question, echo the simplified popular version of "race."[48]

Thus, as we have seen, the Nazis had to combine the genealogical criteria with religion. According to the Nuremberg Laws, the grandchildren of an

"Aryan" woman who during a temporary phase of her life had adopted Judaism were considered racially Jewish. Even if the experts in racial sciences had brought forward proofs to the contrary, these would not have been legally accepted. The Nazi concept of race was not a scientific concept but rather a legal instrument at the service of an ethnicist policy.[49]

That ethnicity is what establishes "that which is essentially different," which is very well expressed as language inseparably tied to the people, so that the adoption of a different language during the process of acculturation, or the attempt to transmit that "different quintessence" in a different language for the purpose of assimilation is considered impossible. And it is for that reason that the propaganda posters of the Reich reminded that the "Jew when he writes in German lies." For them language is the mirror of the blood.[50]

Stallaert concludes that the reason is that "once we have been able to remove the circumstantial disguise of religion and race, the identification by means of the blood, a metaphor for kinship and genealogy, is the authentic instrument of an ethnicist policy." For Stallaert the cleanliness of blood or the *blutreinheit* are nothing but historical versions of the same utopic preoccupation of building an ethnically homogeneous national corps.

It is clear that with Nazism there was a "disruption" between the academic world which offered the text and the context for the ethnocidal policy and its practical implementation which ignored that knowledge, but the same thing took place in Spain. There the religious pretext was used to legitimize the persecution and discrimination of the *conversos*, without being inhibited by convoluted religious polemics or political decisions.[51]

When Stallaert cites the views of Sánchez Albornoz and Menéndez y Pelayo as emblematic of casticism, such statement merits some explanation. Their views cannot be equated to the thinking of the authors or protagonists at the time of the heyday of the cleanliness of blood (such as Torrejoncillo, Silíceo, Simancas and others), since both Sánchez Albornoz and Menéndez y Pelayo were critics of the cleanliness of blood.

She holds that in Sánchez Albornoz's writings "[there] abound the slurs of the Jewish people characteristic of the most rancid anti–Semitism," which is true, and further, that the "Hispanic identity is defined in terms of an antithetical, passionate, and almost instinctive reaction." For Sánchez Albornoz, "It is easier to unite water with fire than to find links of kinship between what is Hispanic and what is Hebraic," with which he evidently does not demonstrate sympathy for the Jewish people. Nonetheless, we shall review some of his opinions to be able to appropriately calibrate his ideas, so as to confront them with Stallaert's opinion and thus determine if the acerbic criticism that she dispenses is deserved.

Beyond his famous controversy with Américo Castro, one that refutes Sánchez Albornoz, is Pérez, who states, "Luis García Iglesias' clarification is very apt: thus it appears to us inadmissible Sánchez Albornoz's observation in the sense that the Jews were people foreign to peninsular life. That foreignness did not go any further than what their beliefs and all that was related to them could have of foreign."

But this would not be sufficient to accept the seriousness of Stallaert's criticism when she maintains that all those ethnic prejudices of Sánchez Albornoz have affinity with the language of the Nazis and draws her attention to how he has not been denounced forcefully, not even by Jewish historians. It is because of this that she laments that Netanyahu has limited himself to debate academically the basis and not the forms of Sánchez Albornoz's arguments.[52]

For my part, I believe that the fact that Netanyahu has refuted with the elegancy expected from an academic discussion does not exclude his unsettling arguments regarding Sánchez Albornoz's thinking being forceful, as only that historian can do because of his great scholarship. Netanyahu argues that Sánchez Albornoz's assertions have a clear apologetic intent in favor of the Spanish, because according to the latter, what produced the ruination of the Jews in Spain is due to their own behavior and ideas. Accordingly, Sánchez Albornoz believes that the Spanish people did not deserve the criticism with which they were stigmatized[53] (which is something that constitutes one of the versions of the Spanish Black Legend.) It is because of this, Netanyahu points out, that Sánchez Albornoz's design was to present Spanish-Judaic history in such a way as to permit a moral judgment favorable to the Spanish people, at the same time without understanding why the Jews arrived at such a negative view of Spain. According to Netanyahu, that view of Spain is developed by Sánchez Albornoz as it is by the Spaniards, who have the habit of investigating their collective national soul, that is by defining the essence, as noted by García Cárcel.

Those who have dedicated themselves to that task want "to know what makes a Spaniard a Spaniard and wherein he differs from the members of other nations." This is considered an error by Netanyahu because any attempt to define the character or the moral values of a whole nation appears to him to be destined to fail from the very beginning and can lead to fanciful speculations.[54] We also understand that this question is related to the Jewish national identity, that undoubtedly exists but that, as with all fiction, is difficult to conceptualize because of its abstraction.

Saramago does not believe in collective identities in general, and at times cites Churchill, who also shares in that skepticism. When asked what he thought of the French, Churchill answered that he could not comment about

it because he did not know all the French. Contreras also does not believe in collective identities, because—he considers—that that conception is arbitrary by its very nature, since the *a priori* selection of traits with respect to a technically definable element is arbitrary.[55]

It is for that same reason that Netanyahu believes that it is impossible to speak rigorously of those topics, since any feature that may be detected in some members of its group is compensated by opposite traits of the same group, and no matter how generalized certain attitudes might be, they are not permanent. For this author, Sánchez Albornoz sees the Jewish people as a monolithic phenomenon, from Moses' days up to his own time, and he believes that he is able to define the essence of the Jews just as one defines the distinctive characteristics of a vegetable or animal species. Netanyahu also contests Sánchez Albornoz's literary arguments, but a consideration of these would exceed the space we have granted ourselves.[56]

Netanyahu explains that for Sánchez Albornoz, "There were four peculiar characteristics of the Jews which determined their position and activities in Spain: first is the importance of the collective rather than the individual life; second, their interest in this world rather than in the after-life; third, their ceaseless preoccupation with the coming of the Messiah; and fourth, the place that the Jews assigned to Reason as a directive force in human life." From these extracted premises as well as from Hebrew religious poetry, Sánchez Albornoz concludes that the great harm inflicted by the Jews on the Spaniards is explained.

Netanyahu believes that the historian from Ávila gave no importance to the fact that that poetry expressed the stress under which the Jews in Spain lived and therefore the social concerns imposed themselves over the individual ones. Additionally, he did not take into account that in addition to religious poetry, the Jews produced a great deal of secular poetry that expressed human relationships. Also, Sánchez Albornoz did not believe that there existed a more individualistic poetry, and this, according to Netanyahu, would reveal the unfamiliarity that Sánchez Albornoz had on the subject, since he based himself on Millas, who has translated only religious poetry.[57] Netanyahu continues by pointing out what he considers mere prejudices. These he refutes with simple and conclusive arguments and is led to wonder that a historian of Sánchez Albornoz's caliber should have displayed such flimsy opinions.

In conclusion, it is appropriate that we analyze whether Sánchez Albornoz's thinking, because of the mere fact of being essentialistic and, thus, casticist, is, as Stallaert says, "an interesting example that shows the affinity between Nazism and casticism."[58]

First of all, I believe that what defines Spanish racism is how the Judeo-

conversos are treated, differentiating them from the Jewish people as a whole. I do not see that Sánchez Albornoz extended his ideas so negatively with respect to the latter onto the neophytes, which, in the words of Netanyahu, would be the projection of the hatred of the Jews onto the *conversos* of that origin, that is to say hatred of the blood they carry. Casticism is not necessarily racist, especially if we keep in mind Menéndez y Pelayo, the champion of that movement, who considers the cleanliness of blood as an "unpleasant matter," and Sánchez Albornoz actually could do no less than recognize that situation as a "tragic node."[59] He is, in addition, critical of Nazi Germany when he recognizes the "cruel misery" that it caused.

When Sánchez Albornoz raises the complaint regarding the exaggeration that arises when all is resolved through the master key of the *conversos*, as Márquez Villanueva would say, he notes that this is so also in the case of Saint Therese, when her mystique was attributed to her Hebrew roots by noting that

> To explain Theresian mysticism it was sufficient that one of Saint Therese's grandfathers be Jewish. Her other blood heritage would have meant nothing in the life of the Saint. And the cultural and living environment in which she lived would have mattered none at all. Since Therese of Avila could not have learned of the Semitic mysticism either in her home or in the cloisters where she was formed from a very early age, the uniqueness of her conceptions would have been the result of the quarter Jewish blood. Which would force to conclude that the cultural currents in which it is supposed she was immersed would have reached her purely by means of her blood flow. But, why deny the possibility that Saint Therese would get her mystic experiences *ad nihilo*? Why return passively to the aberrant Hitlerian theory of the Jewish grandfather?[60]

This opinion is another specific reproof of Nazism, so that the attempt to bring Sánchez Albornoz close to that regime is, at the very least, a disproportionate comparison. The racial consideration is missing because for Nazism Saint Therese's Jewish blood would be an indelible stain.

It is because of this that his posture should not be confused in relation to the polemic that he maintained with Castro, to whom he attributed having created a Semitized vision of the history of Spain exaggerating the importance of the Jews and the *conversos*. Perhaps one might envision a certain racism in his opinion when Sánchez Albornoz refers to Castro, indignant because of the distorted Semitizing view that the latter introduces in Spanish history (which he attributes to Castro's Jewish origins), or when he denies Vives's Jewish roots because of his features.[61]

Additionally, although Sánchez Albornoz, has had some very strong opinions regarding the Jewish people,[62] he has also devoted to it some praise, such

as "without vacillation I subscribe to all the accolades that can be made for the force of thought, the reasoning capacity, the fine spirituality of the learned minority of the peninsular Hebrews." Or that which was mentioned previously in relation to the encouragement that the Christian Kingdoms gave to the repopulation of the *Reconquista*: "With how much more pleasure the hard-working Jews would be accepted as colonizers ...! ... and because of that the Christian Kings opened the borders of their kingdoms happy to see the population of their cities thus increase!" Or by using expressions such as "the industrious Hebraic masses."

When it comes to his criticisms, I have refuted some of them[63] given that they were sustained only by prejudice or in the trite subject of usury, an activity to which the Jews, as is known, were sentenced by other peoples. And on the subject of the moral judgment that it deserves I believe the insights of Dujovne Ortiz to be very sound: "Moral of the story: there are no peoples cleaner or more honest than others. It is all a question of opportunity and we cannot know what the Jews of the times would have done if they found themselves able to participate in the substantial transactions indulged by others. The real fact is that they did not do it, for the simple reason that they themselves were persecuted."[64]

Sánchez Albornoz undoubtedly had several anti-Jewish slips, such as the one we saw regarding Castro's origins, but his opinion as a historian must be respected when it refers to the Jewish influence on the formation of the Spanish being. And it cannot be taken as racist when he expressed that he acknowledges the high intellectual level of Sephardim and *conversos* such as Montaigne, Spinoza, Vives or Rojas, but that they owe to Spain all that they were. This opinion cannot be interpreted within the framework of ethnic casticism as is emphatically done by Stallaert. It is no less than Sánchez Albornoz who said, "I am of those who believe that, in Spain, from the King on down none can be sure of not having a Jew among his ancestors, and much less the closer he is of any of the high social hierarchies."[65]

Regarding Menéndez y Pelayo's concept, that is that which—according to Álvarez Chillida—settled the canonic version of Spanish Catholic nationalism, and thus casticism, we can say that although he considers that the Inquisition was necessary, he rejects as anti-evangelical the distinction between New and Old Christians, a distinction whose survival in Majorca he deplores.

8

Influence of Inquisitorial Anti-Semitism in Post-Inquisitorial Spain and Nazi Racism

Influence of Inquisitorial Spain and its worldview in the 19th and 20th centuries. The anti–Semitism without Jews of that period. The *Chuetas* and the cleanliness of blood in the 20th century. Spanish *casticismo* and the German *völkisch*. Modern anti–Semitism. Spiritual conception of post–Inquisitorial Spanish racism in relation to Italian Fascism for allegedly spiritual reasons. Analysis of Falangist and Catholic presses. Contemporary casticist authors and their concepts relating to anti–Semitic racism.

When Stallaert invites us to study Franco, it is because she believes that his mandate entails the projection or the continuation through time of Inquisitorial Spain, solidly united by a casticist worldview. That interpretation of the perpetuation of casticism over several centuries allows her to compare both periods with German Nazi racism, diachronically and at the same time synchronically. Having in the preceding chapters analyzed the nature of Inquisitorial anti–Semitism, it is appropriate to do the same with the anti–Semitism of post–Inquisitorial Spain, which is characterized as being an anti–Semitism without the presence of Jews since 1492.

For Stallaert, despite finding ourselves in the 20th century, so many centuries of *castiza* identity have resulted in that which is Jewish being conceived by many as opposed to what is Spanish, especially within the fundamentalism that defended a nationalism based on Catholic quintessence.[1] As proof that the ethno-religious knee-jerk reactions still existed in the midst of the 20th century, we saw those suffered by no less than Ángel Pulido, the apostle of

Sephardic vindication. According to Stallaert, Pulido took the precaution of declaring his ethno-religious affiliation in his book *Españoles sin patria y la raza sefardí* by saying in 1905, "We are Christians; we descend from Old Christians."

Even so, his career was damaged by the "racial" suspicions raised by his pro–Sephardic opinions. As proof, Stallaert mentions the testimony of his son, who said that his father "saw himself repudiated on many occasions; almost all his friends, who were Catholic, were perplexed at that enthusiasm for a race that was not his." Stallaert maintains that any affinity or sympathy or simply an intellectual interest in that direction was susceptible of being interpreted as the expression of a biological link, of the irresistible voice of blood, just as when Sánchez Albornoz attributed a Jewish origin to Castro because of his Semitizing vision of the history of Spain.[2]

When dealing with 20th-century Spanish anti–Semitism, Stallaert considers emblematic the case of the *Chuetas* of Majorca by indicating that the "historic encounter between Nazism and Casticism impinged on their lives when in 1942, by the initiative of the German government or by old residents of the island, the Archdiocese of Majorca is charged with an inquiry on the descendants of the *conversos*." She adds that that request was to relate not only to the "infected blood" of those known as the 15 accursed lineages, but also to the complete list of those sentenced by the Inquisition. According to information from the newspaper *El País* (December 2, 1998), that path was followed by women from Majorca when 46 proceedings were prepared to obtain certificates of cleanliness of blood for the purpose of marriage to German and Italian citizens. In the petitions such texts appeared as: "I am interested in showing that I belong to the Aryan and not to the Hebraic race ... I am interested in justifying that my surnames are not from those known as originating from the Jewish race."[3]

For that reason Stallaert indicates very well that in Majorca the union between the racial and the religious prejudices continued, despite the fact that for the Belgian anthropologist a sure correlation between phenotypic racial characteristics and religious ascendency cannot be established. As an example she cites an anecdote described by the anthropologist Eva Laub in her work *Mito Triunfante; studio antropológico-social de los chuetas mallorquines* in an attempt to show that uniformity does not exist in the group as far as physical aspect is concerned, putting in evidence the extent of the prejudice.

> Let the following episode serve as an example: in a sports club in Palma we were observing two children playing tennis. Spurred by the local custom of "placing" new faces within the usual environment, we immediately noted the considerable difference between the two. The one was short, thin, with dark skin and hair and a

> prominent nose; ... The other boy was a small athlete, Nordic in appearance, a blond, quiet and angelical, smiling and sure. When play stopped briefly we approached them and asked for their names. To our surprise, the first boy had one of the most aristocratic names of the island while the small blond turned out to be xueta.

Thus it is how, also in Majorca, Forteza recounts an absurd and contradictory situation within this context, namely that a relative of his was rejected by the "Theresians of Palma," despite the *converso* lineage of the founder, Saint Therese of Ávila.

I believe that reflection on the case of the *Chuetas*, as in very few others, is very illustrative, since the contemporaneity of the events analyzed far exceeds the striking anthropological coincidences that we have seen. It means that the synchrony of the case analyzed in the heart of the 20th century does not prevent us from entering into the terrain of the historical continuity and diachronicity which will allow us to thread together centuries of history.

The importance of the subject merits making some additional comments about it. The historian Muntaner Mariano states that a relatively small group of families is considered to be *Chuetas*, descendants of Jewish *converso* islanders that bear one of these 15 surnames, or the lineages considered "damned": Aguiló, Bonnin, Cortés, Forteza, Fuster, Martí, Miró, Picó, Pinya, Pomar, Segura, Tarongí, Valentí, Valleriola and Valls, plus the surname Serra that, at times, is also considered to be *Chueta*.

When the origin of the Judeo-*conversos* of the island is traced back, Muntaner explains that despite the fact that the massive conversions of 1391, the most important of all the waves of that nature, were in response to the religious violence that took place against the Jewish population, not all of its members on the mainland converted. However, on Majorca they did so, because in the wake of an unfortunate episode and unlike in the rest of Spain, the civil authorities forced all the Jews to convert in order to avoid being beheaded.

It must be noted that that crossroad was more compelling than the threats of expulsion, which led to there being no more Jews. The baptism—Muntaner recounts—was a spectacular act of piety in which many nobles and rich merchants took part, godfathering and giving their own names and surnames to the recent converts. These, in that manner, lost their Jewish names, adopting more than a hundred Catalán surnames, and among them the "damned" names. From the year of the massive conversion the *conversos* started to marry Old Christians and succeeded after two centuries in eliminating the memory of those *converso* surnames, with the exception of a small and very endogamous group.

This leads us to point out that not all the descendants of the Judeo-*conversos* condemned by the Inquisition are *Chuetas*, because that tribunal, which was installed on the island in 1488 and which paid special vigilance toward those who were continuing to Judaize, carried out, until 1530, a period of high activity. From that year until 1679 it no longer was active. However, in that later year, because a new accusation gave rise to a succession of chain of arrests ending in five *autos-da-fe*, convictions did occur. The descendants of those convicted are the *Chuetas*.

That differentiation, according to when the sanction was imposed, is—so states Muntaner— due to that when faced with the request by the Inquisitors about the usefulness of restoring the old *sanbenitos* (disgraces) hung on the walls of the Santo Domingo Convent, panic ensued among the Majorcan nobles. This occurred because by going so far back in time, many of their surnames became confused with those of the baptized Jews. That fear forced them to interpose their influence, achieving the restoration only of those *sanbenitos* hung since 1679. Muntaner adds, that if that request had not been acceded to, the stain of Judaism would have been extended like an oil stain over the entirety of Majorcan society. Starting from this clear demarcation, the discrimination against the *Chuetas* was fierce, both socially and ecclesiastically, to such an extent that it succeeded in segregating the Catholic clergy of that origin, in spite of the king's and ministers' decision to grant them all the pertinent rights.

In relation to what happened during the 20th century to those who already were Catholic, Muntaner describes something that undoubtedly links all the historical intervals being considered and, what is more important, also it does so with Nazism: "In 1936–37 the Spanish Falange on the one hand and the Italian embassy in Majorca on the other, separately prepared two lists with the names of Majorcan Chuetas, with the intention of expelling them from the island. Nonetheless, the operation never came to fruition, because among other reasons several Chuetas affiliated with the Falange prevented its implementation, arguing that not only they, but the greater part of Majorcans had Jewish blood in their veins."[4]

This can also be tied to what is described by Saban regarding the existence of Francoist generals of *Chueta* origin, as revealed by the publication in 1966 of the book *Los descendientes de judíos conversos en Majorca* by Miquel Forteza I Pinya, which deals with the degrees of discrimination suffered by that group. The biggest evidence was that they were extremely devoted Christians and that the great majority of the clerics provided by Majorca came from *Chueta* families.[5]

In relation to the expulsion project there exists another version that

appears to be even more farfetched: "During the Second World War a group of Majorcans communicated with the Nazis to plan for the extermination of the *Chuetas* of the Baleares. They proposed the establishment of an extermination camp on the island in order to take the 30,000 *Chuetas* there."[6] It is by these examples of the *Chueta* experience, as well as in another case not contemplated by Stallaert, but discussed later in the conclusions, where the parallelism in question becomes even closer.

In that same vein, Álvarez Chillida maintains that the prejudice against the *conversos* persisted in some places during a good part of the 20th century in the form of traditions and customs or in religious commemorations. Although fundamentally its religious roots are discerned, he believes that there also coexisted a low intensity racism insofar as the old hatred of the Jews was projected onto their Christian descendants.

It is for this reason that, although not comparable with the case of the *Chuetas*, there have been other cases mentioned where many towns were labeled as Jewish: that blemish was suffered by towns and villages in Estremadura, in Catalonia, in Pamplona, Navarra, Álava, La Rioja, and Castellón. There were numerous cases of families, neighborhoods or villages that were aware of descending from *converso* lineages, and that awareness was shared by their neighbors, who caused them to suffer from discriminatory or humiliating treatment. However, with changing attitudes that reality was changed more readily than in Majorca.

It is also interesting to mention that lately, perhaps driven by tourism, Jewish quarters are preserved, as is the case of Ribadabia, where the entire population takes on its Hebrew origin even though it may be an exaggeration, where one notices that it is overstated in an opposite direction. Another case that takes on similar characteristics is that of Hervás, a small town in Cáceres that has the *barrio de abajo*, a very beautiful Jewish quarter, perfectly differentiated from the rest of the town, as are its inhabitants. Presently the quarter and its Jewish past are a reason for pride for all. This was not always the case, since until not very long ago, those in the *barrio de abajo* were mocked by their neighbors as Jews, even though they were not. But, as it almost always occurs and because of the distance that in yesteryear the Spanish wanted to put from their ethnic link with the Jews, the entire town and without any differentiation was encompassed by a prejudicial epithet that said, "In Hervás the majority are Jews."

Having examined some historical facts considered to be the most pertinent for the delimitation of post–Inquisitorial anti–Semitism based on ethnicity in accordance with the casticist postulate, it is appropriate to investigate its correspondence with *völkisch* ideology. Casticism is a many-faceted concept

that also encompasses the literary and the linguistic areas. Although in the ideological sphere Stallaert rightly conceptualizes casticism as a narcissistic ethnicism, when extending it to the post-Inquisitorial period she does it almost without qualifications. In that way, of course, that German worldview that served as the basis for Nazism is implicated.

This is how she approaches the theme of the *Chuetas*: "For Spain there was no need to jump onto the bandwagon of European racism to continue its ethnicist course with an anti-Semitic outlook. This is demonstrated by the doctrine of 'Spanishness' developed by Ramiro de Maeztu in his Defense of Spanishness." In this manner Stallaert downplays the differentiation that is often made between casticism as an ethnicism with a religious base and the *völkisch* as an ethnicism with a racial bias, precisely because of what is expressed by de Maeztu's way of thinking, and because of some religious rationales invoked by Nazi hierarchs.

In reality, at the beginning de Maeztu professed sympathy toward Nazism, but later his mindset changed toward a more spiritual conception when he maintained that from a Christian perspective, racial determinism is incompatible with the Spanish *volksgeist* (national spirit). For this end he places the spirit above the German concept of homeland comprising "the land and the race," although, as we shall see, his prejudice against the Jewish people remained unalterable.

As a consequence of this he maintained that "Spanishness, of course, is not a race," and "we Spaniards do not give importance to blood nor to skin color, because what we call race is not constituted by those characteristics that can be transmitted through the protoplasmic obscurities, but rather by those others that are the light of the spirit such as language and creed." It is—according to Stallaert—a matter of a new concept of race "devoid of race" and which—as it will be seen—implicitly carried the anti-Semitic prejudice in an opposite direction.[7] "Confronting the Jews, who are the most exclusivist people on earth, our feeling of catholicity, of universality was forged. The main care of Israel's religion is to maintain the purity of the race. It is not true that, in the first place, the Jews constitute a religious community. They are a race. They believe in their own blood and in no other. They are the purest race in the world, because they have carefully avoided mixing with the others."

The proof that it is not a religious community, de Maeztu points out, primarily, is that they do not want proselytes. As proof he cites a Jew, Rabbi Israel Friedlander, who stated that, when they were admitted, it was always "under the express condition that with it they abandoned the right to be 'racially Jewish.'" For this reason, he concludes, the Samaritans, who professed their religion but did not originate from their blood, were rejected. Thus it is

that a Jew continues to be Jewish even if he renounces his faith. Precisely, therefore, he believes, they compelled us to establish the Inquisition. We could not trust in their supposed conversion, because history teaches that the Jews were pseudo–Christians, pseudo-pagans or pseudo–Muslims when it suited them. Later on they returned to their own religion as soon as conditions were favorable, even if they may have had to wait several generations.

De Maeztu also relates that the historian William Thomas Walsh claims that in 1284, 853,951 adult males paid the tax of three *maravedies* each, which indicates that the total number of Jews was from 4 to 5 million in a total population calculated to be 25 million inhabitants. The plague reduced this population by half. If there was a moment, around the 12th century, in which the Jewish race mixed with the Spanish, it was not long before its orthodoxy returned, according to Ezra, because of the purity of the blood and the absolute separation of the races. These are the examples offered by the best anthropologists to show that the influence of heredity is more powerful for the destiny of a race than is the adaptation to the environment.[8]

That is why Stallaert rightfully considers de Maeztu's position as ambivalent, insomuch as he ends by defining the Jewish people in racial terms.[9] Although related to a citation from Walsh, the quantitative citation reveals the exaggeration that his opinions entail and are emblematic of the traditional casticist mindset in the 20th century. In addition, upholding the pre-eminence of the influence of heredity reveals him to be a racist despite his arguments in favor of a spiritual racism. As we have seen, Netanyahu has refuted the supposed Jewish exclusivism. To negate the possibility that a Jew may assimilate is a racist conception, and it emulates Alonso de Espina, indicating a line of historical continuity.

Nevertheless, according to Álvarez Chillida, and despite de Maeztu's demonstration of a great interest in Hitler's meteoric rise, and justifying his own anti–Semitism by approving that Jews no longer be considered Germans, he asked that an exception be made for the minority of the good nationals, as the Reyes Católicos did with the sincere *conversos*. With this de Maeztu retracts his earlier opinion.[10]

Concerning Nazi ethnicism, that has biological racism as its foundation, but according to Stallaert, also has religious elements, despite the anti–Christianity of Hitler, who attributed its creation to Judaism, since his ethnic worldview is anchored to a religious worldview in which atheism, for him, only means "a return to the animal condition." Likewise Göring defined Nuremberg's racial laws as consistent with God's will.[11] As I have explained, the two ethnicisms being discussed, although differing in nature, complement each other.

However, although the two phases of the history of Spain are linked in some ways by casticism, what is to be determined is if the post–Inquisitorial period took on the ethnic characteristics of the earlier period. This requires the analysis of this later period, which begins in the 19th century. In particular, Álvarez Chillida, who meticulously studies contemporary Spanish anti–Semitism, believes that modern anti–Semitism enters Spain from other European countries where Jews were physically present.

For his analysis Álavarez Chillida uses Finkielkraut's concept of modern anti–Semitism when this author points out an essential aspect thereof. Finkielkraut points out that around 1889 French Jews were perfectly assimilated and nationalized and considered their Judaism a mere religion. They then were taken by surprise by the anti–Semitic wave and noted that the anti–Semitism was directed much more toward the assimilated Jews than against them and noted that "the more they de–Judaized themselves, the greater fear they engendered." When they defended universalism so as to avoid being branded as exclusivists, they gave wings to the myth of conspiracy. With that citation Álvarez Chillida highlights the rejection of the Jewish upstart that wished to integrate and believes that it is a matter of a reaction, reminding him of the reaction of the Spanish peoples when medieval Jews were completely emancipated upon conversion, thus bringing the comparison close to modern anti–Semitism.[12]

However, Pérez contests that opinion. For him, modern anti–Semitism, racist in character, made little inroad in Spain. He argues that precisely because of there not being any Jews in the Peninsula, the conditions were not present for that anti–Semitism to prosper, and that, at most, what was maintained was the renovated traditional anti–Judaism, because Spain not only had no Jews, but had completely forgotten those that had been expelled in 1492.

Álvarez Chillida's reasons are based on some evidence, racist in nature, such as the persistence of prejudices against the descendants of *conversos* in modern society. In that vein, cranial measurement studies were carried out, as well as the Aryan/Semitic dichotomy was being played with.

However, in the period we are analyzing the *conversos* had lost their identity because they had, after several generations, integrated into Christian society. Except in the case of the *Chuetas*, there were no visible assimilated Spaniard Jewish *conversos*, whereby the racial component could not have been present in the discussion. In that way we find ourselves with an important differential aspect in the comparison with *völkisch* ethnicism.

In contrast, what did spread was the conspiratorial myth, for which the imaginary Jew is sufficient. It was the traditional anti–Jewish tirade, sifted through the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and it is because of this that, fre-

quently, situations of the anti–Semitism of the Inquisitorial period are strung together with others lived in the 20th century. It is known that in the midst of the epoch of the Francoist regime, that libel, influenced by Nazi propaganda, had ample diffusion in Spain, and one of the leading exponents of the Falange, Onésimo Redondo, wrote a piece about it.

It is here that there is a tie between the two eras. That linkage as we have already seen has been noticed by Domínguez Ortiz, who finds a forerunner in the apocryphal letter supposedly written by the *Princes of the Jews of Constantinople*. This has particular importance because we are dealing with one of the first anti–Semitic falsifications in European history and the precursor of that slandering and sadly notorious pamphlet. The letter supposedly answered an inquiry from the Jews of Spain who were expelled to the Jews of Constantinople and invited those who could leave to do so with their wealth. Thus it is of interest to review that text that is a conspiratorial catalog:

> ...and those of you who could not do that, be baptized as the edict of that King commands, only to comply with it, always keeping in your heart your Holy Law. You then say that they take your property, make your sons lawyers and merchants so that they will take their property. And then you say that they take your life, make your sons physicians surgeons and apothecaries and they will take theirs from their sons and descendants. You then say that said Christians have violated and desecrated your ceremonies and Synagogues, make of your sons clerics, who will with ease be able to violate their temples and desecrate their sacraments and sacrifices.[13]

Another (now polemic) case that took place during the centuries of Inquisitorial fervor, although with an exclusively religious cast, was when Santo Dominguito del Val was born, the second of the two most famous Spanish child saints ritually martyred by the Jews. He was crucified in the 13th century and venerated in his city until very recently.[14]

Additionally, the absence of a modern anti–Semitism under the racial mode is what has allowed post–Inquisitorial Spanish anti–Semitism to present certain particularities, the main one being that in the 19th century a wave of sympathy opens toward the Sephardim of the Diaspora, in what appeared to be something like a historical vindication. Assuredly this was not generalized and, contrarily, it exacerbated even more the anti–Judaism in some segments of the population that justified the Inquisitorial tradition, producing an ideological censorship which should be analyzed and its extent defined.

To understand the Spanish anti–Semitism without Jews, its object being the imaginary Jew, this variety of anti–Semitism would not have racial characteristics. For its consideration we should not limit ourselves to the Francoist regime, but also to a part of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century and observe how Spanish society debated the course to be followed

with the expelled Sephardim. A liberal segment of the population went even further, by promoting in 1881 the immigration of Jews from Russia as an opportunity to rehabilitate the country and break the image of Inquisitorial Spain by maintaining, "Who would dare label us as fanatics if we were to put within our borders a slab of 50,000 Jews over the remains of Spanish fanaticism?"

On the other hand, fundamentalist Spain was opposed out of respect for the heritage of the Reyes Católicos, but in 1933, when Nazism gains power, Spain was governed by the Republic, which in its constitution recognized religious liberty. Its president, Alcalá Zamora, himself was optimistic regarding the amending of the historical harm done to the Sephardic community and additionally, as a gesture a hand was extended to one of the most famous victims of Nazi racism, Albert Einstein. At that time, the Spanish Embassy in Berlin sported a sign which stated in German "Jews gladly welcome" (*"Juden gerne gesehen"*).

This notwithstanding, Stallaert considers Spain's attitude to be ambiguous since it did not translate this sympathy into concrete measures of help for the Jewish refugees, in some cases having recourse to the subterfuge that the logical action would have been for them to be distributed among German-speaking countries.[15]

In spite of this, it is in the cultural aspect that the previously mentioned philo-Semitic affinity is not interrupted during Franco's era. Pérez had stated that the Spanish had completely forgotten the expelled Jews and that around 1860 there was no knowledge of the Sephardim that were living in the Muslim world. When Spanish troops under the command of General O'Donnell landed in Morocco they were amazed to see individuals in tattered clothes emerging onto the streets and cheering them in a somewhat strange Castilian. They then were surprised by finding that outside the Peninsula many thousands of people spoke Spanish. It is then that the Spanish—as we have seen—rediscover their Jews.[16]

The philo-Semitic campaign was embodied in Emilio Castelar, president of the government in 1881, but it was Doctor Ángel Pulido who carried out an intensive activity to which he dedicated his life. As was mentioned earlier, it was precisely because of his defense of that cause that he was the object of painful allegations.

It can be said that with him commences something which characterized philo-Sephardism: establishing the differences between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazi, considering the former superior and the latter as degenerate and stingy. With that type of argument it was possible to convince several intellectuals, such as Unamuno, Pérez Galdós, and Valera, among others. We shall see that later, that understanding was of great importance for Franco.

Although the results of the cause defended by Pulido were relative, it made great advances in the intellectual and scientific fields. It fomented academic interest in Hebraic studies, and among these, in the medievalists and specialists in the history of literature, such as the school of Ramón Menéndez y Pidal. He saw in that literature conserved by oral tradition among the Sephardim of Morocco a confirmation of his theory on the old medieval ballads, that is to say, he was interested in Sephardic culture as a living testimony of its Spanishness.

The most representative aspect of Spanish casticism is that it did not conceive another form of nationality that was not Catholicism, yet a casticist such as Menéndez y Pelayo supported Pulido's initiative of vindication of the Sephardim. Despite his negative conception of the Jews of Spain, Sánchez Albornoz, another casticist intellectual, concedes that traits of pure Spanishness can be found in the Jews of Spanish origin scattered throughout the world.

In 1920, during the reign of Alfonso XIII, the *Casa Universal de los Sefardíes* was created in Madrid, with the support of a large number of intellectuals of almost all political persuasions, including the most conservative leaders. Primo de Rivera protected as well the Sephardim of other nations, such as Turkey. Of note within this philo–Sephardism is the *Gaceta Literaria*, directed by Ernesto Giménez Caballero, which adhered strongly to that tide in spite of the contradiction that arose from its discomfort relating to the ethnic makeup of Spain. This discomfort is reflected when Giménez Caballero with a sort of inferiority complex referred to the poor ethnic quality of the Spanish people precisely because of its Semitic component.

As we shall see, from then on anti–Semitism will sport characteristics differentiating it from that known until that moment in Europe. This is what Payne calls the "Spanish paradox: the traditional prejudice and Sephardophilia." In addition, Payne adds a point that perhaps may help in understanding why Francoist anti–Semitism was basically directed at the non–Sephardic Jews. This idea is provided by the official weekly magazine *Mundo*, which disseminated ruling party propaganda. At the time it was praising the character and culture of the Sephardim and the fact that these "do not serve the goals of universal Judaism," Payne concludes with the idea that the magazine appeared to align itself with the philosophically anti–Semitic and decidedly philo–Sephardic environment previously mentioned.[17]

These peculiarities of Spanish anti–Semitism frequently arose in the actions of least-expected individuals. For example, the case, which we shall see in detail later, of Palencia, the diplomat who, while using expressions that denote the cruelest stereotypes against the Jews, behaved during the war in an exceptionally humanitarian fashion, which led him to adopt Jews to save them.

Historical Catalán philo-Semitism is pointed to as an important current that, of course, coexisted with anti-Semitic manifestations. It is often said that the Spanish people, from the 19th century on, and especially during Francoism, linked the Cataláns with the Jews, projecting their anti-Semitism on the former. Álvarez Chillida believes that that accusation would be the cause for the Catalán philo-Semitism and tells us that Ninyoles thinks that, for the Spanish people, Catalán is a synonym of Jew.[18]

It is because of this that anti-Semitism and anti-Catalánism have at times gone hand in hand. In the 17th century Quevedo, a religious fundamentalist and political figure, wrote, with little time between them, one pamphlet against the Jews and another against the Cataláns, this latter motivated by the war of the Segadores (reapers). It is possible that it is an isolated precedent but it prospered. For the anti-mesocratic (anti-socratic), sometimes halfway between Carlism and anarchism, the Spanish way of thinking prevails. For example, that of Pío Baroja is often openly fascist: Cataláns and Jews are the same thing, since in the end they carry the same values: the economy, money, rationalism, modernity, industry, the city. Pío Baroja writes that the Cataláns are the Jews of Spain, and this for him is not exactly a compliment.

Francoist propaganda writes that the Liga (Lliga Regionalista) was a party of *conversos* and Judaizers with (Francisco) Cambó as its head and that (Lluís) Companys could not be other than a *converso* as could be seen by his physiognomy. In some articles of ABC it was written that Catalánism was a Jewish product, following the plans of the *Elders of Zion*, needing to conquer Spain, the last bastion of Christianity.[19] Nonetheless, like other notorious anti-Semites, Francoist propaganda also differentiated between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazi; the former were considered virtuous and assimilable, while the latter were seen as troublemakers and spreaders of Communism.[20]

All this is tied to the racial handicap spoken of by Stallaert and with a certain complex that causes Cataláns, Basques and Castilians to favor their Jews. That complex was put in evidence by one of the most untarnished intellectuals of Francoism, Giménez Caballero, who despite, as we have seen, his decided militancy in the pro-Sephardim camp, complains of the weakness in the Germanic component of Spain by telling his interlocutor, "You do not have on top that dreary and terrible burden of Semitism."

As far as Franco is concerned, although by the social and ideological context it would have been more logical that he would have harbored adverse feelings toward the Jews, his Sephardophilia is well known, and an anecdote will serve as an illustration. Some, like Álvarez Chillida, point out that that respect stems from his African years during the Moroccan War, when he maintained friendships with several notable Jews from that territory, some of whom helped

him actively during the 1936 uprising. The history that corroborates his philo-Sephardism is the movie script he wrote in 1941, which he called *Raza*.

In the movie the main character, representing him, guides his mother around Toledo. And in front of the church Santa María la Blanca, which previously was a synagogue, he tells her that the Jews were purified upon contact with Spain and that the Jews of Toledo, when consulted by the Pharisees, were opposed to the crucifixion. In other words, at the high point of German dominion over Europe, he was showing a clear sympathy for the Spanish Jews, from which we can conclude that his anti-Jewish comments, uttered on several occasions, were not racist in nature, since although he speaks of the Spanish influence, he admits the possibility that a Jew could "change."[21]

Similarly, Payne, attempting to gauge correctly the degree of Franco's racism, believes that Franco believed in the existence of a unique Spanish race and believed only that the civilizing mission of the Spaniards would ennoble the Africans and that he showed little or no ill will toward the common Jews, considering that they were different from the great potentates that, in his opinion, pulled the strings in Paris, London and New York.[22]

According to Rother, what is certain is that Franco's opinion in relation to the Jews was ambivalent. Undoubtedly they do not occupy a central place among those that he considers enemies, as is the case of the Masons and Communists. Upon taking Xauen he used expressions of compassion and sympathy toward the Jews. Rother recognizes that in Franco's entourage and among his middle-level officials some anti-Jewish statements were made, but they were isolated and not systematic.

Perhaps it is appropriate to mention what Franco's father (from whom he was estranged for having abandoned his mother and living with another woman) thought of the obsession that his son had over the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy." Preston recounts that Franco's father referred disparagingly to his son by saying, "What does my son know of Masonry?" He considered that it was "an association of distinguished and honest men, certainly more superior to him..."[23] This would show that the issue was directed to the Masons, and that the Jews associated prejudicially.

That inclination toward the Jews is also, although without much foundation, attributed to Franco being of *converso* origin, something that Heydrich apparently investigated without any definite results, and also because of his devotion to Saint Therese of Judeo-*converso* ancestry.

Because the national and international political context changed at the beginning of the Civil War, there were some changes in Franco's and other philosemites' opinions (like in the case of Giménez Caballero), who then had decidedly anti-Semitic utterances.

In this same vein, literary critic Luis Astrana Marín, with a potentially exterminative slant, said, "There will not be peace in the world while the Jews exist," but still allows himself space to echo philo–Sephardism by expressing, "I, even though anti–Semite without disguise ... leave apart the real Sephardim, because before being an anti–Semite I am Spanish.... That one is no longer the Jew that I assail.... That Jew is not properly Jewish." This does nothing more than make evident the anti–Semitism of the right and how the Spanish were concerned about the Jewish blood that they themselves were carrying. This makes him say also "from so many Jews as there are, one does not now know who is and who is not."[24]

What is decisive in this question, for the purpose of determining if a regime or government is anti–Semitic, is the existence of legislation in the form of legal statutes, namely something systematized as was the case of France with Petain, or of Italian Fascism and the German Nazism. In that vein Payne says, "Perhaps most tellingly, German diplomats noted with dismay that Spain enacted no specific anti–Semitic legislation." Nonetheless, he writes, "All the same, the association with Germany during the Civil War had the almost inevitable effect of opening Spain more and more to that propaganda, though the Vatican and the Church hierarchy managed to block Franco's cultural treaty with the Reich in March 1939."[25]

Despite the considerations brought forth on the nature of post–Inquisitorial anti–Semitism, and above all that which corresponds to the Francoist era, I believe that it will be useful to compare it with Italian Fascism. This, in addition to the political affinity it had, proclaimed spirituality of its racism, something along the lines of how some conceived of Spanish anti–Semitism.

This relationship, however, does not go any further than that use of words, in the first instance, because Italian Fascism on its racial profile was a State anti–Semitism, to which in the words of (Renzo) De Felice, it was intended, as we have seen, to give a spiritual content. It is thus that when comparing the racisms of the 20th century, it must be noted that the Italian racism consecrated by the Mussolini regime, because it did not emphasize the biological, often also auto-characterized itself to be like the Spanish.

This should not be confused with the opinion that Mussolini had on the subject before the racial laws and during his phase of good relations with Judaism. According to Payne, "The Italian Fascist party had a disproportionately Jewish membership— in that Jews formed a higher percentage of its membership than they did of the Italian population as a whole."[26] It was during this period that Mussolini was making totally antiracist statements.[27] In addition, according to De Felice, Mussolini adhered "to the Spenglerian concept

of race which was totally different from the biological one of the national-socialism."

On analyzing the Italian Fascist racism and the differences that exist with the Nazi type, an analysis made easier by their simultaneous temporal development, those differences will be familiar to us because they are the same that are invoked to negate the comparability of Nazism and Spanish casticism: in the former the ethnic is the principal consideration and the religious is secondary, while casticism reverses the order, giving more importance to spirituality than to nature. This aspect is pointed out by De Napoli when indicating the differences. He notes that it is necessary to keep in mind that in Nazism the biological element determines the spiritual (and psychological), while in Italian Fascism the process is reversed, but in any event the biological element is present. It is the biological factor that denotes the invariability of the discrimination and its racist nature.[28]

In concept, Italian racism seeks to distance itself from the extremism of the German doctrines, just as it attempted in the case of Spanish casticism. However, what counts, according to De Napoli, are not its bases, but rather its legislative wording that did not propose a revision of the anti–Semitic laws to make them more moderate and insisted on its definition of "Hebrew" inspired on biological criteria. In the cleanliness of blood, the criterion for exclusion can also base itself on religion. Nonetheless, in its effects, when speaking of lineage and blood, it is biological.

As pointed out by Álvarez Chillida, it deals with Tanguief's notion, which understands the racist attitude to be socio-centric, in that it separates its own group from the foreign one through hereditary and immutable attributes, thus making the "others" inassimilable or threatening individuals. It may rely on scientific ideas but also on religious ones or on mere legends or traditional sentiments, which have as a result segregation, discrimination, persecution, expulsion and extermination.[29]

While the link between Spanish and Italian racism is not spoken of except when the influences of the Nazi regime in the adoption of the latter are considered, such linkage is spoken of when considering the link between Nazism and Inquisitorial Spanish racism. Or also with the admiration that certain Falangist quarters professed for Italian Fascism, which they considered closer than German National Socialism.

Faced with this we must ask for ourselves: does the political ideological proximity that existed between the Falange and Nazism include the racial factor? Answering that question is not easy and presents not a few difficulties, despite having concluded that racial anti–Semitism had not entered into Spain. Searching for those answers, we have seen that Stallaert attempts to string

together Inquisitorial and post-Inquisitorial Spain with the casticist worldview.

Given the complexity of the period, it is fitting to make some additional considerations. Rother, dealing with the same thing, notes that the Francoist regime had an ambiguous approach to the question.

There were fanatically anti-Semitic groups, above all in Falangism, and also some groups very close to Italian Fascism. On the other hand, in 1940 the regime inaugurated the Arias Montano Institute, dedicated to the Jewish history of Spain, and not from an anti-Semitic perspective, *Forchungs Institute Zum Judentum* (Research Institute for Judaism), which published *Sefarad* for the first time in 1941.

In general, according to Rother, anti-Semitism was not central in the ideology of the authoritarian right, and the Falange did not have anti-Semitic objectives in the most important parts of its program. It was two Falangist intellectuals, Augustín de Foxá and Giménez Caballero, who sought to intensify the relations with the Sephardim that they considered as part of Spanishness.[30]

It is also true that in Spain there were practically no Jews, except for the descendants of those who had converted many centuries earlier but who were not visible, and the dispositions that discriminated them were abrogated with the exception, as we have seen, of the *Chuetas*.

On the contrary, for the Falange "race" was an insignificant aspect. With respect to them, as Rother explains, because of their socio-economic status as small and mid-level merchants, the Falange had quite a few *Chuetas* among its members.[31] Because of this in some general way it is seen that Franco's governmental actions from the earliest dates fit neither anti-Judaism nor anti-Semitism, but rather that they appear to conform to philo-Sephardism just as it was conceived by Migüel Primo de Rivera. Rother points out that José Antonio Primo de Rivera was less of an anti-Semite than others in the military such as Molas and Queipo de Llano, and it was that which influenced Franco's regime's policies toward the Jews.[32] That diminished extent of Franco's anti-Semitism was reflected in the Jewish press, and in that regard the *Jewish Chronicle* published that Queipo de Llano was anti-Semitic but Franco was "philo-Semitic."[33]

If there was ambiguity with the Sephardim persecuted during the Second World War, there was none with the 1,500 Jews residing in the French Protectorate of Morocco, because the government protested at the measures imposed on them by the Vichy government. It must be pointed out that the views of diplomats with regard to the Jews were not homogenous, and three diplomats who had an important role during Francoism must be noted. Among them was José Antonio Sangróniz, one of the anti-casticists who had no qualms

in recognizing the racial affinity between the Spaniards and the Moroccans when he maintained the existence of a Libyan-Iberian race (Berbers, Iberians, Basques and Ligurians) that received heavy contributions from the Arabs, Jews and Phoenicians.[34]

That hypothesis is not far-fetched. In the Mediterranean basin the proximity of peoples and ethnicities is undoubted. To give an example, we can see what many believe (there is a genetic report that supports this), that the Berbers are ethnically linked to the Basques, which would make the autochthonous Moroccan Jews (not those who came from Spain as a result of the expulsions) who are proselytized Berbers be related to the Basque people. The latter, as has been seen, showed an unprecedented severity toward the *conversos*.[35]

Although in this philo–Sephardism, of which, as Álvarez Chillida notes, Franco was not unaware, there were explicative policies. One was the Hebrews' support during the harsh Moroccan War and the "pan-Hispanism," which was an attempt to create a kind of "cultural imperialism," which was a nationalistic reaction to the disaster of the 1898 Spanish-American War and which encompassed the Sephardic.[36]

This philo–Sephardism of the right that, as we have seen, constitutes a definite peculiarity, is absolutely incompatible with unbridled Nazi anti–Semitism, and to corroborate that statement, again, Álvarez Chillida has recourse to statements of the rabid anti–Semite Luis Astrana Marín. Among other diatribes he said, "The Jews traffic with war and with vice, hoard without working and their goal is world revolution." "But they cry because there still is some gold that has not fallen into their hands." "The universe knows that to subdue the Jews there is no other remedy than to reduce them to nothingness." Álvarez Chillida notes that even in the face of that potentially exterminating anti–Semitism, Astrana, as previously mentioned, allows himself space for philo–Sephardism. This can be seen in his statements, "I, although anti–Semite without disguise ... set aside the true Sephardim, because before being anti–Semite I am Spanish, and who carries in his veins Spanish blood for me carries its stamp of honor. That is not the Jew that I fight against ... it is perhaps the acquaintance whom, we greet, the friend whom we love.... That Jew is not properly Jewish, because Sepharad has transformed him." But, Álvarez Chillida adds that rather than to the Sephardim themselves, Astrana is referring to the Jewish blood carried by a lot of Spaniards, for as we have seen earlier he also said, "Of so many [Jews] as there are, one does not know who is and who is not." Again, this is the racial handicap spoken of by Stallaert.

Essentially, the Spanish could not afford the luxury of being racists in

the Nazi manner without contradictions and without paying a price. Álvarez Chillida rightly believes that Spain being faced with such a doubtful racial context is the reason for which Hitler looked there for a government inclined to the Axis and not to create a National-Socialist regime.[37] However, according to Álvarez Chillida, things began to change right after Franco's victory, and from that moment anti-Jewish phrases began to be heard in his speeches. In the victory parade he attributed to the anti-Judaic spirit having permitted the alliance of the great capital with Marxism, and in another speech he justified European anti-Semitism and praised the clear vision of the Catholic Kings that had freed the Spanish from such a heavy burden some centuries earlier.[38]

On the other hand, Pérez believes that Franco was not complicit in the anti-Semitic policy of the Nazis, but that he did not want to complicate his relationship with the Nazis, to whom he owed the decisive aid given during the Civil War. After 1943, when the Allied victory was obvious, his preoccupation was to look good to them.[39]

When this author takes stock of Franco's thinking and actions with respect to the Jews, by asking himself "How could Franco's supposed Judeophilia be reconciled with the violent tone of his speeches?" he concludes that despite all the anti-Jewish propaganda of the regime, "the actions never reached the extreme of promoting a policy of hostility of the Spaniards toward the Hebrews." He summarizes the events in the following manner: "In the interior of Spain the actions were relatively favorable to the Sephardim[40]; remember the motivations that appear in the preamble creating the Sephardic world of the *Sinagoga del Tránsito* of Toledo." It is relevant to know them, despite that it was in the year 1959 when something is created that, according to Pérez, the Republic had not dared to do in 1935: the transformation of the *Sinagoga del Tránsito* of Toledo into a Sephardic museum, with his decree that begins as follows:

> The interest which is provided by the History of the Jews in our country is twofold, if, on the one hand, its study is beneficial for a good understanding of what is Spanish, given the centuries-long presence of the Jewish people in Spain, it is also essential for the cultural and historical entity of this people is that the integration of a portion of its lineage made for the Hispanic genius and mind. Without reference to this fact the varied aspects offered by the personality of the Sephardim in the various communities that they formed cannot be understood.[41]

Abroad something similar occurred: Franco does not want any problems with the Nazis, but neither does he consider the Jews to be enemies of Spain. In Franco's support, Pérez cites Álvarez Chillida specifically, for whom in Franco's Spain, the anti-Semitism that he prefers to speak of anti-Judaism,

which is for us more appropriate because it fulfilled an essential ideological function not directed against concrete Jews. Because of this—Pérez believes—that whatever were the vacillations and ups and downs, Franco's Spain attempted to save many Jews during the Second World War, while it did nothing to save the Republicans sent by the Gestapo to concentration camps. Pérez again cites Álvarez Chillida, for whom despite the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the regime, the true enemy was not the Jews, but rather those who fought against Franco during the Civil War.[42]

This distinction between the Sephardim and those who are not highlights what we have indicated: that it was the matter of an ideological notion, because had it been a racial hatred, it would have had to be generalized. Or as Payne states, Franco's regime did not postulate any racial theory, nor did it discriminate directly against the Jews, but did present the traditional anti-Jewish discourse sifted though the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.[43]

In this manner we have clarified the comparable areas for the side of German racism and post-Inquisitorial Spain and especially for Franco's period, thus defining those areas that can be compared so as to find the approximations, areas of closeness and similarities.

In relation to Inquisitorial Spain that task becomes more complex because of the vast gap in time that exists between the two compared times, a gap that Stallaert has, as we have seen, in some way circumvented by projecting that period into the 20th century with the use of anthropological tools.

At any rate, there are contemporary events whose roots go deep into history in ways that have origins in the contentious relations with the Jews. Referring to the expulsion of 1492, de Pozuelo writes that the German ambassador, Stohrer, informed his government that because of the option of converting to Catholicism or leaving the country, thousands of them preferred to convert to Catholicism to salvage their economic possessions. Further, these baptized Jews have completely integrated into the Spanish people, and they have mixed with the Spanish population so that today in Spain it is very difficult to identify the Jewish race.

Thus, according to the Ambassador, the result was that in contemporary Spain it was not possible to distinguish between Spaniards and baptized Spanish Jews. That—the article mentions—can only be explained by keeping in mind the Catholic ideology on which the Spanish state is based, which is valid even for non-Christian Spaniards. It is not known how many Jews during the 15th and 16th centuries opted for baptism, and it is certain that Jewish elements then baptized rose especially to upper classes, both in the nobility and in the higher clergy.[44]

Another aspect worthy of analysis for the purpose of defining the nature

of the projected view refers to the press. Fermín Yzurdiaga, a Falangist cleric and editor of the daily *Arriba España*, in 1938 expressed the following:

> The essence of Spain is antiracist.... For Spain, the Jewish problem will never be a problem of Race, but rather an article of Faith. Precisely because we are not racists, because we do not recognize the values of blood, but rather the values of the spirit, we are essentially, fundamentally enemies of the Jews.[45]

This might appear to be close to de Maeztu's concept, but there is a great disparity because Yzurdiaga does not go into the topic of the Judeo-*conversos*. Let us remember that for the former author, "A Jew will always be a Jew even though he converts."

That study of the press during the Francoist regime reveals that despite the rigorous system of governmental censorship, it expressed itself freely and consciously within the framework that Lazo considers the essential components of the regime: the Falange and the Catholic Church.[46] For his analysis Lazo delves into the political nature of Falangism and how these characteristics tie it to Fascism. The latter presents difficulties in defining it, except for appealing to the generality that there existed diverse types of Fascism due to their fervor. Lazo aptly looks to Raymond Aron, who believed that what defines the nature of a political movement, more than the programmatic, is its style, which in this case, he concludes, is militant fanaticism.

At any rate, and despite the evident anti-Semitic tendency that exuded from the writings of the Falangist and Catholic press, from them there does not emerge, in general, any historical vindication of the cleanliness of blood, not even in the Falangist publications. These, while downplaying the concept for the understandable reason of the hodgepodge that constituted being Spanish, always displayed a flaring anti-Semitism that could be interpreted as racist. However, the Falangists as Catholics and because of the obviousness of the ethnic mix of the Spanish people were forced to devise grotesque conclusions.[47]

Additionally, Lazo indicates that they did not present a uniform way of thinking with regard to the racial question. He refers to Elía Díaz, who in his work *Pensamiento Español durante la era de Franco* indicates that despite the Falange's extremely totalitarian viewpoint, "it had almost always attempted to avoid the mythical-pagan racist extremes of German racism, emphasizing much more the ethical-religious foundation and its connection to the Spanish tradition." This is an opinion that Lazo accepts but believes it must be nuanced, because he considers it applicable to the non-Falangist totalitarian element within the Francoist regime as well as that widespread element of Falangism adhering to Francoism, but not applicable to the fundamentalist Falangists, who were admirers of Nazism.

Indeed, there were, as in all nations, fanatical followers of Hitler and Nazism in their racist pursuits, but it is not what characterized the Falange.[48] This is well described by Bauman, who considered that totalitarianism does not necessarily lead to anti–Semitism and gives as an example that the "Spanish Falangists took particular pride in the absence of a single anti–Semitic remark in all the writings of Antonio Primo de Rivera while even such a 'classical' Fascist as Franco's brother-in-law Serrano Suñer, declared racism, in general, as a heresy for a good Catholic."[49]

When, as a consequence of the enactment of the racial laws, the Italian government expelled the foreign Jews that had immigrated since 1919, and among them the Spanish ones, upon an inquiry by the Italian diplomats to Spanish authorities, the latter insisted that, based on the fact that Spain did not have any legislation that differentiated races, they be protected *in situ* and that the contrary would constitute a violation of the 1867 treaty. In addition and also because of this, the demand for the issuance of certificates of Aryan race for Spanish diplomats was rejected.[50]

The Catholic publications present an important differentiating nuance: the definitive rejection of racism, despite certain ambiguities or obfuscations, about which it is important to pause and clarify, as Lazo does, that all the religious publications adopted that position, even before the course of the war for the Axis turned.

Lazo indicates that already in 1934 various *Boletín Eclesiástico* echo the condemnation of Rosenberg's *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (*Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*), which was going to be translated and published in Spain.[51] Thus is how *Ecclesia* clarifies the danger signified by the co-existence of Christians and Jews, because of which the Catholic Kings were sensible in ordering the expulsion. However, "it is inadmissible to consider it as a measure for the safeguarding of the national race," Lazo writes, since the Spanish are not racists and they are defending the essential equality of men in accord with Catholic beliefs.[52] In the same vein the review *Razón y Fe*, omitting the contradiction that among the Jesuits the prohibition against the descendants of Jews was still in force, maintained that a converted Jew could not be evil *per se* since his original wickedness disappeared with the conversion.[53]

For all these reasons I believe that, in what is essential, there was not a historical continuity between the two periods, because although Falangism was notoriously anti–Semitic, the non-existence of the *converso* problem does not allow for the delineation of the question except for three situations mentioned by Marquina that could lead us to a different conclusion.

One is that the Nazis did not accept a contingent of non–Aryan Catholics, and another is the problem of the *Chuetas*, which according to Taus

is "one of the most interesting phenomena of Spanish anti–Semitism, and thus European; interesting because of its peculiar historic persistence, because of its anachronism and its complexity."[54] It must be noted that it was limited to Majorca because in Falangist Spain the descendants of *conversos* were not discriminated against in any way. It must be recognized that their genealogies were lost in the night of time and no one deals with them. In addition, we saw that serious casticist authors such as Sánchez Albornoz and Menéndez y Pelayo reject that brand of racism.

Álvarez Chillida maintains that a certain racism of some traditionalist authors of the right, as is the case of de Maeztu, whom we have already considered, or that of Giménez Caballero and of Pemán, was white racism but Aryan antiracism, that is to say that they did not participate in the racism of the Nazis.

Another situation occurred with Vallejo Nájera, an important Falangist official, with his raving racial interpretation of the Civil War, replete with Hitlerian preconceptions that blended politics with its racial origin: "Today as during the Reconquista, we the Hispano-Roman-Goths fight against the Judeo-Moorish ... the pure racial trunk against the spurious."[55] As far as I know, he and Balmes[56] are the only contemporary authors that vindicate the cleanliness of blood.

Thus, I conclude that, in general terms, Franco's post–Inquisitorial Spain is not the continuation of that which occurred during the peak of the creation and the functioning of the Inquisitorial tribunal, without detriment to the durability of some important aspects such as the extreme religiosity of the State, and that neither are they comparable, despite some political affinities and shared interests. Nor is Franco's Spain comparable to the German National-Socialistic racism, despite the aid that it received from the latter. I have arrived at this conclusion without as yet having dealt with the situation of the Civil War and the Holocaust, which for methodological reasons I will do later, because I believe that those events took place without significantly altering the nature of the Spanish anti–Semitism of the 20th century.

Left, then, is my view on the main goal of this work, which is the comparison of the Spain of the cleanliness of blood and the racial laws enacted by National Socialism, which I shall present in the last chapter together with the Conclusion.

9

The Spanish Civil War and the Jews

Image of the Republic as pro–Jewish and of Franco as anti–Semitic. Jews of Morocco that supported Franco's revolt. Attitudes of world Jewry toward Franco. Use of Jews as subjects for negative propaganda. Strongly anti–Semitic statements from some of Franco's generals. Franco's statements to the world press distancing himself from Nazi racism. Anti-Franco preaching by prestigious French Catholics. Strongly nationalistic statements by Moroccan Jews. Jews in the International Brigades.

The history of Spain shows, as few others, lacerations and divisions and, perhaps, the most important of these was the Civil War. This event, as Isidro González indicates in agreement with Payne, is generally studied in a descriptive manner, but without analyzing its profound root causes. That conflagration is labeled by some historians, as due to "poorly healed" (festering) historical situations. If this is so, the Jews could not remain outside whether for their presence or for their historical absence.

Although in post–Inquisitorial Spain, in accord with what we have seen, anti–Semitism shows a certain continuity in its characteristics, it also embodies the inevitable nuances given by the passing of time and by the different governments. It is because of this that in this analysis the pronounced contrast between the Republic and the Francoist regime cannot be left out. Nevertheless, the snapshot that remained engraved of that political difference did not always reflect reality when the Jews are included. Those circumstances are noted by Stallaert: "Neither was the Republic so pro–Jewish nor Francoism so anti–Semitic. If they were so, in their outward manifestations, it was due

to the political alignment or Realpolitik dictated by the exceptional circumstances that then were being lived with."[1]

Although some Moroccan Jews collaborated with Franco economically and propaganda-wise during the Civil War, the majority of the Jews outside of Spain aligned themselves with the Frente Popular. In addition, a considerable portion of those enlisted in the International Brigades was Jewish. It is undoubtedly true that many collaborated with the Spanish Republican regime aided to a large extent by Stalin, both through intense propaganda abroad and with weapons in hand. Because of this and also because of the survival of the stories about Judeo-Masonic conspiracies, which found presumed confirmation in such events, Franco's regime despised the Ashkenazim. By contrast, it kept in effect the Law, despite its having lost its legal impact, which offered Spanish citizenship to the Sephardim. This Law, enacted during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, would permit the saving of many Hebrews from the National Socialist concentration camps.

On the other hand, the Jews from the Balkans and Central Europe predominantly suffered under Nazism, and as I. González observes, logically were Republicans, considering the Nationalist faction to be linked to the faction of their greatest persecutors, Nazism and Fascism.[2] The Romanian Sephardim were the exception, according to Payne, since in large part they supported the Nationalist camp.[3]

The theme of this chapter undoubtedly is part of the previous one in which the focus was on a generalized view of post–Inquisitorial Spain, with some necessary references to the Civil War. However, I believe that I needed to give special attention to the latter, because in all the ideologically warlike plotting that shaped that drama, Judaism was implicated firstly and anti–Semitism secondly.

Sephardim and Ashkenazim played different roles: the former had an actual presence no less than within the scenarios where the military revolt began, while the latter practically did not exist in Spain at that moment and came later on in large numbers to fight in the International Brigades. Moreover, in that Civil War, as in all wartime confrontations, propaganda was of importance, and in that matter the Jews were always a subject of the highest interest that could be used, and the Nationalist camp took thorough advantage of this.

The Republican camp also used that propaganda theme, but to a lesser extent and, obviously, with a totally different motif. At any rate, the question was not always presented uniformly. The examination of some texts will allow us, once more, to measure Spanish anti–Semitism in all its nuances and its differences from Nazism. What undoubtedly predominated during that period was the traditionally religious theme, with permanent references to the wisdom

of the Catholic Kings for having "delivered" the peninsula from such despicable human beings. Nevertheless, they added to it some elements of modern anti-Semitism, like the conspiracies of world domination and of its participation in Soviet communism, although, generally, without touching the racial theme so dear to National Socialism.

For those reasons it is important to gauge the sincerity of those expressions and, as befits any propaganda statement, how much was speculation. Additionally, one must consider the care that the Nationalist camp exercised in not upsetting the German ally that lent it so much help and, at the same time, Spain being an exceedingly Catholic country, in not upsetting also the Vatican, which by that time was greatly opposed to the Nazi ideology. The latter concern was in the care of some clerics who endeavored to highlight the differences.

Aniceto de Castro Albarrán, a cleric in the Cathedral of Salamanca, used to criticize those who were troubled by the influence of the feared Nazism by stating, "The danger of Nazi influence in Spain is absolutely false. One hundred times it has been repeated by our Generalissimo that our revolution is an authentically National revolution."[4] In one opportunity Franco stated, "For us spiritual integrity and freedom of man are intangible values and here is that which differentiates even more our doctrine from the totalitarian and racist doctrines that attribute everything to the State."[5]

They were particularly annoyed by the anti-Francoist discourse of prestigious French Catholics such as Mauriac, Maritain and Bernanos, labeled "a small clan of French Catholics ... that obstinately persist in not acknowledging the universal greatness of our crusade ... against the greatest and fiercest enemies of Christ's Church." They were also irritated by liberal supporters of the Third Way, such as Salvador de Madariaga, with the "sinister help ... of the miserable *Liga de los Derechos del Hombre* ... that as yet has not protested the villainous murder of eleven bishops and more than 17,000 clerics and religious."[6]

Additionally, for internal public consumption the National leaders used the image of the Jew as the enemy of the national quintessence, permanently allying it with Masonry, communism, and although it bore no rationale, to capitalism. Yet the attitude was very different when they had to seek help abroad, and then they avoided that latter aspect, considering it detrimental to their strategy. When seeking the help from those governments, that propaganda was used in countries with a totalitarian bent; the question would acquire a certain complexity precisely because of the controversy between the Vatican and the Reich, and later with Mussolini, specifically because of the problem of racism and the Jews.[7]

On the contrary, as the Republican camp was seen by a great part of world Jewry as representing the fight against Fascism and Nazism, it was, in the view of the press and publications, supported by many Jews as if their own struggle. Moreover, it received material support, especially as manpower in the significant number of Jews that took part in the war theater, to the extent that there came to be a unit with that identity. This, however, was barely mentioned by Republican authorities but much exploited by the Nationalists. That omission by the Republican camp of the mention of that unit may be due to its internationalist ideology, or because they did not wish to offer what was considered a weak spot from a propaganda perspective. That silence is still an enigma today.

The enigma could be a response, as we have previously mentioned, that from the public opinion point of view, invoking the word "Jewish" was inconvenient even in democratic societies. They were attempting to neutralize the propaganda that revolved around the identity of the Republican cause with the Jewish one. Something similar, it occurs to me, happened with the explanation that some offer as to why the Allies did not bomb the concentration camps or the railways that were transporting the Jewish victims to them. This could have been done at very little cost and risk. In this same way, they were attempting to neutralize the persistent evoking by the Nazis that the Allies were defending the Jewish cause, attempting to demoralize them, especially in view of the human life losses suffered by those Allied forces.

Among the most disseminated and influential anti–Semitic items of propaganda are the statements of some Nationalist generals. As an example, Queipo del Llano in his radio broadcasts asserted "the Republican government was supported by international Judaism and that its secret government, Kahal, was financing the communist revolution" and that "the Jews were seeking world domination and the extermination of the Christians, because of which the struggle is not a Civil War but a war by western civilization against the Jewish world." Or, he also would explain with acerbic irony that the significance of the acronym URSS (USSR in English) was *Unión Rabínica de los Sabios de Sión*" (Rabbinic Union of the Sages [Elders] of Zion). Those statements would not be out of tune with those which might have been uttered by any Nazi leader. In that same tenor were the statements of the important generals Millán de Astray and Emilio Mola, the latter making references to the Jewish race and to the expulsion of the Jews by popular demand. Although, as we have seen, anti–Semitic declarations by Franco were not lacking, these, according to I. González, were very watered down, and he personally intervened on more than one occasion to stop any attempt at anti–Semitic activity in Spanish Morocco.[8]

I. González points out that Franco, in his pronouncements "in his face to the outside," let it be very clear that the tolerance of the Jews would, in the new regime, be total, citing what in past eras was the co-existence that they had maintained with Arabs and Christians.

In this same vein it is important to analyze the interview he granted to Ricardo Sáenz Hayes of *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires on November 11, 1937. In this he notes that among the central ideas of his future government there is that tolerance for the Jews, and at the same time he laments the death of Lorca. In another note that he granted to Henri Messis of the newspaper *Candide*, a member of the French media, on August 22, 1938, he admits that Germany has supplied him with the materiel that his forces lacked. However, he clarifies, it was paid for, and because of this the movement does not run the risk of undergoing foreign distortions nor Fascistization. At the same time he distances himself from Nazi racism by indicating that it was the consequence of the lack of religious unity in Germany and of the defeat in the First World War and that the total Catholic character of what Spain will be will differentiate his government from Mussolinian statism and from Hitlerian racism.

Within the deliberate ambiguity of that propaganda stands out the clarity of the positions taken by Franco, positions that under no point of view can be considered anti–Semitic, as well as his clear intent to dissociate himself from the influence of Nazism and from some of the media of his faction. Henri Messis likewise points out that that position is in accord with the expulsion of the first German ambassador, Colonel Faupel, whom he considers a propaganda specialist and who had tried to introduce the spirit of the "Hitlerjugend" into the Falangist youth, for which reason Franco demanded his immediate removal.

As an example of that mutable propagandist strategy, I. González indicates how the very same Queipo del Llano, known for his radio addresses with an anti–Semitic bent, when his attention was drawn to his being detrimental to the National cause abroad, declared that the triumphal entrance of the National troops into Tetuán was made possible because of the behavior of the Jews of that city. He asked that this latter group forget his earlier statements since they form part of a strategy directed to other audiences.[9]

According to I. González regarding the allegiances of the Jews, world public opinion of those days focused on the Spanish conflict, and the differing positions and support, as well as the likes and dislikes of both sides, began to emerge. Although it is little known, a similar thing happened among the Jews. While a group of Jews from Larache collaborated with the uprising, the majority of them defended the Republican cause with communiqués and publications. I. González submits that this relates directly to the contentious

relationship between the Jews and Spain, rooted in the early times of their stay in the Iberian Peninsula, above all during the Middle Ages. Namely, he notes a historical connecting thread that will lead to the question of the comparison between those epochs and the 20th century.[10]

I. González aptly indicates that in the Contemporary Era, that problem (the Jewish problem), despite the historical footprints, is a special case, because faced with the absence of Jews, anti–Semitism is based on memory. Yet, when not hampered by its own political interest, it was disseminated by the media. Because of this, he believes that the cliché that the Republican camp was pro–Jewish and the Nationalist was anti–Jewish was not in agreement with reality, since between both positions there exists a whole world of gradations: as stated previously, neither was the Republic so pro–Jewish nor Francoism so anti–Semitic.

The Republic showed a special sensitivity when defending the Jewish cause in international forums, although at the time of deciding on repatriation, they put forth difficulties for them, always citing internal problems. This was with the exception of dealing with individuals that could give it prestige, as with the invitation extended to Einstein. As far as the commonly held thought as to the uniformity of Judaism's support for the Republican camp, I have said that it was not exactly thus. The evidence has revealed that the communists and anarchists of the Republican camp did not have the support of other groups of Jews such as the North Africans, the Northern Italians, and some Zionist groups and their leader, Wladimir Jabotinski.[11]

Among those Italians we can mention the connections that some Jews from Trieste had with the Italian banks and, especially, with the Spanish ones that supported the cause of General Franco. This group of Jews were being persecuted by Fascism, because of which they requested and were granted admission to Spain by invoking that circumstance and were admitted in consideration of their economic ties to the Nationalist cause.[12]

This anecdote corroborates what I had stated about the importance of both the socio-economic level at the time when decisions were made about allegiances and the hypocrisy of the propaganda message of the Nationalists. This camp, while demonizing bankers as representing international Judaism, maintained excellent relations with them.

Such is the case of Prat de Souza, a diplomat in Romania who exuded a fierce anti–Semitism that led him to boycott the Sagoreco project. This was a plan to convert to Catholicism some 50,000 Jewish families and to transfer them to nationalist Spain, with the supervision of Monsignor Pacelli, who was to become Pope Pius XII. Prat de Souza reported that he did not believe that the baptismal waters would change either the mentality or the race of these

people, and that they would do it only to escape the persecution that undoubtedly this people deserve. Nonetheless, he did not have any difficulty nor did he think the same when he enthusiastically welcomed the conversion of the distinguished Jewish banker Alberto Saporta y Beja and stood as the baptismal godfather of the entire family.[13]

On the other hand, the interpretation that Jewish intellectuals were prone to support the Republican camp was rather logical since they had a common enemy whose ideology was close to that of their major enemies, Nazism and Fascism.

One of the factors that influenced even more that anti–Semitism be so peculiar in Spain during the course of the Civil War is an additional situation. This arises from the early intervention by the Führer to underscore his anti-communist stance so as to consolidate in Spain a government inclined toward the Axis. In the first place this contributed to the importance acquired by Falange among the rebels since two great ideological blocks formed among them, with the Falange being the most extremist. Thus, the anti–Semitic ideas started to spread with great intensity, and their ideological function was in that way reinforced because of the apocalyptic struggle now materializing on the battle fields. On the other hand, the myth of the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy brought cohesion to the heterogeneous forces of the rebels.[14]

The economic contributions of the Jews to the National cause were important and allowed for the purchase of a battleship and an encampment, notwithstanding very generic anti–Semitic proclamations being made, although never referring to the Jews from Africa.

A useful gauge for the determination of the extent of their support for the Nationalist cause is the expression of disappointment by the North-African Jews in the Nationalist camp as well as their distress at the confusion, common among the Nationalists, who considered all Jews to be Marxists. I. González transcribes an article from one of the members of that community published with the title *Los Israelitas y su amor a España* ("The Israelites and Their Love for Spain"), the powerful text of which sets definitely the official position of the greater part of the Jewish community and its lack of links to Marxism.

> Completely oblivious to any political or partisan idea of any type, fervent lover of the noble Spain that I venerate and love as if it were my native land, and being assured that all the Israelites of Morocco believe in the same way, I am afflicted by an immense sorrow, a profound pain, on seeing that some of the sons of this blessed land erroneously suppose that all the Hebrews are Marxists. Is it for the single fact that Karl Marx, founder of Marxism, was an Israelite that all Hebrews must so be? Is it because all or most all of the Jews in Russia are communists, that it must be so for those of the entire world? Neither the Jews of Morocco and even less those of Larache are communists, nor do they have political ideas of any type.... The Jews

without distinction love and admire more than anyone these brave Spanish soldiers, with whom they have co-existed so fraternally since their arrival in these lands.

And another publication said the following:

The magnificent crusade undertaken by the glorious National army places the Sephardic Jews on the side of the Caudillo and, similarly to those that follow him, the real Spaniards, make us condemn communism. We the Jews, descendants of Maimonides, Halevi, Arbabanel and Ben Gabirol are on the side of Franco, the others on the side of the enemies of culture and tradition. In every age, our great rabbis and scholars have condemned the political idea and the secret organization, casting upon it the most terrible anathema. Our beliefs, our religion, our profound respect for tradition, thanks to which the Jewish race has been preserved through the centuries, moves us to consider the Nationalist Movement the savior of Spain, as our own thing, since Sephardic Judaism is nothing other than Spanish Judaism; as believers in God we are enemies of all that implies hate and barbarism and we condemn all those doctrines that poison religion and lead to the destruction of civilization. Salute to Franco! Hail to Spain![15]

To rule out that all that might have been opportunism, I. González provides as an example the case of Melilla, indicating that during the Republic the majority of Jews voted for Republican parties, albeit conservative, without any harm occurring when others would vote for the Socialists.

Some argue that since the zone was controlled by the Nationalists from the beginning of the uprising, those significant economic contributions and alignments resulted; given the situation, they could not have acted otherwise. Nonetheless, for I. González there is no doubt that some did it in *motu proprio*, considering the ties that from times past they had had with the Spanish army. There were Jews that were executed for belonging to Masonic lodges and others who performed an important role with the military rebels, not only through those contributions, but also as players and collaborators in logistical operations. Many of them had personal friendships including business relationships with the Spanish army.[16] The fact is that many of those soldiers maintained very good relations with the North-African Jews, whom they defended on many occasions from attacks from the Arabs. Some in the military even wrote books about them, as was the case of Tomás García Figueras and Francisco Gómez Jordana, whose father was a minister of Franco.[17]

We could say that, in general, they behaved according to their socio-economic situation because, as was testified by a journalist, from the Jews of good economic position the support was natural since, if the Republican camp were to win and if the more extreme factions were to prevail, those wealthy inhabitants feared being dispossessed of their fortunes.

This argument is validated by the statements of Colonel Beigbeder, who headed the High Commissariat, to G. Nypels, correspondent for the Dutch newspaper *Algemeen Handesblad* of December 16, 1938: "he also mocked the sudden anti–Semitism which had been echoed by the Spanish press. According the the High Commissar, anti–Semitic propaganda does not have great importance in Spain, because in Spain there are no Jews. And in the territory of his jurisdiction, in Spanish Morocco, where there are three thousand in Tetuán, in a population of fifty thousand souls, they (the non–Jews) are fine with them...."

The Dutch journalist reflects something similar in his commentary when he says:

> Colonel Beigbeder is right when he says that in Spain there are no Jews nor, in his opinion, racist anti–Semitism which, according to the aforementioned colonel, would only reappear should it have coincidences with Marxism.... In addition, taking the Jews as enemies would necessarily cause a strange sensation in a country whose population has in its veins Hebrew blood, since after the capture of Granada, approximately five centuries ago, the Catholic Kings Fernando and Isabel expelled them for exclusively religious motives. In this manner countless Jews remained in Spain as true or feigned Christians ... and later the Spaniards were governed by men who were known to be descendents of Jews. Although at times, according to Beigbeder to placate his German friends, in the National zone they prevail upon their newspapers to vociferate against the Jews.[18]

Undoubtedly, this colonel, being familiar with the history of his country, reflects the situation very well.

This agrees with the opinion of I. González, who in an interview states,

> On receiving aid from the Germans, to satisfy them he had to magnify this strategic anti–Semitism. However, as a matter of fact, through his generals Franco sent to the North-African Jews the message that even though they might hear anti–Semitic slogans, they should not pay attention to them, since no actions would be taken against them. Moreover, he advised them that they formed a part of the strategy to receive help from the Germans, since it was necessary to compromise with them. This fact is reinforced by the statements that Franco himself and other members of his regime made to the North American press: in these there never appeared anti–Semitic expressions, but rather the opposite, since they always thought about the contrary effect for their cause that such anti–Semitic statements could have in the USA.

In summary, the generalized idea that the Jews supported the Republicans without reservations is, as I. González says, correct to a certain point. In good measure the propagandistic boasting of the Jews themselves, among whom stood out Albert Einstein and Robert Oppenheimer, contributed to this idea. To clarify this historical reality, I. González, on the one hand, maintains that the most significant group of the Jewish community of North Africa res-

olutely backed General Franco and that without its endorsement the rebellion perhaps might not have triumphed. On the other hand, the Republic, at the same time that it defended the Jews before the League of Nations (the predecessor of the United Nations) in the face of their persecution by the Third Reich, also established numerous legal steps that made their entry into Spain difficult.[19]

Furthermore, I am of the opinion that, in addition to the socioeconomic factor, it is logical to think that the Sephardic Jews perceive Spain in a different way from the Ashkenazi. This had already been noticed by Sánchez Albornoz. One must distinguish in this explanation, as a central piece of information for this analysis, that the vast majority of those who were involved as opinion makers of the Black Legend of Spain were ex-*marranos* and not expelled Jews. This is not fortuitous. That is what Sánchez Albornoz appeared to say when he recognizes that the traits of pure "Spanishness" can be found in the Jews of Spanish origin scattered throughout the world, since they could not have had any role in that discrediting campaign as it was probably done by the *marranos*, especially those in Holland.[20] In this one must clarify that the lack of Spanishness on the part of the Spanish *marranos* in many other respects was in terms of loyalty, but not of their customs, because as is noted by García Cárcel, their ties to the language of Cervantes were total and they appeared very Hispanic in many other ways.[21]

For their part, Marquina and Ospina question González's opinions by implying that the communities that remained in the National zone had to support the National cause without this support being spontaneous and with a touch of irony that maintains that the economic collaboration was "voluntary."[22] I reiterate my opinion that in the absence of ideological uniformity in that community, above all because of the economic positions, neither would their allegiances be the same. I. González's interpretation for the support that he explains as follows appears to us to be the most consistent:

> The tight relationship that the Jews of the Protectorate of Morocco maintained with the Spanish troops which came from the beginning of the colonial period; the protection that these troops were dispensing to the Jewish communities that were suffering Arab attacks; and also because of the control that the rebels had over the territory, and, thus, they had no option but to help them. But this support of many Jews (merchants, bankers, etc.) for the rebel camp was not forced, since they did not see favorably the Republican faction, because since it was sustained by anarchists and they believed that should the latter be victorious, they would be its first victims.[23]

Another contentious issue is the number of the Jews that participated in the International Brigades: it was sizeable and communist in the majority. According to I. González, this issue perhaps is the one that is most known today,

although we had information through foreign historiography, with the works of Arno Lustiger and other scholars. According to the most reasonable estimates, there were approximately 8,000 Jewish volunteers among a total of 40,000 brigadiers. This would imply a significant 15 percent of its total membership.[24]

In addition, it is appropriate to clarify some matters about the Brigades: in their structure there was a Jewish unit with its own identity: the Botwin, integrated into the 13th Domwroski Polish Brigade. They were able to publish a newspaper in Yiddish, the *Freheits-Kampfer*[25] (Freedom Fighters), and, according to Álvarez Chillida, fell prisoners at the Ebro, all of them being executed by firing squads.[26] Nevertheless, it also deserves to be pointed out that the majority of the units belonged to different nationalities—such as Polish, North Americans or Germans—however, among them there also were Jews, and many of them used to hide their origins. For that reason many Jews—according to Lustiger— were integrated into units of their countries of origin and did not appear as Jews. Consequently, it is possible that the overall figure was higher than the one usually mentioned.[27]

The majority of these Jews later wrote books and articles and created organizations in memory of their support of the Republican camp and their fight against Fascism. Nonetheless, the Jewish presence in the Civil War is known more through information from the Francoist camp, as an element of negative propaganda, rather than from the Republican camp. On the other hand, in the Soviet archives the records of the Jewish Brigadists contain the names and surnames without any reference to their Jewish identity. This, according to Lustiger, was a symptom of the attempt by Stalin to hide the Jews from their participation in the struggle in Spain and to tie this only to the communists (purges against them are known). This relationship between the Jews, the brigades and the USSR is a more complex problem in which there must have figured the propagandistic vulnerability entailed by the Jewish component of the Brigades. That same omissive attitude is seen in the participation of members of the Republican government at the World Sephardic Congress in Amsterdam and the Congress against anti–Semitism, congresses of 1938, where help to the Jews was discussed, but their participation in the International Brigades was omitted.

Allusions to this participation were permanently made in different forms of Spanish and foreign media. The *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), with political intent, published in a note appearing under the portrait of Marcel Rosenberg, Soviet ambassador to Spain and of Jewish origin: "Hebrews of the entire world, alert: the triumph of the Spanish Republic will be our triumph.... The Hebrews will return to Sefarad."[28]

In recent times a growing interest has arisen in Spain for that Jewish participation in the Spanish struggle. I. González notes that very recently Spanish citizenship has been granted to the survivors of the Brigades and they have been honored. The list of Jews of some importance that belonged to the Brigades would be endless, some of them well known and significant, among them five Soviet generals of Jewish origin.[29] Many of these combatants were persecuted and made to disappear at the hands of communists and by Stalin himself. What is strange is that some of those persecutors, such as General Alexander Orlow, also were of Jewish origin.

Additionally there were distinguished professionals, especially physicians. To have an idea of the magnitude of the number, Luca González states that of 100 physicians who were at the front, 72 were Jewish,[30] among them Dr. Gregorio Bermán of Córdoba, Argentina (one of those who promoted the university reform in Córdoba), David Ostrovsky, Bernardo Serebrinsky and, in sanitation, Fanny Edelman of San Francisco in that same Argentinian province. Of 25 Cordovans who voluntarily participated in the Republican camp, five were Jewish. Under the name of Commander Ortiz, Benjamín Moschkowsky, the one who was not a physician, had an extremely distinguished performance. He was the only one to become a Brigade commander.[31]

The significant Jewish participation in the Civil War, the majority being communists, was one of the most used items of propaganda selected by not only the Nationalists, but also by the Fascist and Nazi presses of Italy and Germany. These took advantage of it to emphasize the Jewish character of communism and to spread the myth of the conspiracy.[32] Moreover, they exerted strong pressure on the National side to increase the extent of anti–Semitism, which, as we have seen, it had to moderate in order not to alienate the Vatican and world public opinion. On the other hand, these facts were something well known and based on reality, not on fantasies that gave wings to so many anti–Semitic legends. Nonetheless, the level of propaganda identifying the Jews with the Republicans was so great that they did not conceive of the possibility that some Jews adhered to the opposite side. The Italian newspaper *Il Regime Fascista* views with concern the celebrations and ceremonies that the Jews celebrated in Tetuán on the occasion of the victory of the Nationalist troops and with noticeable annoyance published: "It is a total contradiction to see how the Hebrews have organized this festival in honor of the National era of Franco, who has freed Spain from the claws of Bolshevik Judaism."[33]

Finally, I wish to point out some curiosities that are little known, but, on the other hand, do no more than corroborate some of the issues discussed, the products of the drama that that military conflict between fellow-countrymen signified.

An example is provided when I. González points out that anti-Semitic clichés were not at all foreign in the Republican zone, especially when some publications made reference to the abandonment of the Republic by some intellectuals that earlier had supported it. *Política,* an Azañist daily, would, on referring to Unamuno, write in this vein:

> The treason by Unamuno—foreseen and despicable—strips morally a calculating buffoon disguised as an austere puritan. What we will not find during that life—glittering showcase and backroom of a Jewish merchant—is civic valor, disinterest nor consistency.

Another striking situation is the case of some Jewish families that gave shelter to Catholic nuns pursued by the popular militias. That of Luis Stern gave refuge in his home, until the entry of the Nationalist troops, to two nuns from a congregation in Barcelona. That of Algranati Levy, in the first days of 1936, during the slaughter of clergy, often with their own lives being at risk, organized the escape of a large number of nuns, to whom they gave lay clothing and accompanied them to the port of Barcelona for embarkation to other countries.[34]

To conclude, Payne recounts something that also may appear strange, but it is no more than another example of the political contradictions that the Spanish Civil War presented, and of the remnants of the old Basque anti-Semitism that we saw in preceding pages (although these days it seems that nationalism has shifted toward a policy of sympathy for Israel). He points out that the wealthy Jews from Morocco, Spain, and from other places supported Franco, thus corroborating what Isidro González maintained and, in his opinion, causing the Basque Nationalists to attempt to convince the Vatican not to recognize his regime.[35]

10

Franco and the Holocaust

Franco and the Nazi persecution of the Jews during the Second World War. Counterfactual history makes different versions possible. Considerations by Rother, Marquina and Ospina, Bennassar, Álvarez Chillida, Avni, and de Pozuelo. Franco "savior of Jews," myth or reality?

The evaluation of Franco's behavior in the face of the tragic events of the Second World War, perhaps like no other subject discussed, tests the real nature of Spanish anti–Semitism in the 20th century and especially that of his regime, deeply Catholic and nationalistic. It is a very controversial subject on the topic of Spanish anti–Semitism, because the history became contaminated by the ideological. To this must be added that the endeavor to understand often rests upon counterfactual history, which, as is known, is purely conjectural. The extent of what we have described about post–Inquisitorial Spain, and especially the Civil War, explains Franco's behavior regarding the Jews, but does not explain it all. The extremes always become present in the commentaries, in an arc that goes from benefactor and savior of the Jews who displayed a generous mind-set, to an anti–Semite, insensitive to the tragedy that the entrapped Jews were living and that the little he did was opportunistic and only after becoming convinced that the Axis would be defeated, and, additionally, after being pressured by the Allies.

It is because of this that to the extent that one undertakes the study of that history, there immediately emerges the counterfactual unknown posed by Payne: "What would have been his attitude if the results had been different?" and all that analyzed within the previously mentioned Spanish paradox that combines traditional prejudice with philo–Sephardism.[1]

In an opposite direction, Suárez Fernández poses another counterfactual

uncertainty, relating to the question of whether Spain could have saved more lives than those it rescued from German hands. He answers it with a probabilistic judgment by saying that that probably is true, but that one must think, also, that an excessive Spanish pressure on Germany could have resulted in the rejection of any type of Spanish intervention.[2]

Suárez Fernández responds to Payne's question by pointing out that Franco's humanitarian attitudes did not materialize until the beginning of the decline of the Third Reich. On the other hand, Rother indicates that although Franco's position was unfavorable for the Jews, it continues being very different from the radical National-Socialistic anti–Semitism. He considers it not very probable that the aid given by Franco was due to opportunistic considerations, because until the Battle of Ardennes in 1944, Franco was convinced of Germany's final victory.[3]

The setting that Payne describes mentions that Franco shared in some aspects of the usual anti–Jewish prejudices. As we have seen, he did not show any ill will toward the common Jews, considering that they were different from the great potentates that moved the strings, and he was not a racist of the Central European type. When Franco alluded to the word "race," he did it to refer to an ethnic or cultural group. From what we have seen of his experience in Morocco, this had engendered in him a positive opinion of the Sephardic Jews—as he himself expressed in writing as a comparatively young officer. It is probable that this helps in explaining his relative immunity to the onrush of Nazi anti–Semitic propaganda.

Nonetheless, Payne describes that between 1939 and 1943, intoxicated by his victory, Franco used rather anti–Semitic language that after that year began to disappear from his public vocabulary. Consequently, he believes, there are reasons to be suspicious of his opportunism.

Another disturbing element that arose more recently is the revelation that in 1941 Franco ordered the civil governors to prepare a provincial registry of all the Spanish or foreign Jews residing within their jurisdictions, resulting in the *Achivos Judaicos* (AJ). However, it did not lead to concrete discriminatory measures, although lately there has been a controversy over the matter. Some interpret that the list probably constituted something like Franco's contribution to the Final Solution, in case the alliance (with Germany) were sealed.[4]

Ultimately, according to Payne, all appeared to depend on the course of the war. He considers that during Franco's collaborationist period he played with two decks of cards, because in 1941, as previously mentioned, he created the Instituto Arias Montano de Estudios Hebraicos (Arias Montano Institute for Hebraic Studies). This supported the work of famous Spanish Hebraists

who published in the respected academic journal *Sepharad*. On the other hand, the weekly *Mundo* was disseminating Nazi anti–Semitic propaganda and, at the same time, praising the character and culture of the Sephardic Jews of Morocco and the Balkans. Therefore, Franco stated that the Sephardic Jews "do not serve the goals of universal Judaism," with which he squared the mentioned circle of being philosophically anti–Semitic and concretely philo–Sephardic.[5] Payne also cites the case of two Falangists guilty of aggressions against Moroccan Sephardim who were arrested, judged, and given lengthy prison terms.[6]

In short—as we shall see in detail later on—what was important was the status of the Sephardim abroad. During the last phase of the Civil War, the question arose of what to do about the Spaniards residing abroad or with the Balkan Sephardim who had citizenship or nationality cards and that had openly defended the Republic.

Similarly, Spanish consulates were ordered to protest officially the expulsion of Jews with Spanish papers as directed by the new Italian anti–Semitic legislation. However, the line that would have permitted a significant Jewish immigration toward Spain was never crossed. Finally, the return of peace followed by the outbreak of the World War raised the question of whether Franco's regime would become the destination for the refugees or whether it would serve as a route of escape toward Portugal and other countries. This only exacerbated the contradiction between the anti–Jewish prejudice and the positive opinion which was held of the Sephardim. To appreciate the difficulties that nations had in taking in Jewish refugees, it is enough to examine the actions of Portugal's Salazar regime, which at the time had had a fairly high opinion of the Jews, was not anti–Semitic but, nonetheless, was not disposed to being inundated with war refugees.

Payne rightly considers that during the Holocaust the principal Portuguese hero was Aristides de Souza Mendes, Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, who, despite very restrictive instructions, silently rebelled and signed thousands of transit visas. The number of Jews benefitting from his attitude is calculated to have reached 10,000.[7] Ultimately, Payne states that it is difficult to evaluate Spanish policy in that regard.

Although its norm, similar to that of many countries, was to deny normal entry visas to Jews, it always granted a large number of transit visas. In addition, Payne notes that the majority of the illegal Jewish refugees were not handed back to the Germans. He concludes that it discriminated less against the Jews than the majority of the European countries, however, without there being any definite plan to favor or help them, except for the Sephardim, who could claim citizenship rights.[8]

As I have stated, to be able to evaluate correctly the aid given by Francoist Spain to the Jews during the war, we first must define and briefly chronicle who were the Sephardim that could theoretically be repatriated with the authorization of German authorities. These were the Sephardim with Spanish nationality scattered throughout Europe. According to Rother, the *in situ* protection of Spanish Jews during the Second World War was one side of the coin. The other was the strict rejection of any Jewish immigration into Spain because an invasion of Spanish Jews was feared.[9] That fear manifested itself in individuals who/ eventually ended up becoming benefactors of the Jews.

As we have seen, both Sebastián Romero Radigales and Julio Palencia used anti–Semitic expressions: the former, for example, said that the "true Spaniards" had to be differentiated from the "Sephardim naturalized Spanish"; and the latter remarked about a "confused multitude of hunched backs, trembling hands, crooked noses, and oblique eyes." From considering them as a species of reptiles worthy of a herpetologist, nonetheless, they are the same that later saved their lives without, as Rother comments, there being any evidence of a change in their personalities.[10]

We have already seen the German diplomatic authorities' opinion about what they considered a meager Spanish anti–Semitism. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the problems that some foreign Jewish residents had because of their religion, and many of them converted to secure the extension of their permit of residence. However, Rother believes that in order to evaluate correctly those attitudes, it must be pointed out that Protestants also were the victims of massive discrimination. He makes an additional distinction in that the latter were persecuted, while the Jews were harassed.[11]

The attitude that must have prevailed was that of not increasing the number of Jews in Spain, and the extent of Spanish protection depended on the commitment of the local diplomatic mission. Because of that, the situation in Hungary at the end of 1944 allowed Spain to broaden decisively the protection of Jews. This was achieved without departing from the principle it had defended until then: that of by all means preventing an increase in the number of Jews in the country.

Rother reports that Ángel Sanz Briz had received from Madrid only the general order to save as many Jews as possible. It was obvious that they had left up in the air the methods to achieve this, and that the extent of that protection depended upon that diplomat.[12] Nonetheless, Álvarez Chillida maintains that to contribute to the myth of Franco as savior of the Jews, Minister Castiella in 1963 forced Sanz Briz to tell an Israeli journalist that what had occurred in Budapest had all been a direct and exclusive initiative of Franco.[13]

According to Rother, the fact that Spain, in the majority of the cases,

had not prevented the escape of Jewish refugees at the borders should also be judged positively. At the same time, however, he points out that the pivotal motivations were not humanitarian considerations or the rejection of Nazism, but rather because of Portugal's policy. Otherwise, certainly everything would have been different, since Spain was refusing permanent residency for refugees. Portugal gave Spain an "open" border at its back, a situation differing from that of Sweden or Switzerland, for whom the entry of refugees meant their permanent residency until the end of the war.[14]

The answer to the persecution of Spanish Jews, as was the case in France where the Jews in general had to register, was somewhat ambiguous. Bernardo Rolland, Spain's consul general in Paris, informed his government of those measures. At the same time he expressed his opinion that those persecutions were inappropriate, since in Spain there was no anti–Jewish legislation and no foreign power had the right to treat Spaniards differently. However, from his government he received instructions to take a passive stance. Nonetheless, he did not remain completely inactive, since there was a great interest in protecting them. Rother explains that this contradiction responds to the fact that he practiced a "silent diplomacy" so as not to damage the good relations that he maintained with Germany and Vichy's France, which should not be endangered by official letters of protest.[15]

According to Rother, what happened, in contrast with the great inactivity of the Allies in the matter of practical help, beyond the fact that they intervened in the war, was that Spain's stance was considered exemplary. Consequently, Jewish authorities appeared to be satisfied with having found a country that would assist in saving individuals in extreme danger, something which was later proven to be justified only up to a certain point.

Avni rightly describes that, until the end of the war, the relations between the Jewish organizations and the Spanish State were out of balance: "Spain's interest in improving public relations was not sufficiently strong as to serve as an impulse toward rescue. Additionally, this interest was amply served by the close relations that the Spanish ambassadors forged with a number of Jewish leaders, who helped Spain by promoting the myth of the breadth of their activities when it came to saving Jews."[16]

For that reason, another controversial issue arises and is frequently emphasized: the favorable attitude of Franco in welcoming refugees of Sephardic origin. The majority of scholars agree that the help came more by the individual initiative of some envoys who acted humanely. For example, Antonio Marquina and Gloria Inés Ospina point out that there is no information that can support "assertions about supposed orders that Franco gave directly to Spanish representatives in France, bypassing Serrano Suñer because

the latter was an anti-Semite." Instead, they hold that the documentation of the time reveals an agreement between Franco and his ministers for an obstructionist course.[17] Nonetheless, for our purpose it must be noted that, as expressed by Pérez, in reference to internal legislation Franco did not introduce anti-Semitic racial laws, not even in Tangiers after that city was occupied by Spanish troops in June 1940, an occupation that was accepted by the Nazis.[18]

I believe that the interpretation that best fits what happened regarding the envoys is that outlined by Álvarez Chillida who, when referring to Sanz Briz, maintains that the initiative was exclusively of that envoy, and that Madrid's government did not overrule it, being pressed by the governments of the Allies.[19]

In addition, for the evaluation of the matter at hand, Payne believes that it is appropriate to wonder to what extent there was knowledge in Spain of the Nazi policy of extermination. This concern arises since, in the beginning, the Nazis, as is known, promoted emigration with a policy that failed not so much because of German obstructionism but rather because of the fact that there were few countries willing to accept many Jewish refugees, and in that regard Spain was not the exception. The decision to carry out the mass extermination by way of the Final Solution was taken in the fall of 1941, and (knowledge of it came to Spain) when the first veterans of the Blue Division returned, who, despite their philo-Germanic fervor, with horror reported the news of the process of systematic liquidation.

Payne reports that until 1940 the Nazis were not absolutely opposed to transit visas for the Jews, because until that time the German policy still promoted their emigration. However, policing of the illegal crossing of the border was intensified when the raids started in France. Due to a request by the United States Embassy to the Spanish Foreign Affairs Ministry, the latter promised that no illegal would be returned against his will, and it appears that in general that promise was kept. Despite this, on May 25, 1943, Franco ordered the total closure of the border with France to anyone who did not have a transit visa. This gave rise to protests from the governments of the Allies and also of the papal nuncio, resulting in a very short time in the reversal of that policy. Although there were some refusals, the majority of those who presented themselves at the borders were successful in crossing it, with very few illegals being returned. It is calculated that 70,000 Jews crossed, a number that to others appeared to be very high. Payne cites Haim Avni, who carried out the main investigation on the matter, reaching the conclusion that the most trustworthy number is 30,000, which was later reduced to 20,000.[20]

In his overall evaluation, Payne comments that Rother notices another Spanish contradiction. As we have learned, on the one hand Spain did not

want to tolerate the persecution of its Jews; however, on the other hand, it was not disposed to allow their immigration, but lacked a clear policy in that regard.

As an example, citing Rother, Payne highlights a conflict between the diplomats Nazi-phile Lequerica and, as we have seen, the more humanitarian Rolland, since the former did not wish to assume any responsibility for the Sephardim even if they had Spanish passports. The problem was resolved by an internal paper prepared by the Foreign Ministry in February 1941, taking the following position: "Spain could not tolerate the persecution of its Jews by foreign powers," but gave instructions to the effect that the first beneficiaries would be those in Romania subjected to a terrible persecution. In addition, taking into account that many of them had supported Franco, it was resolved that they could be issued entry documents, although treating each one on a case-by-case basis. On the other hand, for the Sephardim of France who did not have Spanish papers, an attempt was made to protect them with documentation, without, however, allowing them to take refuge in Spain. Forty-seven of them who had passports succeeded in entering Spain and obtaining legal residence there.

Again citing Rother, Payne comments that the Spanish government presented its policy in three ways: to the Germans, it said that Spain was putting in place the means to repatriate permanently the Jews it was admitting; to the Falangists and other opponents of this policy within the Spanish executive government, it was guaranteed that all the Hebrew refugees would only remain in the country during a short period of time; and to the representatives of the Allies, assurances were given that Spain was granting new papers to the Sephardim in order to rescue them, but that it hoped that they would leave Spain as soon as possible. In conclusion, the repatriated were very few: those that had Spanish passports, while those who did not have them were placed in a secondary category. Because of this in practice they were denied the right, although at times they continued to have that extraterritorial protection that the Spanish consuls could provide.[21]

In the case of Romero Radigales, according to Martín de Pozuelo, this diplomat pressured the Germans to free the Jews of Spanish origin. Despite his efforts, 45,000 Jews of Salonica were murdered. He was consul general of Spain in Athens and saved the lives of several hundred Jews of Sephardic origin when he arranged for Germany to deport them to Spain rather than to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Martín de Pozuelo further relates that there is evidence of lack of Spanish solidarity, since when the German authorities advised the Spanish ones that for security reasons all the Jews had to leave Salonica, the Spanish authorities,

in turn, gave them to understand that they were not interested in their repatriation.[22]

According to Payne, only 550 had Spanish papers. Finally, Romero Radigales, despite the opinion he had expressed about the Sephardim (it was said that he was married to one of them), showed an authentic humanitarian fervor. Differently from Souza Méndez, the Portuguese consul in Bordeaux that was ruthlessly sanctioned by his government, Radigales was careful not to disobey orders directly. He defended the repatriations by pointing out that even Fascist Italy repatriated the Italian Jews residing in Greece, in contrast to the slowness of the Spanish government.[23]

However, the best known enterprise and also the most dramatic and extensive of those achieved by the diplomats, because it was not limited to the Sephardim, who were very few (in Budapest there were only 45), was, as we have seen, that which resulted from the rescue initiatives of Ángel Sanz Briz and Giorgio Perlasca in Budapest. This earned them recognition as Heroes during the Holocaust, and they were listed as Righteous Among the Nations, although somewhat belatedly for the latter. It must be pointed out that the former had been trained in the National army and the latter was a lifelong Fascist who fought in Ethiopia and in the Spanish Civil War. The Hungarian case became the last big tragedy of the Holocaust, because when the Germans suddenly occupied that country, the Jewish population numbered 800,000, and constituted the largest Jewish population after that of the Soviet Union. In reality the first, and little known, initiative regarding Hungary was started in Spanish Morocco through General Luis Orgaz, high commissioner of the Protectorate. It was he who approved a request from the Moroccan Jews, who were trying to bring 500 Jewish children from that country and bearing the costs of their upkeep. It must be noted that Madrid authorized the move. Sanz Briz obtained the approval of the Hungarian government. However, the Germans refused to grant the transit permit to Spain, so the children were housed in special residences under Spanish protection.[24]

Given the doubts about the true intention of the Spanish government at that time, Payne believes that during 1943 when Great Britain and the United States forced the end of collaboration with Germany, the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because of the probable military defeat of Nazism, became more and more aware of the importance of showing itself as champion of the Jews before the representatives of the Allies. However, as we have seen, this did not lead the government to accelerate the repatriation of Spanish Jews or to grant them permanent residence.

Payne describes that all this gave rise to the weaving of a legend that we shall view further on. Indeed, the Spanish initiatives were exaggerated, and it

was Maurice Perlzweig, head of the political committee of the World Jewish Congress, as well as the Jewish organizations in the United States, that in general, praised and expressed appreciation for Spain's efforts. Also collaborating in the development of the legend was Juan de Bárcenas, Spain's ambassador to Washington, who with genuine commitment transmitted the Jewish demands to Madrid. Franco's brother Nicolás, who established very good relations with Jewish representatives (in Lisbon), also collaborated, as did Javier Martínez de Bedoya, a writer distinguished for redefining the Falangist doctrine.[25]

Also contributing to the creation of the legend was the fact that starting in 1945 the Spanish government actively tackled the matter. The United States, perhaps for convenience because of the approaching Cold War, was increasingly acceptant of the Spanish role, forgetting its past. On the other hand, when Israel voted against the admittance of Spain into the United Nations, Spain soon published two slightly different publications in which Franco appeared as the savior of the Jews. This was continuously echoed, even down to the present time, by several Jewish spokesmen and writers, such as the already mentioned Rabbi Perlzweig and especially the American Rabbi Chaim U. Lipschitz, author of a book on this subject that has been the object of numerous studies.[26]

According to Álvarez Chillida, faced with Israel's attitude, Franco reacted by disseminating those publications to show the ingratitude of the Jews, considering the huge effort that the regime had exerted when the time came to save the Jews. He considers that that campaign had a lasting success, since even up to today Franco's image continues being mythologized, while investigations by Avni, Marquina and Ospina, Rother and others have made it clear that the reality was quite different.

When discussing the non–Sephardic Jews that left Hitler's Europe through Spain, Álvarez Chillida maintains that during the weeks immediately following the defeat of France, Spanish consulates without any great problems gave transit visas to those that showed that they had entry visas for other countries. Nevertheless, severely restrictive measures were later adopted at the time of issuing these transit permits. They were never granted for groups. It is very important to note that in the summer of 1940 several requests from the Vatican for more than 3,000 baptized Jews destined to go to Brazil were denied.

Some obtained them individually and many entered clandestinely, crossing the Pyrenees with the help of networks that organized the passage. Once in Spain, normally they were arrested and either interned in jails or in the concentration camp at Miranda de Ebro. They were freed when the Allies took charge of them. Those who were caught at the border were returned to France,

but that did not happen if the arrest took place in the interior, although there were some deportations and, among them, a famous case, that of Walter Benjamin, who committed suicide.

Álvarez Chillida points out that, despite everything, the witnesses, in general, recall having been treated well by the people, including guards and clergy, something that reminds him of what was said by Avni: "In their eyes the satanic image associated to the word 'Jew' did not represent the people of flesh and blood distressed and persecuted that appeared before them." This is so because, he believes, there was no special ill will against them, because the function to be carried out was essentially ideological and was not directed against individual Jews.[27]

Another aspect of the humanitarian collaboration pointed out by Payne is that of the Blue Division. This group gave work and protection in its rearguard to several hundreds of Jewish civilians, but could not give them permanent refuge. The attitude of the members of the Blue Division with regard to the collective massacre of Jews deserves a special observation, and perhaps it can be explained in part by the previously mentioned Spanish "paradox" or due to the religiosity of their training. In support of that oddity, it is fitting to mention the case of Erich Jacob Rose, a German with three Jewish grandfathers, who was a sympathizer of National Socialism. For obvious reasons, however, he did not fit therein, lost his military rank, and then fought for the Blue Division on the Soviet front, dying in battle.[28]

Rother adds what he believes is a differentiating nuance. At the same time as the Regime did attempt to save the Jews considered as having Spanish nationality from deportation to the East, it did not do the same for the exiled Spanish Republicans deported to Mauthausen and other concentration camps. This shows that, despite the anti–Semitic rhetoric of the regime, that the true enemies were not the Jews whose fortune kept them distant from the Peninsula, but rather those who fought against Franco in the Civil War. He also believes that the initiative for the protection of the Jews in Europe was due to the diplomats mentioned earlier, to whom is added Julio Palencia in Sofía,[29] because the Spanish State in some cases was guilty of excessive caution.[30]

Also worthy of mention is the opinion of Marquina and Ospina that is found in one of the works that, as I have mentioned, downplays the generalized belief of Franco as "savior of the Jews." These authors attempt to reconstruct the decision-making process of the Spanish authorities that, in their opinion, hampered the ability of the previously mentioned diplomats. To those they add the names of Federico Oliván and José de Rojas y Moreno (Count of Casas Rojas), for also having acted in a humanitarian way. They state that there is no existing information about the orders supposedly given directly (thus, as

previously noted, bypassing the anti–Semitic minister Serrano Suñer) by Franco to the Spanish diplomatic representation in France.

Nor do they believe in Franco's orders in the case of Hungary—or rather those that Sanz Briz attributed to Franco. The truth is that Sanz Briz acted on his own, and at best they let him operate. However, as soon as he appeared to be a hero, they wanted to take advantage of the political benefits and ordered him to say that he had received orders from Franco. This Sanz Briz meekly did because it was going to allow his diplomatic career to prosper, something that in the end did happen because he eventually became ambassador to the United States.

According to this version, Franco, on being queried on the matter by Lipschitz as to whether he could make available to him a copy of the instructions, in his answer stated that nothing specifically exists and that all is on record at the respective ministry. As a result of their investigation Marquina and Ospina conclude that the existing documentation totally contradicts those assertions by Franco regarding the liberality of the instructions sent to the diplomats, so that they might save as many Jews as possible.[31]

At the same time Bennassar in his biography of Franco frankly praises the work of Marquina and Ospina. He considers their work to be the most complete and the most rigorous, as well as legitimizing the concern of reacting against Rabbi Lipschitz's thesis, too favorable regarding Franco's actions. On the other hand, he believes that a certain degree of injustice has been committed by Marquina and Ospina in their evaluation, because they omit some interventions confirmed by sundry published documents emphasizing that Moroccan Jews were not bothered. Moreover, this was evidenced by a certain number of Jews residing in French Morocco who immigrated to the Spanish zone and would not have done so had they not found protection.

Insofar as the consideration of the main question relating to Franco's attitude regarding the Holocaust, Bennassar wonders if Franco collaborated in the saving of Jews or, due to his passivity, was complicit in the tragedy. He considers that it is a query difficult to answer, despite the existence of various works, reports, and testimonies. What make this question difficult to answer are the bureaucratic impediments, the multiple interferences that stalemated meritorious attempts, and also the falsifications.

In general, he maintains, as do the other authors, that Franco cannot be reproached for a systematically hostile attitude toward the Jews. Notwithstanding some anti–Semitic statements, they are not comparable with his continually declared and reiterated aversion toward the Masons and the communists. Bennassar recalls the statements favorable to the Jews, to those that he considers Spanish, and explains that the honor of Francoist Spain was

saved above all by several diplomats who, when moved by the atrocious drama they were witnessing, took action despite the inertia or unwillingness of the Spanish government.[32]

On the other hand, according to Rother, it is difficult to provide information about the Sephardim disseminated throughout Europe in those countries occupied by the Axis. In Greece, the country for which there is most information, there were approximately 68,000 of them, with 49,000 living in Salonica alone.

It is also important to point out that during the Civil War the majority of the Jews with Spanish citizenship who resided abroad supported the government of the Republic, with the exception of those of Romania or of the city of Athens. Because of that some envoys, as is the case of Romero Radigales, advocated that those Sephardim who had taken part against the nation of Spain be deprived of their Spanish citizenship.

This author's book, as we have mentioned, is among those that attempt to examine the myth relating to Franco's role in relation to the Jews during the war. It highlights, in general terms, that Francoist activity during the Holocaust was far from placing Spain among the humanitarian champions. Nonetheless, the result of the examination is that Spain need not be embarrassed by its performance, but neither excessively proud of it.[33]

This is so because Rother believes that the Spanish self-congratulation is exaggerated for different reasons. The main one, and this one must be insisted upon because many, mistakenly, present it, is the offering of Spanish citizenship to all the Sephardim. In reality the offer could affect not more than a few thousand people. Thus, when the deadline had passed, it affected few more than 2,000 Sephardim.[34] The problem arises because of the range of interpretations of how the qualifications for the request of Spanish citizenship should be interpreted within Primo de Rivera's decree, which in 1924 made citizenship possible for some Sephardim.

That legal option is what gave rise to the legend that all the Sephardim Jews had that right, when in reality that possibility was, because of the requirements, very narrow as far as numbers were concerned. At any rate, it had an enormous importance because from the Spanish point of view, it gave the legal basis for their protection during the Second World War.

In that way, a new legend was created that accompanied the one we are considering: Franco as "savior of the Jews." That new legend originates in the erroneous information that the *American Jewish Yearbook* provided. It stated that the decree provided that all those who, in one way or another, claimed to descend from families that in their day lived in Spain, could, before December 31, 1930, make the request at any Spanish consulate and thus obtain citizenship

in good standing. This included citizenship for those Jews whose ancestors had been expelled from Spain, without their having to visit Spain or establish legal residence there.

Although the decree does not mention the word "Jew," Rother holds that it was planned for Sephardic Jews. He further believes that this error was supported by well-known historians such as Yitzhak Baer and even by the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. To gauge the scope of the error, which is not minor, he feels that the background and the real consequences of the 1924 decree must be defined. To this end it is necessary to go back to their antecedents, one being components of the international treaties called "Capitulations" between the Ottoman Empire and the European Christian states. They were the concession of privileges to the Christians residing in the Empire, the most important being that they did not answer to Ottoman jurisdiction but rather to that of their own consulates. Within that sphere individuals could enter who were neither subjects of any European country nor were Christians, whereby they also were under consular jurisdiction, and this allowed that the Sephardim could benefit from being included in that policy even though they are not mentioned specifically.

Those individuals were given "protected" status. During the second half of the 19th century and first part of the next, a few thousand subjects, for the most part Sephardic Jews, received that status, and other nations did the same thing, so that there were more protected French than Spanish among the Sephardim. For different geopolitical reasons the nations abolished the "Capitulations," whereby France and Spain gave complete citizenship to those affected. That is the decree issued in 1924 by Miguel Primo de Rivera, whereby the "protected" were offered the possibility, until December 31, 1930, of acquiring Spanish citizenship. However, those in condition to do so were a small minority.

The protected were about 4,000 in total, of whom 2,500 resided in France and at least 700 in Greece (especially in Salonica). However, very strict requirements were imposed for naturalization, so that in France only 500 did so, and the majority of them were repatriated. For example, in Salonica of the 49,000 Sephardim that resided there, only 2,000 fulfilled the requirements and, in addition, not all took advantage of that legal provision and consequently lost the opportunity to acquire the citizenship for bureaucratic or economic reasons.[35]

All is derived from the semantic confusion that we have seen in relation to the possibilities that the Sephardim had for obtaining Spanish citizenship. This confusion allowed Spain to exaggerate its behavior by not making an absolute distinction between the few thousands of Jews with Spanish citizen-

ship—almost all Sephardim—and the hundreds of thousands of Jews of Spanish origin who were not citizens. They took advantage of the generalized belief that at one time Spanish citizenship had been offered to all the Sephardim. Therefore the Ministry of Foreign Relations developed some examples, one of which, as stated at the 1944 World Jewish Congress, read as follows: "Spain has obtained from the occupation authorities of Salonica and of other European places authorization so that the Israelites of Spanish origin held in internment camps be freed and permitted to relocate to the Peninsula."

To the aforementioned lack of distinctions must be added the important omission of the conditions under which they were willing to repatriate them, and also of the indecisions that endangered the life of those who were able to do so.[36] At all times the posture was ambivalent, because as accurately stated by Avni, "The leaders in Franco's regime adopted a policy that ignored the presence of Jews in Spain, but was well disposed toward the cultural tradition of the Spanish Jews."[37] Within that ambivalence there existed a consistency, the protection *in situ*, but the possibility of immigration was vigorously rejected because there was fear of a massive Jewish invasion.[38]

And in 1943 it was ordered that the Jews who had acquired citizenship had to be rescued from the persecution being carried out by the German government. Those who did not have Spanish papers would not be repatriated. In addition, Rother believes that it was not a repatriation as such, since those rescued from the persecution had to leave Spain as soon as possible. These contradictory statements reflected a way of avoiding diplomatic costs and were useful in three different ways: for the hard core Falangists, who did not want to be too concessional, the Allies, and the Nazis. The reality was, as we have seen, that the Jews could remain in Spain only for a short time. This fact was hidden because the Germans were opposed to the Jews' transitioning to third countries, and thus it was feared that they would withdraw the offer of repatriation if they found out that the refugees had to continue their migration. Accordingly, German authorities and diplomats abroad were told of a permanent repatriation.

Following the same game before the Germans, Spanish diplomat José María Doussinague painted Spanish policy as anti–Semitic, while before the Vatican as philo–Semitic, providing evidence that Spain did not wish to lose face with any of the sides.[39]

I interpret that the meaning of this Nazi view tended to show that no one wanted the Jews, as really happened to those who wanted to go into exile when it was still permitted. At the same time, the Allies were told the story that fake naturalizations of Sephardic Jews would be carried out in order to save them, and on the other hand, they were told realistically that the Jews

would not remain permanently.[40] This is why Rother considers that the commitment was rather modest, especially since Germany was not demanding a rigorous verification of nationality. Consequently, except for what was said by Suárez Fernández about putting too much pressure on the Germans, this should not have been an obstacle to turning a blind eye when granting it.[41]

Nonetheless, in the eyes of Spanish diplomats the assistance was generous. Indeed, this perception must have been reinforced by the hesitant attitude of the Allies and of neutral countries, such as Switzerland. Accordingly, Spain would have nothing to fear from such a comparison. Rother tends to see this as a distorted view of reality rather than premeditated propaganda lies, although, of course, he deems that the boundaries between the two situations are blurred. The problem was that Spain herself so exaggerated the statements regarding its help that when confronted with what really happened, it necessarily led to disenchantment and criticism.

In general, group repatriations were made dependent on the immediate evacuation from Spain of the Jews already repatriated, and rigorous verifications of citizenship were carried out. This led to a large number of Jews not having protection when Germany was seen as not so demanding. It was a matter of situations not demanded by Germany but rather of autonomous decisions by Spain designed to appease the anti–Jewish fanatics within the government.[42] Or, as Álvarez Chillida notes, it was meant to fulfill the fundamental objective of the regime's anti–Semitic policy of maintaining Catholic unity as the essentially religious function.

On balance, Álvarez Chillida concludes that Franco's regime was not generous with the Jews during the Second World War, although it was not opposed that they should be saved via Spain, as long as they were passing through. It is for this reason that he believes that, even when it gave effective aid to the Sephardim, it sinned in some cases due to excessive caution, because it could have saved more lives. He estimates approximately 5,000 lives—that is, repatriated—in the Regime's credit column.[43] Concerning the refugees, the balance that Rother makes is that between 20,000 and 35,000 Jews were able to pass through (legally or illegally) the Spanish border. This probably includes the already mentioned 5,000 Sephardim lives, and he further calculates that another 5,000 in one way or another benefitted from Spanish protection *in situ*. Of these, more than two-thirds were in Hungary, since in that country about 3,500 Jews were protected and saved.[44]

In conclusion, a legend was created for propagandistic purposes to avoid the isolation of Spain at the end of the war. This included the collaboration of important Jewish groups that were unable to verify during the conflict the information that Spain had protected all the Sephardim during the war. This

is a legend, because although the aid was not too little, it was, however, much less than what Spain claimed to have given.[45] In addition, those Jewish groups could not be but grateful to have found a country that would interest itself in the fate of the Jews. Accordingly, they took Spain's propaganda literally. That propaganda did not achieve its goal, since the international community did not accept Francoist Spain. It was the Cold War that was the decisive factor in the change of attitude toward her, but it did succeed in forming opinion so that this legend remains standing up to our day.

On final balance, Rother reaches a conclusion that I fully share:

> Through Francoist Spain, from whom almost no one expected that it would help the Jews, not a few of the persecuted were saved. Nonetheless, had they wanted to, Madrid's government could have saved many more.[46]

Conclusion

Historicity of the comparison. Singularity of the Holocaust and the cleanliness of blood according to Reyes Mate. Opinion of Bankier on the comparability. Parallelism with modern anti-Semitism; opinions of Álvarez Chillida, Bauman, Burrin, Moradiellos. Antecedents of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and of the disillusion about the conversions. Traverso and historic continuity and the causal or phenomenological similarities. Analysis of the anti-Semitism of the German population and the Nuremberg Laws. Antecedents in the Jesuit Order. Acceptable parallelism.

If I had to outline the main question under analysis, I believe, like Hering Torres, that it presents the following extreme positions: "as a linear process (from the cleanliness of blood to the Holocaust), without historical differentiations (racism of modernity equal to inquisitorial racism)" or "limiting oneself to the science of modernity as a *sine qua non* requirement for the understanding of racializing inferiorization."[1]

The first is an ahistorical interpretation that no one seriously proposes in those terms and, generally, is used to dismiss without further discussion, because those who find similarities in the comparison respect the appropriate historical context. We have already seen that Netanyahu does not ignore the religious factor in the Spanish instance, and even Sicroff, whose understanding lacked nuances, upon revision maintained, according to Nirenberg, that it is a matter of religious racism.

I had also maintained that when the terms of the comparison were defined and strictly adhered to, so that they should be those emblematic bodies of law, such as the Nuremberg Laws and the Statutes enacted during the 1449 revolt against the *conversos* in Toledo, the comparison appeared reasonable. However, when the Holocaust is included as part of the comparison, questions immediately arise because of the immense hiatus that intervenes.

That unexplainable historical fissure not only separates it from anti-Semitism in general and particularly from Inquisitorial racism, but also to a lesser degree from modern anti-Semitism and, as we shall see, from the Nuremberg Laws themselves. These had been ratified by no others than the perpetrators of the Holocaust.

This hiatus is what explains why Francoism, which although it did not establish a State anti-Semitism that maintained remnants of the old Inquisitorial anti-Semitism and was very close to the German National Socialism, did not adhere to its racism and much less collaborated with the extermination by the Nazis. It also allows us to understand how Italian Fascism, before the Saló Republic, despite its racial laws and adoption of a State anti-Semitism, nonetheless led to many Jews being saved from that extermination. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for Vichy.

The central objection is related to the historical uniqueness of the Holocaust. It has been characterized by Reyes Mate as a historical event with unique characteristics and consequences for theoretical examination as is found in no other event. This results from its being an end in itself and not a means to obtain a given result, the latter being the purpose of almost all other genocides.[2] He agrees with Traverso, for whom the Holocaust was perpetrated for the purpose of bringing about a biological remodeling of humanity conceived not as a means, but rather an end in itself. Thus he highlights its incomparability.[3] Strictly speaking, the Shoá could be compared—as maintained by Bankier—but to highlight and seek not the analogies, but rather the singularities.[4]

Nonetheless, Reyes Mate states in so many words that the memory of Auschwitz is unthinkable without a millennial religious and secular anti-Semitism. Therefore, he considers that the Inquisitorial Spain that resorted to the cleanliness of blood is an important station in that history.[5]

It is because of this that throughout this work I have imposed on myself the task of investigating, in Spanish history, the antecedents and forms of the anti-Jewish hatred projected toward the Judeo-*conversos* in such a manner that it would end up by displacing it in importance, as is very well noted by Álvarez Chillida.[6] It became a hatred differentiated or exacerbated in relation to the religious, because it resulted from the addition of socio-political motives

to those religious factors. We have seen that it presented itself during the Lower Middle Ages during the reign of the Visigoths, and in the High Middle Ages with the *nuper renati*, then to adopt an institutional identity in Inquisitorial Spain, and later even advancing into the 19th century. All of this constituted a uniqueness, since in the other European countries the Jews did suffer persecutions, but not with those same characteristics.

In my opinion, with modernity there appears another form, thus its denomination (anti–Semitism of modernity) as the reaction of many segments of society against the social ascent of many Jews, who had leapt over the ethnic barrier by acquiring equality of rights. This is observed by Spanish historian Álvarez Chillida, for whom "only the emancipated Jew, in the full process of integration into 19th century European society, could be perceived by the anti–Semites in such a threatening way as did the Spanish racists feel toward the *conversos* since the 15th century, by attempting to also brake their initially successful process of assimilation."[7]

The fact that we mention the nationality of that Historian is not happenstance, because the majority of historians of other nationalities that study Nazism, unless they are Hispanists, and despite the evidence, conspicuously do not mention that anti–Semitism of modernity.

It might also be said that Carlos Carrete Parrondo, another Spanish historian, perceives that situation in telling us that an important change took place when it passed from religious to biological discrimination. They changed religion for blood, abandoning without any concern even the usual vocabulary, the use of the religious pretext, to attain the dubious honor of the ethnic cleansings that sadly were to flourish in the 20th century. There with no other difference than the quantitative, rather than the qualitative, to reach the physical savageries of our time, but with no less psychological cruelty. He aptly notes that the expulsion of the *conversos* adopted by the Basques was nothing but an inkling of the Final Solution of the German Third Reich.[8]

For their part the majority of those who study the Holocaust place modern anti–Semitism among its most recent precursors, and Christian Judeophobia among the most distant.

The omission of the "Iberian model," so named by Yerushalmi, is in some cases because they do not consider it a precedent—as expressed by Moradiellos who, despite being Spanish, following a personal query nevertheless admits to Yerushalmi's stance of some phenomenological affinities. We do not know the reasons for which other historians omitted the question, although it is very probable that similarly they did not consider the comparison to be reasonable.[9]

It is because of this that I believe that, if most of those authors place

religious anti-Judaism and modern anti-Semitism on the path of the causality of the Holocaust, with much greater reason that differentiating Spanish historical milestone should have been included, as is clearly done by Reyes Mate. It is not done by Burrin when he explains that both Christianity and modernity are implicated in the genocide of the Jews,[10] nor is it done by Bauman when he states (as we have seen) that there are few links to causality more evident than those that exist between anti-Semitism and the Holocaust.[11]

However, Bauman specifically concludes that modern anti-Semitism arises as a reaction to emancipation and that the racism that sustains it utilized science's prestige to conceal old prejudices by creating an insurmountable barrier. This, when applied to the Jews by means of the "determinism of blood," was not made surmountable by either conversion or emancipation. From this we can deduce that—for this author—the heart of the matter is that the rise of that insurmountable barrier arises from modernity, due to the consideration of races. Nonetheless, by maintaining that it was a reaction to emancipation, the analogical comparison arises without interpretative effort, which brings us much closer to the time of the Spanish discrimination. This used a much more elementary but equally effective tool: genealogy, another insurmountable barrier. In addition, by using the expression "conceal old prejudices," he leads us to understand that these are the same prejudices as the modern ones, namely a continuation. Simply, as noted by Goldhagen, by using race, there finally appeared an easily understood and metaphorically powerful unifying concept.[12] Additionally, as Bauman himself admits, the term "old prejudices" take us to pre-modernity.

However, Bauman does not even mention the Spanish case, despite not limiting himself to the analysis of anti-Semitism in modernity, because to highlight the differences he harks back, precisely, to pre-modernity. Additionally in modernity, as we have seen, in this question of discrimination that goes beyond the religious is a temporal circumstance that does not go to the essence of the religious because, as stated by Bauman, those who adopt that ideology of an exterminating anti-Semitism are individuals with a pre-modern mentality that use the tools of modernity. This affects the effectiveness and the spreading of the hatred, but not its nature. Traverso also states it in that way when he says that is was anti-Illuminism allied with industrial and technical progress when extermination appeared as one of the faces of modern civilization.[13] According to Álvarez Chillida, science was the pretext for the discrimination, just as religion had been at its time. He maintained that at that time hatred toward the *conversos* required a religious justification.[14]

We had also seen that assimilation was the trigger for Spanish racism, although with differentiating nuances. The causes for the rejection are the same: in modernity that anti–Semitic reaction is induced by the assimilatory impetus of the Jews and when, according to Bauman, it starts to exceed the absorptive capacity of the receiving societies.[15]

In his description of modern anti–Semitism in its nationalistic variance, Burrin gives us another example when he states that in France the integration of Jews was accepted as long as they had a long time in residence and had participated in the defense of the homeland, but in limited numbers. He also mentions that in Germany Hitler also had to accept exemptions of the same nature in favor of ex-combatants.[16]

When we go back to the Spanish Middle Ages, Gitlitz recounts that in medieval Spain there were no major problems while the Jewish conversions were a "dribble," but when they became a "rivulet," there arose the resistance to the Judeo-*conversos*.[17] This social conflict arose when the Old Christians took notice of the opportunities that were opening for the neophytes, displacing those who had been practicing their faith from time immemorial, with which I believe that the Spanish racism of those times was an antecedent of modern anti–Semitism.

Additionally, if, as we have seen, modern anti–Semitism has a racial as well as a conspirative component, the latter due to the eagerness of the assimilated to suppress their particularly Jewish traits in order to assume those of universal character, we shall also find antecedents in that direction in casticist Spain. We have already seen the antecedent to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in the Spain of the 16th century, but we continue to find powerful examples such as those that are similar to the conspiratorial myth of modernity. This latter gave rise to a literature that will join the accusations of modern anti–Semitism with those of the old Spanish casticism. The image then defined is that of a Jewish conspirator, all powerful and versatile, at the same time a great capitalist and, on the other side, a revolutionary leader, an internal enemy of the nations, and an infectious virus of society. The old theses of Silíceo and Quevedo would eventually emerge, showing a certain continuity with the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The question can also be illustrated with another case of clear parallelism that shows, four centuries earlier, the disappointment suffered by the assimilated when he does not find his place in society. Already in the 16th century, Abravanel was saying to the *conversos*,

> Even though they and their descendants will endeavor to be like complete gentiles, they will be unable to achieve this aim. For the native peoples of the lands (in which they live) will always call them "Jews," mark them as "Israelites" against their

> will and falsely accuse them of Judaizing in secret—a crime for which they pay with death by fire.[18]

For this reason the following prayer by Arama is poignant. He was one of the brighter Spanish Jews in the time of the persecutions, and, perhaps as in very few other literary expressions, alludes to being Jewish by highlighting the true nature of his existence:

> You, God, know, and You are my witness, that in all the evils they have perpetrated against me and in all the acts of vengeance that they have wrought upon me, their sole intent was to annihilate and destroy me not because of my sins, but because of what I am.[19]

Let us observe the similarity to that situation when at the peak of modern anti–Semitism, Theodore Hertzel (Herzl), convinced of the futility of attempting to fight against it, warned the Hungarian Jews, "I would gladly abandon my demands upon Hungarian Jews only if I were sure that their patriotism would save them from the misery of anti–Semitism.... But the Jews of Hungary will be surprised by its inevitability, which will be more brutal and cruel as time passes and, in addition, more savage as they become more powerful. There is no escape,"[20] thus reiterating Hannah Arendt's expressive concept.

For the Spaniards of the Golden Age it was not necessary to rely on the modern anthropological theories on the existence of races, because for all practical purposes they replaced them with genealogy. But neither did Nazism need a robust genetic base for the elaboration of the scientific racist cock-and-bull story that purported to justify the extermination *en masse* of Jews and Gypsies. This leads us to think that the true basis of racism is socio-economic and not biological, in the past and in the present.

This conclusion can also be reached by carefully reanalyzing Bauman's description of modern anti–Semitism. He uses a metaphorical language on the basis of the assimilation of the Jews following their emancipation. He believes that it "eroded the old certainties" of pre-modern societies that viewed as normal the segregation of the Jews and, therefore, had to be saved from the "assault of equality." The same conclusion can be reached when he tells us that segregation, in a modern context, also required a modern method of the definition of boundaries that would be capable of slowing and neutralizing the leveling impact of the educational and civilizing drive: a barrier or an area where education and self-improvement are forbidden. This barrier had to be "rooted in natural law." In both cases the moral conditions are subordinated to that way of naturalizing the differences, namely, the social need to limit precedes the rationalization of the process.

As we have already seen, Álvarez Chillida notices that parallelism when he discusses modern anti–Semitism in post–Inquisitorial Spain, because it "reminds" ("*recuerda*") him of that affecting the medieval Judeo-*conversos*. In the Real Academia dictionary, the term *recuerda* ("reminds") has the semantic meaning of "similarity." In a personal communication about the scope of his comment, he expressed the view that they are two different historical cases, but with similar dynamics, and that the first precedes the second does not mean that it is its cause and the second is its continuation.[21] Precisely, those dynamics resemble each other because they both are induced by assimilation. I believe that reason assists him insofar as the non-existence of a causal relationship, but, as we shall see further on, it might be possible to speak of some historical link that does not necessarily have to be of that nature.

Burrin states that, according to Tousenell's concept, modern anti–Semitism was nationalistic when it arose in 1845 and only toward the end of that century did it enter the racial phase, whereby (originally) it was not essentially racist.[22] This is another reason why it cannot be noticeably differentiated from Spanish racism, a subject also not addressed by that author.

We have already seen that in his detailed genealogy of Nazism, Moradiellos, as mentioned earlier, is faced with the analysis of the anti–Semitism of modernity. When he investigates the origins of the barbarity represented by the Holocaust and Nazi racism, he details that Spanish antecedent in his work, It is because of this that he uses the title *La semilla de la barbarie* ("The seeds of the barbarity"). Moradiellos, like Bauman, traces those seeds in primitive anti–Semitism, with a profound sense of history and with a remarkable handling of classical and modern sources. He undertakes the task of looking for its roots and all those areas needed for the interpretation of this collective madness.

His book studies two related subjects of enormous importance for the history of humanity. On the one hand, it attempts to contextualize the origin and evolution of xenophobic prejudice against the faithful of the Jewish religion that arose during Classical Antiquity and the Middle Ages (the "Judeophobia" with a religious-cultural origin, modifiable by assimilation and conversion). This was a prejudice that expanded during the 19th century under a new racist format (a biological-naturalistic, hereditary and ingrained anti–Semitism).

On the other hand, it aims to outline the boundary and uniqueness of the Holocaust, that vast program of systematic biological extermination of the European Jewish population that the German Nazi authorities of the Third Reich initiated between the years 1939 and 1945 to the beat of the Second

World War. Moradiellos believes that the old anti–Jewish xenophobia and the renewed anti–Semitic racism were the driving force for the Holocaust and that without those seeds that barbarity probably would never have flourished. This is revealed by the analysis of the historical sequence that joins the merely informal prejudice to the tolerated violent pogrom and with its final consequence in the form of planned genocide[23] without any mention that in Spain those "hereditary and immovable" seeds germinated much earlier than in modernity.

Even though we have seen that the majority of the historians who are not Spanish do not consider Spanish racism as a precedent, we must, nonetheless, mention one who does so with simple but convincing words. It is Dimont, who although he acknowledges that anti–Semitism is a modern phenomenon that started near the beginning of the 19th century, and the Jew is irrationally hated, later justifying it by the crime of being Jewish, yet history offers us the example of Spain, which likewise condemned for the innate crime of Jewishness which thus was a racial issue.[24]

Having analyzed the question, I have arrived at the conclusion that Spanish anti–Semitism is the precursor of modern anti–Semitism. I shall, therefore, attempt to attain a closer approximation in the search for coherence in the similarities. For this purpose, let us remember that I stated that, because of the characteristics of the Statutes, the most notable coincidences were found in the Nuremberg Laws. However, not only does the singularity of the Holocaust place limits on the comparability, but so does the specificity of Nazism, since although its laws are of its own making, it is necessary to view them in the historical context of their enactment.

In the first place, when dealing with the particularities of Nazi anti–Semitism, we will see that they stand out due to their capacity for violent hatred, that independently of intentionalists and functionalists, always assumed lethal characteristics, as is very well noted by Jackisch: "Hitler anticipated and never hid his demented policy of annihilation in *Mein Kampf*."[25] And in a similar vein this is posed by Schmucler: "The idea of a Final Solution to the Jewish problem, although without precise outlines, has always permeated the actions of Nazism."[26]

How then should we consider modern anti–Semitism within the framework of Nazism? To this end we must bear in mind that modern anti–Semitism on both sides of the Rhine arose with the presence of vociferous anti–Semitic groups that debated the "Jewish question."[27] It must not be analyzed as a single entity. There is a distinction between a moderate form and a more radical one, but Nazism, precisely because of its relatively novel contributions, according to Burrin, impedes thinking in terms of mere continuity. This is because in

German society Nazi anti–Semitism, which meant a divergence, was much more radical than that of the population.[28] That consideration is extremely important for the purpose of appraising comparatively the legislation that we mentioned. Burrin maintains that the population did not become transformed into a populace of radical anti–Semites and that the latter constituted a small minority that, unfortunately, had seized power.[29]

Precisely and in the same vein, when Bauman speaks of German anti–Semitism, he asserts that it was a necessary but not sufficient condition for the formation of the exterminative Nazi hatred. He believes that when one examines its development in depth, it does not appear to be so clear, because it is shown that the anti–Semitic sentiment of Germans was moderate, including when the Nazis had already come to power. The Jews of other countries considered Germany as a country of equality and tolerance. The resentment against the Jews was neither deep-seated nor generalized and almost never manifested itself in outbreaks of violence. The attempts by the Nazis to bring to the surface popular anti–Semitism were counterproductive. Because of this the anti–Semitic explanation of the Holocaust is not sufficient, because for it to have been possible, other factors of a completely different nature had to come together.[30]

To reinforce that evidence we shall return to the enormous gap signified by the differences between the anti–Semitism of the German population and that which characterized Nazism. According to Kershaw, the Nuremberg Laws were, for National Socialism, a compromise solution against its partisan instincts, and also to stop the party's anti–Jewish agitation, which had become unpopular in broad segments of the population. That solution did not please the radicals of the party,[31] because at the beginning there existed a tension between German society, that approved of the discrimination but not of the violence, and the Nazi party, headed by its leader, that looked to the destruction of the Jews and—according to Kershaw—that idea of destroying the Jews remained unaltered since 1919.[32]

That tension was also seen reflected when, in the development of the legal structure, the need arose to define a Jew. The work was done on the basis that Hitler had ruled out that the application of the Law of the Blood should be limited to pure Jews; consequently there arose a need to define "partial Jewishness." The Ministry of the Interior wanted to classify as Jewish only those with more than two "non-Aryan" grandparents. The party pressed for the inclusion of those who "were one quarter Jewish," until the contrary opinion prevailed on the majority of the points. This resulted in those being declared Jewish who were so in three-fourths parts. Those who were half Jewish (two Aryan and two Jewish grandparents) were considered Jewish only if they prac-

ticed the Jewish religion, or if they married a Jewish person, or the illegitimate daughter of a Jew and an Aryan.[33]

It is absurd—and in reality it was, according to Kershaw, that it could be the case of "pure Aryans" converted to Judaism that then would be considered Jewish, and that there would be recourse to the religious faith to define the question.[34] It is at this point that we find an important comparative aspect with the cleanliness of blood which, in that aspect, was more stringent in its requirements to be an Old Christian, obeying exclusively the laws of the blood, or what Traverso defines with a successful phrase as the "biologization of anti-Semitism."

A single drop of Jewish blood contaminated a Christian that for that reason was a "New Christian," which allowed Torrejoncillo to state that cases were found where even after 20 generations had passed, from the first conversion, with the innumerable crossings that can be presumed to have occurred in such a long time, they still Judaized. It was the blood that contaminated, no matter the amount, even if it were only a few drops.

Those different dimensions between anti-Semitism of the population and of the Nazis persisted even during the war, when public opinion found itself harried by the apocalyptic anti-Jewish propaganda. The "very secrecy of the 'Final Solution' demonstrates more clearly than anything else the fact that the Nazi leadership felt it could not rely on popular backing for its extermination policy."[35] This emanated from the Nazi leaders' conviction that only the moderate anti-Semitism and not the genocidal had the support of German society.

To conclude, there remains that I should define the relationship or the nature of the parallelism that I maintain. In general terms, as Burrin states, and Bauman also agrees, the evidence for an involvement between Christianity and the genocide as a long-term tendency, because of their historical scope, does encompass the comparison. Despite this, Burrin suggests that there is no consensus regarding the nature of that link-causal relation-effect or vague commonality.[36]

Traverso deals in some detail with the question of the nature of that relationship. Before dwelling on it, it will be useful, in order to capture his thoughts, to specify some of his concepts, which serve the purpose of adopting at the same time a diachronic and compared perspective.[37] He finds numerous elements of Christian tradition that were incorporated into the Nazi worldview, because it had a syncretic character of eschatological attitudes inherited from Christianity (apocalypse, redemption, millenarianism).[38] Moreover, he admits to the existence of a medieval racism that I assume is related to the Spanish.[39]

Traverso also points out that the Nazi war of occupation and extermination copied the ideology that classical imperialism had instituted in the 19th century,[40] although a cause-effect relationship in those colonial massacres cannot be established. From those elements we can extract that, despite the uniqueness of Nazism, it finds antecedents in history that influenced its formation, some of which, as we shall see, he later minimizes, describing them as mere casual similarities. As far as the possible linkages between the comparisons that are made with Nazism, we note that, differentiating, he speaks of origins, antecedents,[41] causes, historical continuity and casual and phenomenological affinities.[42]

When he maintains that between the colonial massacres and the Final Solution there do not simply exist "phenomenological affinities," his use of "simply" is because he underestimates the historical range of that similarity between the Inquisition and the Nuremberg Laws, for which he refers to Yerushalmi. Yet let us observe that the terms that I maintain are comparable are on the side of Nazism and the Nuremberg Laws, and I believe, with all the authors mentioned, that there is an enormous gap between them and the Holocaust. As I understand it, Traverso equates both aspects, Nuremberg Laws and Holocaust, when he should have differentiated them. Had he done so, perhaps he would have found some historical range in the comparison, especially because he finds within Christianity elements of Nazism. In addition, the facts that are being compared are inscribed in the history of anti-Semitism, regardless of the place they occupy in the memory of the Jewish people.

Hering Torres, on the other hand, speaks of a functional historical continuity devoid of a causal nexus, although he does not express it within the sphere of the cleanliness of blood, but rather in the wider one, which is racism in general as a strategy of marginalization.[43]

Nonetheless, and by not mentioning that precedent of racial anti-Semitism, as it is called by Álvarez Chillida, I do not believe that that interpretation is applicable to our case and we understand that what he does is more an anthropologic analysis than a historical one. For the Spanish historian, as we have seen, because they are different contexts and times, there is neither continuity nor causality, but there definitely occurred greatly similar procedures in so far as the interethnic relations between the social majority and the minority.

Apparently, and we return to the beginning, historians in general—as Stallaert stated in a very recent article—"afraid of falling in the trap of anachronism, will find serious objections to the rapprochement of two such distant dates, see similarities but not a historical relationship." None-

theless, I allow myself to insist that it is not only a case of pinning down the similarities, no matter how appealing they are, that anti–Semitism is almost always mentioned as the general cause, which reminds us of the criticism, mentioned in the first chapter, directed at Le Goff, that "although he rejects anachronisms, his popularizing style always puts him close to them."

With all due respect for the discipline of historical study and the opinions, seen heretofore, that deny the historical continuity and the existence of a cause-effect relationship in the comparison we are dealing with, I shall analyze some situations made available to us by contemporary history in which there can be seen something more than striking similarities, or mere casual affinities, when the comparison is given a specific identity such as in the case of the Jesuits.

It concerns the Jesuit order that, as we have seen, maintained genealogic discrimination until 1946. This leads one to assume that the decision to repeal it was related to the attempt to distance itself, although somewhat late, from Nazi racism. I believe that there could have been a scenario of historical continuity which begins, as we have seen, in the 16th century, when the order establishes the statutes. It is not a matter of mere similarities, but rather, paraphrasing Miguel Mora, journalist for the newspaper *El Pais*, who carries out a comparative analysis of a recent event that gained wide public notoriety (T.N. the Strauss Kahn affair) by writing "here it is as well, unstoppable as if centuries had not passed, not Vichy, the old French anti–Semitism." Here in the case of the Jesuits we could say the same; it is a matter of the presence of the "old Spanish anti–Semitism"; the evidence of an old historical persistence that flowed into modernity.

Perhaps, as we have seen, that linkage is not causal nor is there continuity, but its existence reveals something more than similarities and we should not stop keeping in mind that anti–Semitism, as explained by Todorov, is not simply one more racism. It is not a matter of mere metaphors to explain contemporaneous events. Traverso himself, looking for the genealogy of Nazism, differentiates between cause and antecedent. It is this last concept upon which we can also dwell, as did Domínguez Ortiz on the parallelism that he postulated between the Jewish conspirational machinations separated by centuries, and, somehow, thus likewise understood by Álvarez Chillida.

It is Hannah Arendt who specifically maintains that 19th century anti–Semitism can be best studied in France, because it reached its highest level in that nation. This corroborates what has been stated on the meaning of the relativity of the anti–Semitism of German society. Within that

framework she points out that the Jesuit Order was what best represented Catholic anti–Semitism in the Dreyfus case, a typical situation of assimilationism. She thus arrives at understanding how powerful a weapon that anti–Semitism can be, considering that it was the first attempt, and the only one before Hitler, to exploit it on a pan–European scale. And when this lucid thinker goes into the causes of that clear anti–Semitism, she finds that, to a great extent, it obeys the Jesuits' Statutes of cleanliness of blood.[44]

It is true that she does not refer to the Spanish case and that she is critical of broad generalizations, in order both to explain phenomena by analogy, or easily to deduce precedents. Why does she not do it? It could be for those reasons, but I believe that it is because her study of anti–Semitism is limited temporally and spatially to the 19th century and the Central European countries. Evidently, because of this fact, had she been asked about the genesis of the application of the Statutes in that religious Order, she would not have had any other alternative than to have had recourse to history, unless she did not know it, something I find hard to believe.

She speaks of the anti–Semitic character of that discrimination and not of a religious anti–Judaism, with which it becomes more than evident that that idea of hers would extend to its origins in 1593. Although that anti–Semitic-based discrimination governed the entire Order, the initiative was at the urging of the Spaniards, in response, as we have seen, to Silíceo's demands. That Jesuit anti–Semitism did not appear suddenly in modernity, but rather it displays an approximately three-centuries-old baptismal certificate from the time when Inquisitorial Spain was in full force.

The historical situations that I shall mention further on are linked to the Jesuits and to the Nazi and Fascist racism. Perhaps, there, we may be able to observe above all a political exploitation due to the propagandistic ability of the Nazis to keep alive the memory of something not of their own that favored and, up to a certain point, justified them. Even so, the effects of something that persisted for almost four centuries, as did the validity of the cleanliness of blood in the Jesuit Order, can be seen in all its magnitude. As Burrin points out, Nazism was nourished on all the anti–Judaic motives and themes available,[45] and what could be better than having recourse to history for issues with so much affinity!

Nor did Italian Fascism with similar racial laws hide its admiration for that racial restriction of the Jesuits. In a speech at the *Istituto di Cultura Fascista* of Milan, Farinacci, one of the figures closest and most faithful to Mussolini, attributed his anti–Semitism to the teachings imparted by the Church for more than 20 centuries. It was on the very basis of these that the Jews were

excluded from positions of importance, until the French revolution, which emancipated them. Accordingly, he praised the Jesuit paper *Civiltà Cattolica,* that already in 1890 had stated that human rights in reality were the rights of the Hebrews. This was ironic, considering that the Fascist remedy against that enemy-of-humankind "race" was not what they considered the insufficient confiscation of wealth and expulsion (because of which they were now demanding the complete elimination of those rights).

It is because of this that the constitution of that order forbade the admission as a member to anyone who descended from the Hebrew race up to the fifth degree, and added that the "Aryan" racism of the Jesuits is much more severe than in Germany itself, where it did not go beyond the fourth degree. It is thus that Farinacci ends by saying in conclusion that the Fascists had in that order their precursors and constant teachers on the Jewish question.[46] And in making reference to Fascist Italy, is also worth mentioning the media; *Il Regime Fascista* in 1938 also thought that all the countries "still have to learn from the fathers of the Company of Jesus."[47] In total agreement, Streicher, a man who knew Nazi anti-Semitism and its religious sources, expressed in the 1930s his admiration for the Jesuits' newspaper, *Civiltà Cattolica*.[48]

Nonetheless, it is fair to point out that the existence of the statute of cleanliness of blood within the Jesuit order did not impede Italian Jesuit Tacchi Venturi (in line with Ignatius's and Sacchini's attitude toward the *conversos* as described in Chapter 4) from pleading for the easing of the provisions of the racial laws when it was a matter of converted Jews, as well as maintaining an anti-Judaic but humanitarian attitude toward the non-converted.[49]

This anti-Judaic but not racist attitude of Tacchi Venturi's, despite the contradiction that existed because of the statutes of purity of blood within his Order, can be evidenced by his requests (after the fall of Mussolini), in the name of the Church to Pietro Badoglio. These were for the modification but not for the total abrogation of the Fascist Racial Laws in favor of the converted and for mixed marriages while maintaining provisions with regards to the non-converted. These requests were not agreed to by Badoglio and became moot upon the September 8, 1943, signing of the Armistice, of which Article 31 obliged the Italian government to abrogate any discriminatory laws.[50]

Maryks states that "although Tacchi Venturi certainly did not have the prophetic voice of the few Christians who opposed the Nazi persecution of the Jews, it should be recognized nevertheless that the Fascist Jesuit represented—albeit a too-slow one—in the Catholic Church approaches to its

centuries-long tradition of the policy of purity of blood, of which the Jesuits were the most important promoters. It is still unknown what role Tacchi Venturi may have played in the process, but the Society of Jesus quietly abrogated in 1946 its law that discriminated against candidates of Jewish ancestry in 1946."[51]

It might be said that this slow change gained impetus when Pope Pius XI, in his dislike of German racial policies, started questioning racism and the 1938 Italian Racial Laws and directed American Jesuit John La Farge secretly to draft an encyclical on racism and anti–Semitism. Pius XI died before he could promulgate the Encyclical that subsequently became known as "The Hidden Encyclical" and the subject of several publications.[52]

Another indication of the link between Inquisitorial racism and the *völkisch* worldview inherited "as is" by Nazism, then corrected and added to by eliminating all the civilizing barriers of civilization, results from bearing in mind, as Goldhagen notes, that they were very aware of the racism of the Jesuits.

Eugene Klee, as German representative to the Vatican, while negotiating the Concordat, was impressed by the racist exclusion within the main Order of the Church. Upon noting that it went further than that enacted in Germany, in 1933 he expressed his admiration to Bishop Giuseppe Pizzardo, Pacelli's sub-secretary of state. He stated that Germany needed to do, for itself, that which the Church had being doing for some time. This goes even further than the racial restrictions adopted by Germany and the justifiable concerns that the German government had concerning the racial preservation of its people.[53] A whole model to be followed!

On the other hand, during the presence of Nazism and before the start of the War, that desire I have mentioned on the part of the Jesuit Order to distance itself was not as yet noticed. When some Nazi groups identified the Jewish plot [for world domination] with the Jesuits, Father Koch, a member of that Company, much pained by that serious charge, refuted it by saying that its prohibition against the admission of New Christians offered the best assurances for that Order against the influence of Jews.[54] Hannah Arendt precisely uses those expressions to support the nature of Jesuit anti–Semitism by stating, further, that *Civiltà Cattolica* was publishing anti–Jewish propaganda much before Italy became Fascist and that its policy was not affected by the anti–Christian attitude of the Nazis.[55]

Nonetheless, the opportunistic political use by the Nazis and Fascists of the Jesuits' discriminatory provisions relating to lineage and established earlier

in Spain, even though belatedly abrogated, does not signify equating the two policies of discrimination precisely because, as noted earlier, some humanitarian gestures were seen when the singular Nazi cruelty was noted. It must be pointed out that *Civiltà Cattolica* severely attacked Hitlerian anti–Semitism with its biological basis (the demonization of the blood). It is also important to note that some interpret that the anti–Judaic discrimination of the Order's statutes was not irreversible (which is what characterizes any form of racism), because that distinction was made with the hope that someday conversion would resolve that which was seen as the "Jewish problem."

The topics we have dealt with, being highly complex and controversial, make it difficult to reach conclusions. Nonetheless, and having to speak out, I find a certain congruency in the comparability between the Spanish system of cleanliness of blood and modern anti–Semitism and the racism that German society allowed with the Nuremberg Laws. These for some time placed a limit on Nazi ideology, whose partisans were demanding more extreme and violent actions against the Jews.

This being the case, the comparability does not reach the Nazi ideology, where the idea of Jewish extermination always permeated, and which finally culminated in the Holocaust. As far as post–Inquisitorial Spain, which includes the Francoist regime, I believe that it also is not comparable, although for other circumstances, totally contrary to the casticist ethnicism of the previous centuries.

Those similarities may be characterized, as we have seen, in different ways, and the existence of a historical linkage may even be questioned on solid epistemological foundations. In any case, it might be an unnamed category, insufficiently investigated or identified as a problem, or perhaps those similarities respond to what Arendt perhaps exaggeratedly stated, that "a history of anti–Semitism still remains to be written," because she considers that a "gap" exists. However, the extremes that have been compared place us, without any doubt, within that phenomenological perception of hers embodied in the term *Jewishness*. It connotes an essential nature for which it is of no matter whether the discrimination is genealogical or racial, if it was the Middle Ages or in modern times. What for that author is defining and ontological is that from Judaism it may be possible to escape by conversion, but from Jewishness there is no possible escape.[56]

If some lesson can be derived from the history of Spanish anti–Semitism, especially the one that, with its coarse racial characteristics, existed in the 20th century and which was subscribed by—as we have seen—some Francoist diplomats who nonetheless carried out the important humanitarian task of saving many Jews from sure death during World War II, it is that, as stated by Bauman,

anti-Semitism by itself was a necessary but insufficient condition to explain the Holocaust. It is as noted by Bernstein in his inquiry on the "radical evil": "we have learned 'After Auschwitz' how insightful Kant was about the ultimate inscrutability of the moral choices that individuals make,"[57] namely, that when a choice between the good and the evil is present, why some individuals choose the evil and others resist it.

Chapter Notes

Introduction

1. Adolfo Kuznitzky, *La leyenda negra de España y los marranos. Toledo 1449–Nuremberg 1935 ¿hacia otra leyenda negra?* (Córdoba, Argentina: El Emporio Ediciones, 2006).

2. Charles Tilly, Historical Analysis of Political Processes, *http://www.scribd.com/doc/36164108/Historical-Analysis-of-Political-Processes-Charles-Tilly.*

3. Piotr Sztompka, *The Sociology of Social Change* (Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 206.

4. Enrique Moradiellos, *La Semilla de la Barbarie, Antisemitismo y el Holocausto*, (Madrid: Ediciones Peninsula, 2009), 189.

5. Bernard Lazare, (English version) *Anti-Semitism: Its History and Causes*: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/jewish/lazare-anti.asp.

6. Vicens Vives, ed., *Approaches to the History of Spain*, trans. Joan Connely Ullman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 92.

7. Herman P. Solomon, in Introduction, *A History of the Marranos*, by Cecil Roth (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), ix.

8. Elisabeth Roudinesco, *A vueltas con la cuestión judía* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2011), 28, 81. An edition in English, *Revisiting the Jewish Question*, came out in 2013 from Polity Press.

9. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 231.

10. Henry Kamen, *The Disinherited Exile and the Making of Spanish Culture* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 7, 8.

11. Zigmunt Bauman, *Alosemitismo: Premoderno, Moderno, Posmoderno*, in *Identidades Judias, Modernidad y globalización*, eds. Paul Mendes-Flohr, Yom Tov Assis, and Leonardo Senkman (Buenos Aires: Ed. Lilmond, 2007), 21. Bauman holds that the term anti–Semitism is too narrow for so many meanings. What is certain is that in the strict sense "allo-Semitism" expresses a modern racial hatred toward the Jew, but generally it is used and presented as hatred in all periods and in all manifestations.

12. Lucas Gonzáles, Jerónimo Boragina, Gustavo Dorado, and Ernesto Somaro, *Voluntarios de Argentina en la Guerra Civil Española.* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de CCC. Centro Cultural de la Cooperación Floreal Gorini, 2008), 47. It is appropriate to praise this work and the effort by several of the authors to write it. Atilio Borón in the prologue rates it as "necessary" for the understanding of such a complex phenomenon as is the history of Spain filled with upheavals, and it is because of this that someone referred to the Civil War as the consequence of "poorly treated ills" and of what was then called the "Two Spains."

13. *New York Times*, "Many Seek Spanish Citizenship Offered to Sephardic Jews," March 29, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/world/europe/many-seek-spanish-citizenship-offered-to-sephardic-jews.html?_r=0] [Added in translation].

14. Alf Lüdtke, "German Work and German Workers: The Impact of Symbols on the Exclusion of Jews in Nazi-Germany," in *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews 1933–1941*, ed. David Bankier (New York/Oxford: published in Association with Yad Vashem, Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem and Berghan Books), 300.

15. Otto Dov Kulka, "The German Population and the Jews: State of Research and New

Perspectives," in *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism. German Society and the Persecution of the Jews 1933–1941*, ed. David Bankier (New York/Oxford: published in Association with Yad Vashem, Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem and Berghan Books), 273.

Chapter 1

1. Zigmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 31.

2. David Nirenberg, "Was There Race Before Modernity? The Example of 'Jewish' Blood in Late Medieval Spain," in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, eds. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 239–240. https://webshare.uchicago.edu/users/nirenberg/Public/racism_Cambridge_Proofs.pdf.

3. Christiane Stallaert, "*La Cuestión Conversa y la Limpieza de Sangre*," in *El olivo y la espada: Estudios sobre el antisemitismo en España (siglos XVI—XX)*, Pere Joan i Tous and Heike Nottebaum, *eds.* (Tubingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2003), 27.

4. Marc Bloch, *Introducción a la Historia* (México D.F: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1970), 34.

5. Ibid., 130.

6. André Burguière, ed., *Diccionario de Ciencias históricas* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1991), 87.

7. Eric Hobsbawm, cited in *1910 vs. 2010, Un duelo ideológico*, by Carlos Pagni (Buenos Aires: *La Nación*, May 27, 2010).

8. Raquel San Martín, *Claroscuros de una era* (Buenos Aires: ADN Cultura de La Nación, July 26, 2008).

9. Hilda Sábato, *La Historia y la Gente* (Buenos Aires: *La Nación*, May 27, 2010).

10. Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo en España: La imagen del judío 1812–2002* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2002), 47.

11. Ibid., 46–49.

12. Benzion Netanyahu, *Toward the Inquisition: Essays on Jewish and Converso History in Late Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 130.

13. Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition* (New York: Random House, 1995), 1,141–1,142.

14. Ibid., 267, 297.

15. Alain Corbin, *Historia del Cristianismo* (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 2008), 288.

16. Mario Bunge, *Las Ciencias Sociales en Discusión* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2011), quoted by Manuel San Pedro, "*Bunge su Método y Filosofía*" in *Temas de la Voz del Interior*, May 9, 2010. http://www.lavoz.com.ar/suplementos/temas/bunge-su-metodo-y-su-filosofia.

17. José Pablo Feinmann, *La sangre derramada. Ensayo sobre la violencia política* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Ariel, 2009), 258.

18. Enrique Moradiellos, *El Oficio de Historiador* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2008), 35.

19. Damián Tabarovsky, *Poesía contemporánea*; *Pérfil Cultura*, December 13, 2009. http://www.perfil.com/contenidos/2009/12/12/noticia_0039.html.

20. Bauman, *Alosemitismo*, 41.

21. Alfred Rosenberg, cited in *Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi theorist of the Holocaust*, by Fritz Nova (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1986), 33.

22. Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, "*El antisemitismo en España*," in *El Judaísmo en Iberoamérica*, Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de Religiones, Vol. 6, eds. Reyes Mate and Ricardo Forster (Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2007), 205. "In Castile the first major anti*converso* action occurs in Toledo in 1449 when an anti-taxation revolt against John II and his favorite Álvaro de Luna became a bloody persecution of the *conversos* who were strong advocates of royal power. Having become masters of the city, the leader of the rebels, Pedro Sarmiento, in June imposed the Sentencia-Estatuto law that excluded the New Christians from any type of public post or service, justifying it not only on the alleged heresy of 'a very large part' of them, that suffered a mock inquisitorial investigation, but also because of their congenital and perpetual Jewish nature (the 'perverse lineage of the Jews') unmodified by baptism. Because of this the discriminatory measures would apply 'against [all] past, present and future *conversos*.' Together with the new ideology a new accusation [arose] also preceding contemporary anti–Semitism: 'the *conversos* become baptized following a sinister conspiracy consisting of infiltrating themselves among the Christians to obtain their wealth and power and thus oppress and ruin them and with it destroy Christianity.' This is how many Old Christians interpreted the social ascent and the process of increasing assimilation of their upstart competitors including through mixed marriages."

Chapter 2

1. Netanyahu, *The Origins*, 975.

2. Cf. Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, Vol. II, Appendix (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1961), 448–452.

3. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 151–153, 244 note 43.

4. Ibid., 109–119.

5. Ibid., 154, 155.

6. Cf. Ibid., 154, quoting Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, Vol. II (New York: Macmillan, 1906–07), 548.
7. Ibid., 155.
8. Ibid., 148, 149, 150, 151, 152.
9. Leopoldo Azancot, in *Historia del antisemitismo: De Mahoma a los Marranos*, by Leon Poliakov, Introduction (Barcelona: Muchnik, 1980). Does not appear in the English version, *The History of Anti-Semitism: From Mohammed to the Marranos*.
10. Netanyahu, *Toward; "The racial attack on the conversos. Américo Castro's view of its origin,"* 1–42.
11. Américo Castro, *Sobre el nombre y el quién de los Españoles* (Madrid: Editorial Sharpe, 1985), 35.
12. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *Spain: A Historical Enigma*, Vol. II, trans. Colette Joly Dees and David Sven Reher (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975), Cf. 769–770.
13. Emmanuel Levinas, *Difficult Freedom, Essays in Judaism*, trans. Seán Hand (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 176–177.
14. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 2.
15. Alfonso Otazu, Díaz de Durana, and José Ramón, *El Espíritu Emprendedor de los Vascos* (Silex Madrid 2008), 66. Pulgar's comment was made within the context of what might be considered an anomaly. Basques would send their sons to Castile to be servants to and be educated by *conversos* but would not allow those *conversos* to marry with Basques or in some instances even live in Basque cities.
16. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 4–6.
17. Américo Castro, *The Spaniards* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1971), 69, quoted in Benzion Netanyahu, *Toward*, 7.
18. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 8.
19. Ibid., 15.
20. Ibid., 22–24.
21. Netanyahu, *The Origins*, 163.
22. Ibid., 34–35.
23. Ibid., 43.
24. Ibid., 54.
25. Ibid., 61.
26. Sánchez-Albornoz, *Spain*, 770–771.
27. Yitzhak Baer, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. Louis Schoffman, Vol. I (Phildelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1992), 198.
28. Américo Castro, *La realidad histórica de España: Edicion renovada*, 5th ed. (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1973), 9.
29. Netanyahu, *The Origins*, 183–187. This historian shows us Vicente Ferrer as an example of a cleric dedicated to the proselytizing mission. He notes that Ferrer was opposed to forced conversions as occurred en masse in 1391 instigated by the flagellant cleric Ferrán Martínez and that "to bring Jews into the Christian fold was one of Ferrer's primary goals—a goal for which his Dominican schooling had especially prepared him."
30. Ibid., 163.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 254–255.
33. Ibid., 254.
34. Ibid., 256.
35. Ibid., 258–259.
36. Ibid., 259.
37. Ibid., 264–265.
38. Ibid., 268.
39. Ibid., 330.
40. Ibid., 381.
41. Ibid., 382.

Chapter 3

1. Nirenberg, "Was There Race," 258–260.
2. Jaime de Salazar Acha, *La limpieza de sangre*. Lecture given at the Instituto de Historia de la Inquisición and published in *La Revista de la Inquisición* 1 (1951): 289–308. http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RVIN/article/download/RVIN9191110289A/1687.
3. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La Clase Social de los Conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna*, Introduction by Francisco Márquez Villanueva (Granada: Ed. Universidad de Granada, 1991), xiii.
4. Joseph Pérez, *Historia de España*, (Madrid: Ed. Espasa, 1995), 293. Already in the first half of the 16th century a counselor to the Inquisition of Aragón wrote what would be called the *Libro verde de Aragón* (*Aragón's Green Book*), whose details of lineage made it clear that the important families of the kingdom were either of *converso* origin or had ties to them. The work was disseminated unstoppably as a manuscript with many editions and updates.
5. Ibid., 294.
6. Christiane Stallaert, *"La España de la limpieza de sangre. Una interpretación antropológica de una reacción étnica,"* in *El antisemitismo en España*, eds. *Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida* and *Ricardo Izquierdo Benito* (Cuenca: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2007), 106.
7. Bartolomé Bennassar, *Los Españoles. Actitudes y Mentalidad* (Barcelona: Ed. Vergara, 1976), 213.
8. Pierre Vilar, *Historia de España* (Barcelona: Ed. Crítica-Grijalbo, Spanish editions, 1978, 1981), cited in Simón Royo Hernández, *Orígenes de la xenofobia en Europa: El affaire Dreyfus*. http://www.monografias.com/trabajos910/origenes-xenofobia/origenes-xenofobia.shtml.
9. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo*, 171, 178.
10. Albert Sicroff, *Les Controverses des Sta-*

tus de Pureté de Sang en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe Siècle (Paris: Didier, 1960), 130.

11. Isabella Ianuzzi, *Mentalidad Inquisitorial; el enfrentamiento entre Silíceo y la Compañía de Jesús Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 24, 2000), 178. http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=123210.

12. Max Hering Torres, *"Limpieza de Sangre" ¿Racismo en la edad moderna? Tiempos Modernos* 9 (2003–04), 13. Citing Torrejoncillo; *Centinela*, 55. "[The Jews] while denying the coming of the Messiah, persecute the Christians with turmoil and cells; and almost at conception become, as if it were original sin, to be enemies of Christians." Torrejoncillo, as a theologian, obviously does not in any way question the notion of monogenesis as contrasted with polygenesis, which in the strict sense is what defines racism. http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/viewFile/26/49.

13. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 74–75. "In addition, Espina has more to say about Jewish genealogy: he links to another Talmudic statement in which he finds that the serpent that deceived Eve has intercourse with her, from which it must be concluded, according to him, that it [the snake] was the stepfather of the Jews and that such lineage causes them to imitate its craftiness. Espina ties this to Psalm 58:5: 'They have—the Jews—poison like the serpents,' and to Psalm 139: 'Sharpen their tongues like serpents, they have under their lips the poison of the adder.'" Because of this, Netanyahu concludes that for Espina the lineage of the Jews was self-evident since they descend from monsters, half humans, half beasts, and their stepmothers were she-donkeys (symbolizing their stubbornness) and sows (symbols of their lust) and their parents snakes (which denotes their cunning and venomous tactics) and most of all sons of the devils.

14. Hering Torres, *Limpieza de Sangre*, 3. The author correctly contends that those who genuinely are racists are polygenists, but that trend of anthropological opinion was neutralized by a simple observation: the intersexuality of humans no matter their origins. "On many occasions racist theorists attempt to legitimize the doctrines of 'race' designed by themselves by using the argument of polygenism or having recourse to empirical methods of investigation such as craniometry. Racism then appears as a secular entity based on the monopoly of truth, the product of scientific experience, displacing theology in its role as legitimizing authority of the truth."

15. Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Inquisición y los judíos. Ecos de la obra de Netanyahu*, *Revista de la Inquisición* de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid 8 (1999), 295. This author refers to the concept of "uchronicity," which he defines as that which does not happen at any time (just as utopia does not exist in any place). http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RVIN/article/view/RVIN9999110295A/1606.

16. Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, English translation of *Nous et les autres*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 90.

17. Juan Aranzadi, cited in Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo*, 231.

18. Cf. Max Hering Torres, *Limpieza de Sangre*, 16. States "in a few words: the ideology of the cleanliness of blood highlights the fear and social jealousy existing at that time" and brings forth the different factors involved and reinforces the statement saying that "the terms race and blood served as the backbone of this ideological and doctrinarian system. Both their principles as well as their functions converge in racism, even though the arguments based in theology and in the Aristotelian natural sciences determine their theological and proto-scientific nature, pathways that are not seen in contemporary racism." All this allows him to propose the term "'social anti-Judaism,' an oxymoron that denotes the fusion between the arguments entailed in the 'cleanliness of blood' based on both theology as well as on the Aristotelian sciences and the diffuse and contradictory fluctuations between origin (lineage/'race') and religious affiliation."

19. Bauman, *Modernity*, 60.

Chapter 4

1. The chapter "*Los Jesuítas y la leyenda negra*" in Kuznitzky, *La leyenda negra* has been adapted and modified to fit the theme of this work.

2. Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España*, Vol. I, trans. Antonio ALatorre (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 70, 90–91.

3. Cf. Christiane Stallaert, *Ni una gota de sangre smpura* (Barcelona: Editorial Galaxia Gutenberg, 2006), 378.

4. *Sefárdica*, 1976, pages 307–332. That surname is formed from Riva de Neyra. Regarding the Jewish origin of the historian of the Jesuits, Alcalá also records it as such, pointing out that he appears among the memorable sources of the majority of the *conversos* that stayed in Spain, assimilating quickly during the *Siglo de Oro*, and that there is no country that can, like that one, proudly show that those who were earlier persecuted, were later glorified. Alcalá further states that among them figure dozens of the best writers and very important persons of that period, with which—he explains—there cannot be a greater paradox. He classifies this Jesuit as having an origin assuredly similar to that of San Juan de la Cruz, and further suggests as most probably, do Cervantes, Góngora and Gracián.

5. Francisco de Borja Medina, *"Ignacio de*

Loyola y la Limpieza de Sangre," in *Ignacio de Loyola y su Mundo*, ed. Juan Plazaola, Congreso Internacional de Historia (9–13 September 1991) (Bilbao: Mensajero-Universidad de Deusto, 1992), 584–585. According to this author, the Portuguese Jesuits, headed by Manuel Rodriguez, had an aversion, worthy of a pathological study, to the New Christians. This aversion could serve as a basis for those who support, as will be seen, the racist undertone and not the moral-religious one of the issue. Rodríguez, in the pathological anti-Semitism belonging to what is known in these studies as the "Portuguese tradition," also did not forgive (General) Francisco de Borja for having admitted and favored the New Christians, stating that it was also whispered of him that he was not "self-confessed but ultra confessed," thus indicating that he lost prestige because he defended them. This aversion by the Portuguese also manifested itself in the role that they played in order to exclude, because of his being a New Christian, Juan Alfonso Polanco from the Generalship of the Congregation. In addition, by using the guise of "it is being said," they hurled at him the wild accusation that he had accelerated the death of Father Francisco de Borja in order to succeed him.

6. Eusebio Rey, "*San Ignacio de Loyola y el problema de los cristianos nuevos,*" *Razón y Fe* 153 (1956): 196–202. This priest (Ribadeneira) tenaciously opposed the aforementioned implementation with a Memorandum in which is expressed his whole battery of arguments, which deserve to be read. Of them we shall only mention that which relates to our declared purpose of establishing the links with the Semiticizing Black legend.

7. Albert Sicroff, *Les Controverses*, 77. "According to Inquisitional documents from the years 1486–1488, we see that the nature of the monastic rules of the Order of Saint Jerome offered a refuge to the false *conversos*. The example of Friar Alonso de Toledo and of Friar Juan de Madrid, both professing members in the Monastery of La Sisla, is striking....The audacity of the Judaising *conversos* ... appeared in the case of Friar Garcia de Zapata, Prior of the Monastery of La Sisla. This monk, despite his eminent position, organized a daring conspiracy that permitted the observance of the Jewish Festival of the Tabernacles.... Under the pretext of illness, Friar Garcia and two other brothers would receive a visit every September, from two Jewish doctors who came, it was said, to care for the Prior. They constructed the traditional tabernacle and explained to the other monks that it was to alleviate Fr. Garcia's illness." [To avoid "retranslation" the translators have translated this directly from the original French work. In scholastic vocabulary *Prior* signifies one who precedes others of any Order or is the Superior of a Convent.]

8. Jonathan Wright, *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Politics, Intrigue and Power—A History of the Jesuits* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 59. "Many Spanish Jesuits clearly resented the Rome-centered nature of the order, pleading for more autonomy.... In their unsavory way they also agitated against what they perceived as the Society's lax attitude on the issue of purity of blood."

9. Sicroff, *Les Controverses*, 284–286.

10. Quoted in Jonathan Wright, *God's Soldiers*, 42.

11. Rey, *San Ignacio*, 200. He (Acquaviva) orders that admission [to the Order] should proceed even though the cleanliness (of blood) is not clearly determined, especially if the testimony were from hearsay, as they are called procedurally, which means that they do not have (a) direct knowledge but rather through rumor or reputation. Since rumors are concerned, a question like this one would be closely connected to the Black legend, because of which it was a very wise measure not to rely on rumors since they generally were exaggerations when not falsehoods.

12. Ibid., 199.

13. Ibid., 187.

14. Ibid., 174–175.

15. Ibid., 195.

16. Ibid., 203. Because the regime was later softened allowing investigations only as far back as the fourth or fifth generation, by the year 1608 there were not many candidates who could not show their *limpieza*, for which reason the problem was substantially resolved.

17. James W. Reites, *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits; St Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews*, published by the American Assistancy Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality, especially for American Jesuits working out their *aggioamiento* in the spirit of Vatican Council II, vol. XIII, September 1981, number 4, page 31. "In 1923 General Congregation XXVII made it possible for the General to dispense a candidate of Jewish origin from this impediment ... convened in 1946 as soon as possible after the close of World War II, abrogated the impedimento of origin.... It is unfortunate that it was not until after the Nazi Holocaust that the Society moved to return completely to the spirit and practice of Ignatius." ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/jesuit/article/download/3714/3292.

18. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Instituto "Balmes" de Sociología, 1955), 49.

Chapter 5

1. Salazar Acha, *La Limpieza*, 305.

2. Netanyahu, *The Origins*, Appendix, "Racism in Germany and Spain," 1,142.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., 1,143.

5. Eleonore O. Sterling, *Judenhass*, 1969, quoted in Netanyahu, Ibid., 1, 143.

Chapter 6

1. All these articles were published in *El País* and in the *Revista de la Inquisición*.

2. Juan Goytisolo, Critique of Francisco Márquez Villanueva's *Cervantes en letra viva, El País*, Madrid, September 9, 2005. http://elpais.com/diario/2005/07/09/babelia/1120864629_850215.html.

3. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los orígenes de la Inquisición, El País*, Madrid: December 16,1999. http://elpais.com/diario/1999/12/16/opinion/945298805_850215.html.

4. José Antonio Escudero, *Netanyahu y la Inquisición, El País*, Madrid: January 19, 2000. http://elpais.com/diario/2000/01/19/opinion/948236404_850215.html.

5. Ibid.

6. Gabriel Jackson, *De Benzion Netanyahu y sus detractores, El País*, Madrid: February 24, 2000. http://elpais.com/diario/2000/02/24/opinion/951346804_850215.html.

7. David M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 85–89. Gitlitz elaborates a highly descriptive and interesting taxonomy, that for reasons of space I will not transcribe but I will limit myself to summarizing the first group of Christian *conversos*, which in turn he divides into subgroups that are in addition to those that Judaized or marranized in some manner. It is also possible that a sense of the Hebraic, although not a knowledge of Judaism, was kept alive thanks not only to the Inquisition but also because of other social mechanisms, particularly the Statutes, which incapacitated those "contaminated" by Jewish blood to occupy public positions. Gitlitz describes within the Jewish *conversos* a spectrum that goes from the entirely Christian to the entirely Jewish and considers that there is not a single descriptor. To this end he cites Caro Baroja's (pgs. 94–95, note 36) taxonomy as often used: (1) good Catholics; (2) heterodox Christians; (3) Talmudists [by which he means orthodox, normative Jews]; (4) heterodox Jews; (5) skeptics; (6) vacillators. Perhaps all is subsumed in Faur's four categories; those who wanted to be Jews, Christians, both or neither.

8. Julio A. Pardos, *Un Problema de Orígenes, Revista de la Inquisición* 8 (1999), 310. http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/RVIN/article/view/RVIN9999110307A/1608.

9. Jaime Contreras, *Historiar a los judíos de España. ¿Un asunto de Pueblo, Nación o Etnia?*, 69. http://www.uv.es/rseapv/Publicaciones/Documentos/19961101-LaInquisicion/19961101-3AHistorias.pdf.

10. Ricardo García Cárcel, *El Último Netanyahu*, book review, *ABC Madrid*, October 8, 2005, 22. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/cultural/2005/10/08/022.html.

11. Benzion Netanyahu, *Nota de Fietta Jarque*, Madrid, *El País*, October 14, 2000. http://elpais.com/diario/2000/10/14/cultura/971474401_850215.html. "Fernando formally created the Inquisition to dispose of the false Christians among the *conversos*, but in reality in order to reduce the pressure from the growing anti-*converso* movement. He did not want to punish all the *conversos*. Fernando was a great statesman, but of the Machiavellian style so, not surprisingly, does Machiavelli say that he has taken him for the model for his book 'The Prince.' What happens is that even before the Inquisition was created, a racist movement had already begun in Spain. A movement that, however, was not representative of all the Spaniards. It grew slowly and was not significant for the creation of the Inquisition nor for its laws. The Inquisition formally rejected racism. Only after the death of Fernando did the racist influence grow to the point that the Inquisition for the first time initiated laws against all the *conversos*. The fact that they made those laws against the totality of the *conversos* means that they take a racist position. But that was approximately forty years after the Inquisition was created, in 1520, and four years after the death of Fernando. During his era no one would have dared to issue a single law of racist character. He would not have permitted it." Alcalá (this chapter note 13) agrees that Fernando was not racist, but rather that his motive was, in Kamen's terms, an outright act of "Realpolitik."

12. Benzion Netanyahu, *¿Motivos o pretextos? La Razón de la Inquisición*, in *Ponencias Del Simposio Internacional Sobre Inquisición, Nueva York, Abril de 1983*, Á. Alcalá et al., Inquisición Española y Mentalidad Inquisitorial (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), 23–44.

13. A. Alcalá, *Principales innovaciones metodológicas y temáticas sobre los orígenes de la Inquisición en la obra de Benzion Netanyahu. Algunos reparos, Revista de la Inquisición* 7, 1998, 47–80.

14. Ibid., 73.

15. Benzion Netanyahu, *Respuesta al Profesor Domínguez Ortiz, El País*, February 3, 2000. http://elpais.com/diario/2000/02/03/opinion/949532404_850215.html. "Next I indicate the reasons for the differences in the results of both movements. While in Germany racism conquered the power of the State, in Spain it never conquered it. Consequently, while in Germany the State was capable of binding together practically the whole nation in persecuting the Jews, in Spain the *conversos* could benefit from the favor and support of most of the Spanish people that each time in greater number associated with them in economic undertakings and marriage unions so that the *conversos* (several hundreds of thousands) were completely absorbed among the millions of Spaniards. Finally, my analysis ends with the

observation that, differently from Germany, in Spain, ultimately, the racists did not win, but rather most of the *conversos* who sought assimilation with the Spanish people."

16. Alcalá, Principales, 70.

17. Ibid., 79.

Chapter 7

1. Without author, review of the Spanish edition of *Comparar lo incomparable. Alegato a favor de una ciencia histórica comparada* by Marcel Detienne (Barcelona: Ed. Península, 2001.) [There is an English translation of the book, *Comparing the Incomparable*, trans. Janet Loyd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).] *To Compare the Incomparable*, a theoretical pamphlet, as Marcel Detienne himself says, proposes to break any hegemony and to denounce "national" thinking in order to create an authentic "constructive comparativism" between both disciplines. Accordingly, Detienne speaks of "building comparable objects" in the study of cultures, in their reciprocal structures, which implies learning about life open to the world. http://gen pent.b.uib.no/files/2013/03/Marcel-Detienne-Janet-Lloyd-trans-Comparing-the-Incompaarable-Cultural-Memory-in-the-Present-2008.pdf.

2. Stallaert, *La Cuestión Conversa*, 14, 19.

3. Ibid., 13, 15.

4. Eduardo González Calleja, book review of Stallaert's *Ni Una Gota, Bibliografía Histórica, Hispania*, Vol. LXVII, no. 226, May-August, 2007, 735–740. http://hispania.revistas.csic.es/index.php/hispania/article/view/59/59.

5. García Cárcel, *Inquisición y Nazismo*, book review of Stallaert's *Ni Una Gota* in *ABC España*, July 29, 2006. http://hemeroteca.abc.es/nav/Navigate.exe/hemeroteca/madrid/cultural/2006/07/29/019.html.

6. Marc Augé, quoted by Patricio Arana in *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, June 22, 2005. "Indeed, physical anthropology as a science, made a contribution to racist ideologies. The Nazis would measure skulls. However, from another point of view, current physical anthropology, which works with genes, offers an opposite conclusion, by showing that all men are, technically, the same. In evolutionary anthropology there are stages: savage, barbarian, civilized. In this stream, man will at some time, be the same. They are at different times of that evolution but tend to the same end." http://www.lanacion.com.ar/714868-marc-auge-hay-que-amar-la-tecnologia-y-saber-controlarla.

7. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 241.

8. Ibid., 225.

9. Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. James Murphy (A Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook). http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200601.txt.

10. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 226, 227.

11. Todorov, On Human *Diversity*, 96.

12. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 228.

13. Dominick LaCapra, *Los alemanes, el Holocausto y la culpa colectiva. El debate Goldhagen*, ed. Federico Finchelstein (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1999), 22. "On the other hand, this reasoning, which—we insist—is very well established theoretically, designed to show differences with Nazi racism, must also be considered relative, because that racism also, even from the pseudoscientific point of view did not, in some aspects, cease being contradictory. Indeed, socialist national racism, despite its bombastic pronouncements, also incurs many inconsistencies, like maintaining that the Japanese were yellow Aryans, even though this was in response to a political necessity. The fear of contamination and the concept of race which Hitler gives to us, which functioned as an ensemble of confused, inextricably linked and interrelated pseudoscientific records, ritual magic and phantasmagoric deeds, cannot be seen except as pseudoscientific assertions."

14. Heather Pringle, *The Master Plan: Himmler's Scholars and the Holocaust*, dust cover (London: Fourth Estate, 2006).

15. Ibid., 166–67.

16. Ibid., 239.

17. Ibid., 240.

18. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 229.

19. Ibid., 232.

20. Christiane Stallaert, "*La España de la limpieza de sangre. Una interpretación antropológica de una reacción étnica,*" in *El antisemitismo en España*, eds. Álvarez Chillida and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (Madrid: Ediciones de Universidades de Castilla La Mancha, 2007), 116.

21. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*... 232.

22. Ibid., 233.

23. Ibid., 240. In that case Hitler agreed to the Aryanization, claiming "if that man really invented that product we will make him Aryan."

24. Ibid., 239.

25. Sicroff, *Les Controverses*, 183.

26. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 241.

27. Ibid., 242, 243.

28. Kuznitzky, *La Leyenda*, Introduction.

29. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 246, 251, 254.

30. Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. James Murphy (A Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook), 429. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200601.txt.

31. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 255, 263, 272 , 275.

32. Ibid., 276, 277, 281, 282.

33. Kuznitzky, *La Leyenda*, 58. Strictly speaking, from an ethnic point of view, what happened in Spain with the Muslim invasion of the eighth century was that only a few Arabs arrived at the peninsula. What did take place was a process of Islamization of the "intrahistoric" Hispano-Roman society. A comprehensive study verifies that this process explodes in the 11th cen-

tury, following a conversion rate of 80 percent of the indigenous population. Pérez specifically emphasizes this: "It has been calculated that, by the end of the 12th century, 80 percent of the earlier population had gone over to the [pre]dominant religion [referring to Islam]." (J. Pérez, *Los Judíos*, 31). In a somewhat higher number non-Arab individuals integrated the invading Contingent. However, they were not in such significant number as to have had influence from the ethnic demographic point of view, as did the Berbers, who, according to genetic studies, in addition, are ethnically related to the Basques and to the early Iberians. This kinship makes it probable, considering the proximity, that they had entered the Peninsula earlier or, simply, that they are the same peoples who populated the Peninsula and the northern part of the African Continent. (Antonio Piñero Saenz, in *The Jews of Córdoba (X-XII Centuries)*, ed. Jesús Peláez del Rosal, trans. Patricia A. Sneesby (Córdoba, Spain: Ediciones El Almendro, 1987), 9–27.

34. Stanley Payne, *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), citing *Hitler's Table Talk 1941–1944: His Private Conversations*. Cf. 20. Had (Islam) substituted Christianity in Germany, the innate racial superiority of the Germans would have led to them conquering a large part of the world during the Middle Ages.

35. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 384, 387

36. Ibid., 306.

37. Netanyahu, *The Origins*, 1,080–1,081. "As we have shown, the functionaries of the Inquisition, all or most of whom were ardent racists, were bent upon achieving the aim of their movement, which was to ruin the *conversos*. Denied as they were by the Inquisition's own rules and above all, by Spain's royal policy, the right to take measures of mass extermination, they nonetheless believed that, with the means at their disposal, they could destroy the *conversos* by degrees."

38. Ibid., 1,083.

39. Netanyahu. See Chapter 6, note 15.

40. Netanyahu, *The Origins*, 1,083.

41. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 329; Enzo Traverso, *The Origins of Nazi Violence*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: New Press, 2003).

42. Enzo Traverso, *Allemagne nazie et Espagne inquisitoriale. Le comparatisme historique de Christiane Stallaert*, book review of Stallaert's *Ni una gota*, in *La Revue des Livres* no. 4, February 24, 2009. http://www.revuedeslivres.fr/allemagne-nazie-et-espagne-inquisitoriale-le-comparatisme-historique-de-christiane-stallaert-enzo-traverso/.

43. Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. James Murphy (A Project Gutenberg of Australia eBook), 429. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0200601.txt.

44. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 336.

45. Ibid., *Ni una gota*, 337, citing Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), 96.

46. Ibid., 23.

47. Ibid., 60, 63.

48. Ibid., 60.

49. Stallaert, "*1492/1942. Un puente antropológico*" in *Mundo Israelita*, Buenos Aires, September 2, 2013. http://www.mundoisraelita.com.ar/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3084&Itemid=33.

50. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 64.

51. Cf. Stallaert, *La España*, 116.

52. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*,127, 128, 129.

53. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 128.

54. Cf. Ibid., 129.

55. Jaime Contreras y Contreras, "Conversos *y Judaizantes después de 1492: Una relación desigual*," in *Los Judíos de España, historia de una diáspora 1492–1992*, ed. Henri Méchoulan (Madrid: Ed. Trotta, 1993), 60.

56. Cf. Netanyahu, *Toward*, 129.

57. Cf. Ibid., 130–131.

58. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 127.

59. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Ensayo Introductorio, Hablando de conversos*, in, *La Clase Social de los Conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna*, by Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (Granada: Ed. Universidad de Granada, 1991), 16.

60. Kuznitzky, *La Leyenda*, Nota 104, p. 85.

61. Sánchez Albornoz, *Spain*, Vol. II, Figure 133, 873, portrait of Luis Vives. "Of Israeli stock, as some maintain—his image seems to contradict this affirmation."

62. Sánchez Albornoz, *Spain*, 757–58. "Few pages in the history of Spain have caused as many waves of passion as those referring to the contacts between the Spaniards and the Jews. They were so fierce that they still pound against the cliffs of historical truth. No educated Spaniard today feels any aversion whatsoever against any Hebraic people, but Hebraic anger is still directed toward Spain ... I agree unhesitatingly with all praise that can be given to the impetus of thought, the reasoning capacity and the attuned spirituality of the educated minority of the Spanish Hebrews. However, no matter what admiration the spiritual efforts of the Judeo-Hispanic nation inspire in me, I must here leave them aside because they did not influence the formation of the Spanish being. The contribution of the Spanish Jews to the coining of the Spanish character was very different and always negative. What I mean is that it did not transmit qualities, it only provoked reactions. Nothing essential to the psychic makeup of the Hebrew people left an impression among the Spaniards."

63. Kuznitzky, *La leyenda*, 89.

64. Alicia Dujovne Ortiz, *La Nación*, Buenos Aires, April 22, 2005. http://www.lanacion.com.ar/698384-campeonato-de-sufrimientos.

65. Sánchez Albornoz, *Spain*, 758. "Neither

can I belittle the importance of the Hispanic Jews in their role as intermediaries between the Oriental and Occidental cultures on the Peninsula. Their cultural superiority over all the other Hebraic communities in Medieval Europe is undeniable, as is their effect on modern culture through grandchildren of Spanish Jews like Montaigne and Spinoza and some of the great Hispanic conversos."

Chapter 8

1. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 349.
2. Ibid., 355.
3. Ibid., 367. Those lists appeared for the first time in the United States in 1946, and the investigation based on them showed that 35 percent of the Mallorcans were "contaminated with Jewish blood."
4. Lleonard Muntaner Mariano, "*Breve historia de los Chuetas, antijudaísmo y antisemitismo en la Isla de Majorca*," in "*Raíces Chuetas, alas judías,*" by Miquel Segura Aguiló (Palma de Majorca: Ed. Lleonard Muntaner, 2009), 5.
5. Mario Saban, Presentation of *Arrels xuetes, ales jueves*, by Miquel Segura Aguiló. Tarbut, amigos de la cultura hebrea.
6. David Mandel, "Los chuetas de Majorca"; in *Mi Enfoque* (Israel), Nbr. 309, February 16, 2010. http://www.mandeldavid.com/MiEnfoque/Articulos/Mi_Enfoque_+309_Febrero_16+2010.aspx#Los_chuetas_de_Mallorca.
7. Stallaert, *Ni una gota,* 368.
8. Ramiro de Maeztu, *La Hispanidad en crisis, Acción Española*, Vol. IV, no. 42, (1933), 337. http://www.filosofia.org/hem/193/acc/e22337.htm.
9. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 370.
10. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 331.
11. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 404.
12. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 178, cites Alain Finkielkraut, *The Imaginary Jew*, translated by Kevin O'Neil and David Suchoff (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 61–72.
13. A slightly different text appears in Henry Hart Millman, *The History of the Jews: From the Earliest Period Down to Modern Times*, Vol. 3, 5th ed. (London: John Murray, 1883), 320.
14. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 47. ["Venerated until very recently." Removed post–Vatican II because of lack of historical proof that the event happened.]
15. Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 359.
16. Pérez, Joseph, *Los Judíos en España* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2005), 296.
17. Payne, *Franco*, 216.
18. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 252.
19. Artícle published in Catalán in the weekly *El Temps*, May 13, 2002.
20. Payne, *Franco*, 214.
21. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 398.
22. Payne, *Franco*, 214.
23. Paul Preston, *Franco: A Biography* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 456.
24. L. Astrana Marin, quoted in Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 313.
25. Payne, *Franco*, 214–215.
26. Ibid., 213.
27. Emil Ludwig, *Talks with Mussolini*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (Boston: Little, Brown, 1933), 69–70.
28. Olindo De Napoli, *El problema filosófico del racismo fascista desde la perspectiva de la cultura jurídica. Frónesis*, Dec 2008, vol. 15, no. 3, p.119–147. ISSN 1315–6268. http://www.scielo.org.ve/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1315-62682008000300008&lng=es&nrm=iso.
29. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 216.
30. Rother, *Franco y el Holocausto* (Madrid: Ed. Marcial Pons, 2005), 53.
31. Ibid., 72.
32. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo*, 399.
33. Ibid., 368.
34. Ibid., 269.
35. Kuznitzky, "*Vascos y judíos*"; *Toldot*, Journal of the Asociación de Genealogía Judía de la Argentina, Number 24 (November 2004): 18.
36. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 271.
37. Ibid., 351.
38. Ibid., 398.
39. Pérez, *Los Judíos*, 331.
40. Ibid., 335.
41. Ibid., 319.
42. Ibid., 335.
43. Payne, *Franco*, 233.
44. Eduardo Martín de Pozuelo, *La Vanguardia*, June 4, 2008. The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, disconcerted by the changing Spanish attitude with regard to the Jews, requested from its embassy in Madrid a report to clarify the nature of the Jewish influence in our country. *La Vanguardia* found two 1942 studies in the National Archives of the United Kingdom that reveal how the Nazis viewed Franco's Spain in relation to the Jews. http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/preview/2008/06/04/pagina-8/71303586/pdf.html?search=del%20Pozuelo.
45. Cited by Stallaert, *Ni una gota*, 370–371.
46. Alfonso Lazo, *La Iglesia, la Falange y el Fascismo: Un Estudio Sobre la Prensa Española de Posguerra* (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla, 1995), 180.

47. Ibid., 192.
48. Ibid., 191.
49. Bauman, *Modernity*, 77.
50. Rother, *Franco*, 62.
51. Lazo, *La Iglesia*, 171. "From the heart we wish"—*Ecclesia* states, noting the inclusión (of the book) in the Index since 1934—"that that edition not be confirmed."
52. Ibid., 209.
53. Ibid., 209–210. In order to confirm the view that Catholicism was to adopt toward the *conversos*, Lazo also calls attention to the book of Fr. Gar-Mar that justified the cruel persecutions against the Jews for their tendency to prevarication, but in which he predicts that one day the Jewish people will convert to Christianity and will stop being persecuted because they will no longer be Jewish.
54. Álvarez Chillida, *La España*, in Izquierdo Benito, Joan Piere Tous, *El Antisemitismo* (2007), 130.
55. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 379–380.
56. Ibid., 151.

Chapter 9

1. Isidro González, *Los Judíos y la Guerra Civil Española* (Madrid: Hebraica ediciones, 2009), 15.
2. Ibid., 201.
3. Payne, *Franco*, 213.
4. Isidro González, *Los Judíos*, 97.
5. Ibid., 125.
6. Ibid., 97.
7. Ibid., 117.
8. Ibid., 118–121.
9. Ibid., 121–126.
10. Ibid., 13.
11. Ibid., 14–16.
12. Ibid., 235.
13. Ibid., 206.
14. Álvarez Chillida, *El antisemitismo* (2002), 351–352.
15. Isidro González, *Los Judíos*, 43, 38.
16. Ibid., 66, 46, 47.
17. Ibid., 126.
18. Ibid., 59.
19. Xavier Casals, interview of Isidro González: "The Jews from North Africa helped Franco." In addition, in that interview he expressed the following opinion: "It was directed to the outside world, when the persecutions of the Jews began in Germany in 1933 and he defended their cause at the League of Nations. But when the Jews, citing those Republican gestures, sought to take refuge in Spain, the authorities there put forth difficulties, always alluding to economic motives for impeding their absorption, such as unemployment or the economic crisis. This did not occur when a minority of elite Jewish individuals sought entrance: then it was encouraged for foreign propaganda, as was the case of the physicist Albert Einstein or of the painter Marc Chagall. To summarize, it was a Manichean (dualistic) policy influenced no doubt by the internal problems that existed here. During the Civil War the Jewish propaganda was very intense in favor of the Republican side and many French, British and North American Jewish organizations collaborated openly with it. However, the Republican communication media mentioned this reality very little. Likewise, one can perceive in them certain anti-Semitic overtones and even today it is an enigma as to why the Republican faction kept silent about this assistance." http://xaviercasals.wordpress.com/2010/04/25/entrevista-a-isidro-gonzalez-los-judios-del-norte-de-africa-apoyaron-a-franco/.
20. Kuznitzky, *La leyenda*, 104.
21. Ricardo García Cárcel, *La Leyenda Negra. Historia y Opinión* (Madrid: Ed. Alianza, 1998), 88.
22. Antonio Marquina and Gloria Inés Ospina, *España y los judíos en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Ed. Espasa Calpe, 1987), 131.
23. Xavier Casals, interview of Isidro González (endnote 19, this chapter).
24. Isidro González, *Los Judíos*,172, 173; Arno Lustiger, *¡Shalom Libertad!; judíos en la guerra civil española*, trans. Pedro Gálvez (Barcelona: Flor del Viento Ediciones, 2001), 37–47.
25. Ibid., 369.
26. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 366.
27. Lustiger, see note 25 this chapter.
28. Isidro González, *Los Judíos*, 171.
29. Ibid., 366.
30. Ibid., 175.
31. Lucas González, Jerónimo Boragina, Gustavo Dorado, and Ernesto Sommaro, *Voluntarios argentinos en la Guerra Civil Española* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del CCC 2008. La revista del CCC, Number 4, September/December 2008. Apendix: Listado voluntarios de Argentina en la Guerra Civil Española. Updated 2009.
32. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 366.
33. Isidro González, *Los Judíos*, 274.
34. Ibid., 179.
35. Payne, *Franco*, 302, note 15.

Chapter 10

1. Payne, *Franco*, 209.
2. Luis Suárez Fernández, *Francisco Franco y su tiempo*, Vol. III (Madrid: Editorial, Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, 1984), 380–383.
3. Rother, *Franco*, 74.

4. Payne, *Franco*, 214–215; Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 402–403; Jorge M. Reverte, *El País Madrid*, June 20, 2010. These were the instructions: "The persons who are the object of the measure that I entrust to you must be primarily those of Spanish origin designated with the name Sephardic, since by their adaptation to the environment and their similarity to our temperament they possess greater ability to hide their origin and even to pass unperceived without any possibility of restricting the scope of their easy, disruptive dealings," says the circular. http://elpais.com/diario/2010/06/20/domingo/1277005953_850215.html.

5. Payne, *Franco*, 216.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 217.

8. Ibid., 220.

9. Rother, *Franco*, 63.

10. Ibid., 66.

11. Ibid., 69.

12. Ibid., 378.

13. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 428.

14. Rother, *Franco*, 156.

15. Ibid., 159.

16. Ibid., 396, citing Haim Avni, *Spain, the Jews and Franco*, trans. Emanuel Shimoni (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 5742/1982), 197.

17. Marquina and Ospina, *España y los Judíos*, 223.

18. Pérez, *Los Judios*, 317.

19. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 411.

20. Payne, *Franco*, 219–220.

21. Ibid., 223.

22. Eduardo Martín de Pozuelo, *La Vanguardia*, June 8, 2008. "The Greek city of Salonica keeps in its streets the difficult history of the Spanish Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs. Until World War II Salonica was the model destination city for Jewish immigration, but especially for the Sephardim whose adventure is inextricably linked to this second largest city of Greece. A city where for years, ancient Spanish was spoken, and upon which the Nazis applied to the fullest their anti–Semitic genocide. Only the memorable actions of Sebastian Romero Radigales, Consul General of Spain in Athens between 1944 and 1945, moderated the massacre thanks to his tenacity that permitted him to save several hundreds of Sephardims from extermination. However, more than 45,000 did not have the same luck. It is a harsh history that starts in March of 1943, when the Germans decided to carry out the deportation of the 48,000 Sephardim who were living in Salonica to the concentration (and extermination) camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. As we have described in other chapters of this series, the policy of the Franco government with respect to the Spanish Jews was so passive that it disconcerted the Germans, who had assumed that, faced with the threat of the killing of the Sephardim of Salonica, Spain would take charge of them. But it was not to be thus. Only some 500 to 600 Sephardim were saved thanks to Romero Radigales' humanity. The Nazi regime acknowledged the lack of solidarity toward the Sephardim in dozens of documents. Among them is the letter that we reproduce here. It concerns an encrypted secret telegram, sent on July 26, 1943, from Greece to Berlin by the Chargé for the Reich in Athens, Eberhard Von Thadden, charged at that time with implementing the deportations of the Jews. 'The Spanish government was informed in April that all the Jews should leave Salonica for reasons of police security. Despite serious doubts regarding the issuance of exit visas for some 600 Jews, repatriation to the Spanish government was promised for them. A little before the deadline's expiration, the Spanish embassy asked for an extension. After the expiration of the second deadline, the same embassy no longer sought any further extensions. By means of suggestions, the Spanish government gave to understand that it is not interested in repatriation. Members of the Spanish Embassy confirmed this explicitly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The latter was not expected to intervene with the Spanish Government.... Another extension in the solution to the Jewish question in Salonica is unacceptable. The Spanish Jews were sent for the time being to transit camps in the Reich. The local Spanish embassy is informed. Please inform the Spanish official in charge in Athens. End of the order from Athens.'" http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/es/prensa/2008-prensa/revelaciones-holocausto-15/.

23. Payne, *Franco*, 225.

24. Ibid., 229.

25. Ibid., 232.

26. Ibid., 232–233.

27. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 407, citing Haim Avni in Actas del Congreso Internacional *"Los Judios en la Historia de España,"* in *Los Judios y Franco en 1949: Un desencuentro mistificado*, edited by Francisco Ruiz Gómez and Manuel Espadas Burgos (Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1987), 393–416.

28. Pedro Núñez Díaz, *Foro Segunda Guerra Mundial*, May 8, 2006, *Historia de un soldado "Judío" en la División Azul*, cited by Payne, *Franco*, 264. I transcribe the greater part of this article, because it reveals like few others the enormous distance existing between the Spanish anti–Jewish hatred contemporary with that of the Nazi. I recommend the reading of this article in its entire length, since in it are combined the comparable historical events that we have addressed and that have been used to compare Francoism's post–Inquisitional Spain with Nazi Germany.

Here, two political systems intersect with enough similarities, especially concerning anti-Jewish hatred. This story deals with Erich Rose, a German Jewish soldier, supporter of National Socialism, expelled from the ranks at the beginning of Nazism because of his Jewish ancestry, and who, however, found haven in Spain to the point that he joined the "Legión Azul" and fought on the Russian front as a German ally arriving to lead (incredibly!) a Waffen SS group. He fell under Soviet fire, while his mother was on her way to Auschwitz. Among other peculiarities attempts were unsuccessfully made, since the case got to Hitler, to get a certificate of Aryanization. In summary, he achieved in Spain what was denied to him in Germany despite his mentioned political affinity, which demonstrated the important differences existing between both regimes in the racial context. www.forosegundaguerra.com/viewtopic.php?t=2137.

29. Eduardo Martín de Pozuelo, *"El héroe olvidado,"* in *Magazine, La Vanguardia,* January 3, 2010, expresses his regret for the historical oblivion of Julio Palencia's achievement during World War II: "Very few people in Spain and only some in Israel and Argentina are able to associate the name of Julio Palencia with one of the most humanitarian acts of the Second World War ... an act for which the Raoul Wallenberg Foundation has just presented to the Yad Vashem, the official Israeli institution in memory of victims of the Holocaust, a proposal to bestow upon Julio Palencia the universal recognition of Just among the Nations. Julio Palencia, forgotten in Spain but not in Israel, inserted himself between the Nazis and his superiors in Franco's government to save the lives of 600 Jews whose destiny was the gas chamber. He saved the lives of hundreds of people persecuted by the Nazis and risked his own on adopting the children of a Sephardic Jew executed in a prison cell. He performed his duties with a physical and moral courage that went beyond what these duties demanded, which is only one form of emphasizing the feat of a great human being not content with providing safe conducts." http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/es/novedades/julio-palencia-heroe-olvidado/.

30. Rother, *Franco*, 413.

31. Marquina and Ospina, *España*, 223.

32. Bennassar, *Los Españoles*, 151, 150, 153.

33. Rother, *Franco*, 94.

34. Payne, *Franco*, 212.

35. Rother, *Franco,* 57, (40–44).

36. Ibid., 388.

37. Avni, *Spain*, 72.

38. Rother, *Franco*, 77, 62.

39. Ibid., 285.

40. Ibid., 209, 211.

41. Ibid., 402.

42. Ibid., 406.

43. Álvarez Chillida, *El Antisemitismo* (2002), 412, 413.

44. Rother, *Franco,* 408–9.

45. Ibid., 410.

46. Ibid.

Conclusion

1. Max Hering Torres, *La limpieza de sangre: Problemas de interpretación: Acercamientos históricos y metodológicos, Historia crítica,* Number 45: 49, 51. http://historiacritica.uniandes.edu.co/view.php/723/index.php?id=723.

2. Manuel Reyes Mate, *Por los campos de exterminio* (Madrid: Ed. Antrophos, 2003), 51. Although authors like Todorov or Transfaglia, for different historiographical reasons, as well as Stallaert, question the uniqueness of the Holocaust, Reyes Mate considers this question with impeccable reasoning that leads to a conclusion that is equally so. For the Spanish philosopher the problem must be addressed from three levels: the moral, the historical, and the epistemological. When discussing uniqueness, a historical reading ensues, leading to the meaning that Auschwitz, which symbolizes the Holocaust, is the most perverse evil imaginable. On the other hand, when he approaches it at the moral level, he believes that to construct a hierarchy of evil is unacceptable, because one is entering a dangerous path, entering into a competitive race between victims, something which is macabre, useless, and profoundly unjust, since it is done behind the backs or in the name of the victims but they are not present. As it is on the historical level on which the majority of the analyses circulate, what Reyes Mate does is to consider Auschwitz as having original characteristics that distinguish it from other horrors of history, that being the almost general consensus regarding its historical uniqueness. For this purpose he appeals to a number of reasons, among which we can mention the following: the Jewish genocide is not a means but an end because they were not killed for political reasons (e.g., Armenian or Ukrainian genocides), nor as the result of an economic exploitation (because most Jews were not acquainted with the "concentration camp world" since they would die on the very day of their arrival) but because of the fact of having been born Jewish. The Nazis decided "who has the right to live on earth as well as the place and time of his extermination."

3. Traverso, *The Origins*, 10.

4. David Bankier, *Revista del Museo del Holocausto de Buenos Aires; Nuestra Memoria,* no. 20 (October 2002): 16. http://www.museodelholocausto.org.ar/revista_nuestra_memoria3.asp.

5. Carlos López, David Seiz, and Javier Gurpegui, *Para una Filosofía de la memoria. Entrevista al profesor Reyes Mate, Fedicaria*

Asturias, Madrid y Aragón, 114. http://www.fedicaria.org/concSocial/entrevistas/C12_Reyes_Mate.pdf.

6. Álvarez Chillida, *El Judaísmo en Iberoamérica. Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de las Religiones* 06 (Madrid: Ed. Trotta, 2007), 197–220.

7. Ibid.

8. Carlos Carrete Parrondo and José Manuel Pérez, *Los judíos en la España contemporánea: Historia y visiones, 1898–1998* (Madrid: Ed. Universidad Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), VIII, 82.

9. Moradiellos, personal communication.

10. Philippe Burrin, *Nazi Anti-Semitism, from Prejudice to the Holocaust, "Resentment and apocalypse, Why Germany,"* trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: New Press, 2005), 5.

11. Bauman, *Modernity*, 31.

12. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 66.

13. Traverso, *The Origins*, 2.

14. Álvarez Chillida, *El Judaismo*, 10.

15. Bauman, *Modernity*, 30.

16. Burrin, *Nazi Anti-Semitism*, 23.

17. David M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 4.

18. Netanyahu, *Origins*, 928.

19. Benzion Netanyahu, *The Marranos of Spain, from the Late 14th to the Early 16th century, According to Contemporary Hebrew Sources*, 3rd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 208.

20. Tomás Várnaggi, review of *La cuestión judía en Hungría y el sabor del brillo del sol*, a movie by István Szabó; in *Nuestra Memoria* no. 33: 249. http://www.museodelholocausto.org.ar/files/publicaciones/nuestra_memoria_33.pdf.

21. Álvarez Chillida, personal communication, September 13, 2011. *Porque, probablemente, las "leyes" que regulan los comportamientos étnicos de los seres humanos funcionen de manera similar en contextos temporales y espaciales muy diferentes.*

22. Burrín, *Nazi Anti-Semitism*, 22.

23. Enrique Moradiellos, *La Semilla de la Barbarie: Antisemitismo y Holocausto* (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 2009), 29.

24. Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (Mentor: New York, 1994), 323–327.

25. Carlota Jackisch, *El nazismo y los refugiados alemanes en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ed. De Belgrano,1997), 31. Transcribes a paragraph from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in which not only is the purpose revealed, but also that no limits were imposed: "At the beginning of the War, or even during the War, if twelve or fifteen thousand of these Jews who were corrupting the nation had been forced to submit to poison-gas, just as hundreds of thousands of our best German workers from every social stratum and from every trade and calling had to face it in the field, th lions of sacrifices made at the front = have been in vain. On the contrary= thousand of these malefactors had b= nated in proper time probably the live= lion decent men, who would be o= Germany in the future, might have be= Translation from http://gutenber= books02/0200601.txt.

26. Héctor Schmucler, *En la ban el mal, Pensamiento de los Confines* 8 (J Córdoba.

27. Burrin, *Nazi Anti-Semitism*,

28. Ibid., 6.

29. Ibid., 62.

30. Bauman, *Modernity*, 32.

31. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–19* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 57C

32. Ibid., Cf. 571.

33. Ibid., 572.

34. Ibid.

35. Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Ene Propaganda during World War II and caust* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Ha versity Press, Paperback Edition, 2008

36. Burrin, *Nazi Anti-Semiti* "Modern anti-Semitism is usually t though it were all of a piece. At best a d between its moderate and radical form but with no indication if this is a matt tent or intensity."

37. Traverso., *The Origins*, 4.

38. Ibid., 146.

39. Ibid., 19.

40. Ibid., 74. Although he men "Nazism did not regard the Jews as a savage, primitive people or one that was of surviving the onward march of progr sidered them not as an archaic elemen lingered on the path of civilization but tion's enemy."

41. Ibid., 7–8.

42. Ibid., 152–153.

43. Hering Torres, personal co tion. *Historias de raza y nación en amer* 56–57. When talking about "race" th this historical process one sees a cons relentlessly incorporates a marginalizi whose feature of exclusion ends being mon and central feature. In this way it to speak of functional historical conti at no time of causal links. Concisel courses on "race" embody unequal namely, they represent different for own being (discontinuity), but always the same goal: exclusion (continuity).

44. Hannah Arendt, *The Origin tarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace 1966), 102, note 45.

45. Burrin, *Nazi Antisemitism*,

46. David I. Kertzer, *The Popes*

Jews (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 283–285.

47. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 83.

48. Ibid., 163.

49. Robert A. Maryks, *Pouring Jewish Water into Fascist Wine* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 31–36 [Added in translation].

50. Ruggero Tarade and Barbara Raggi, *La segregazione amichevole* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 2000) 151–153 [Added in translation].

51. Maryks, *The Jesuit Tacchi Venturi and the Rescue of the Jews* in, *The tragic couple: Encounters Between Jews and Jesuits*, James Bernauer and Robert A. Maryks Eds. (Boston: Brill, 2014) 293. [Added in translation].

52. Kertzer, *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Italy* (New York: Random House, 2014) 289–301 [Added in translation]; Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI*, translated by Steven Rendall (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997) as reported in *Washington Post*. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/hiddenencyclicalofpiusxi.htm [Added in translation].

53. Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning*, 155.

54. León Poliakov, *La Causalidad Diabólica* (Barcelona: Ed. Muchnik, 2002), 62.

55. Arendt, *Origins*, 102, note 44.

56. Ibid., 87.

57. Richard J. Bernstein, *Radical Evil: A Philosophical Interrogation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 235.

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Index

Acquaviva (Aquaviva), Claudio: on admission to the Jesuit Order 177*n*11; establishment of cleanliness of blood 61; memorandum from Ribadeneira 66

Agamben, Giorgio: on anachronism 21

Alcalá, Ángel: on Alonso de Espina 77, 79; on King Fernando of Aragon 178*n*11; on Netanyahu's *Origins of the Inquisition* 77–81; on Ribadeneira (Riva de Neyra) 176*n*4

Alfonso VI (of León and Castile): places Jews in high positions 40

Alfonso VII (of León and Castile): *Fuero* of Toledo 40, 41

Alfonso X (of Castile): *Fuero Real, Partidas* 41

Algemeen Handesblad 134

Aljamas 5, 24

Alicante: anti-*converso* actions 41; attempt to stop anti-converso actions *Las Partidas* 79

Allies (Word War II) 143; assurances/statements given to 8, 145, 147, 152; pressures on Franco 139, 144, 146; seen as not defending Jewish causes 129; took care of refugees interned in Spain 147

Almohads 37; conversion forced by 39

Alonso de Espina (Espina, Alonso/Alfonso de) 74, 110; religious basis for opinions/contempt for Judeo-conversos 53; representative of anti-*converso* movement 77; suggested genocidal aspects of statements 77; Talmud as basis for opinions 53, 176*n*13

Álvarez Chillida, Gonzalo 9, 75, 108, 111, 147, 148, 156, 161, 165; on Astrana Marín 120; Castile first anti-converso action 174*n*22; on Catalan philo-Semitism 115; cited by Pérez 121, 122; comparison of anti-Semitism of modernity with earlier 51; equating emancipated Jews with *conversos* 157; Franco "savior of the Jews" 142, 147, 153; Franco's attitude change 121: Franco's regime; maintaining Catholic unity 153; Franco's Sephardophilia/Sephardism 115, 120; on Hitler's plans for Spain 121; on human behavior 161, 185*n*21; on de Maetzu 110; on Menéndez y Pelayo 103; on Netanyahu 52; opinion on modern anti-Semitism 13; on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* 19; on Quevedo 20; on Sanz Briz 144; science as a pretext for discrimination 158; socio-centric basis for racist attitude 118; on 13th Domwroski Polish Brigade 136; white racism/Aryan antiracism of traditional authors of the right 125

American Jewish Yearbook 150

anti-Judaism 9, 11, 54, 111, 112; Arendt differentiates anti-Semitism from anti-Judaism in the Jesuit order 167; Franco's actions neither anti-Judaism nor anti-Semitism 119; Herring Torres on "social anti-Judaism" 176*n*18; religious anti-Judaism and modern anti-Semitism on the path of the causality of the Holocaust 158

anti-Semitism 9–14, 51, 80, 112, 121, 159–62, 166, 170, 185*n*36; Álvarez Chillida, Finkielkraut, Pérez on 13, 111; and the Holocaust 17, 156, 157; Bauman emancipation and 158; secularity of 39; substituting emotional anti-Semitism (*Antisemitismus des Gefühls*) for rational anti-Semitism (*Antisemitismus des Vernunft*) 82; traits ascribed to Jews in 60, 128; *see also* Burrin, Philippe; German anti-Semitism

Arama, Isaac: prayer 160
Aranzadi, Juan 56
Archivos Judaicos 140, 183*n*4
Arendt, Hannah 15, 51, 91, 96, 97, 170; on conditions that lead to the Holocaust 96; on Eichmann 97; on Jesuit anti–Semitism 167; 19th century anti–Semitism best studied in France 166; reiterated by Hertzel 160
Aryan Christ 91, 92
Ashkenazi Jews: differentiation from Sephardic 113, 115, 135; in the Spanish civil war 14, 127; Franco's views of 8, 97, 127
Astrana Marín, Luis 117, 120
Augé, Marc 12, 86, 89; on anthropology 179*n*6
Avni, Haim 147; on Franco's regime attitude towards the Jews 152; number of Jews crossing Spanish border during World War II 144; Spain's relations with Jewish organizations 143; on Spaniard's attitude towards refugees 148

Badoglio, Pietro 168
Baer, Yitzhak 8, 69, 15; on inquisitorial methods 24, 25
Balkans: Jews from 127, 141
Balmes 125
Barcelona 138
Bárcenas, Juan de 147
Baroja, Pío: equates Catalans with Jews 115
Basque 12, 34, 60, 115, 138, 175*n*15; expulsion of conversos 157; *foralismo* 56; genetic origins of 120, 179*n*33
Bataillon, Marcel 58, 59, 66, 67
Bauman, Zigmunt 17, 57, 124, 163, 164, 170, 173*n*17; Allo-Semitism 13; anti–Semitism adaptation of 21; causes for the development of anti–Semitism 158–160
Bennassar, Bartolomé 51, 149
Berbers: autochthonous Moroccan Jews, proselytized Berbers 120; Basques related to 120; of Nordic descent according to Hitler 95; as part of a Libyan-Iberian race 120
Berlin, Isaiah *see* Carr, Edward H.
Berman, Gregorio 137
Bernstein, Richard J. 171
Black Legend (Semitizing) 8, 64, 177*n*6; defined 7; impact of on Spanish honor 63, 100; Jesuit relationship to 66, 67, 68; Sacchini relationship to 66; Sánchez Albornoz on promulgators of 38, 135
Bloch, Marc 19; on anachronism and comparative history 18
blood 20, 22, 29, 33, 60, 118, 123; on biologization of anti–Semitism" 164; on change in quality (Aryanization) 85, 90–91, 179*n*23; cleanliness of (purity of, *limpieza*) 7, 8, 11, 12, 21, 22, 24, 31–34, 36, 44, 46–52, 54–56, 58–69, 98, 125, 168, 169; Jewish (Hebrew) blood 65, 66, 67, 90, 92, 93, 102, 107, 117, 120, 134, 178*n*6, 181*n*3; purported Jewish origins of "cleanliness of blood" 9, 31–32, 33; relating to lineage genealogy 118
Blue Division (Legión Azul): attitude of members towards systematic liquidation of Jews 144, 148; protection of Jewish civilians 148; Rose, Erich German-Jewish member of 183*n*28
Borja, Francisco de *see* San Francisco de Borja
Borja Medina, Francisco: on Portuguese aversion to New Christians 177*n*5
Botwin Company 133; *see also* Civil War, Spanish
Budapest 142, 146
Bunge, Mario 21
Burrin, Philippe: on anti–Semitism of general German population 163; implicates Christianity and modernity in genocide of Jews 158, 164; on modern anti–Semitism 185*n*36; radical anti–Semitism and Nazism 162, 167; relates anti–Semitism to nationalism 159, 161

capitulations: definition of 151; effect of abolition of 151
Carmona *see* Alicante
Caro Baroja, Julio 32, 75; on German anti–Semitism 81; taxonomy of varied converso beliefs 178*n*7
Carr, Edward H.: disagreement with Isaiah Berlin 18
caste *see* casticism
casticism 9, 20, 83, 85, 86, 88, 95, 96, 97, 99, 102, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 111, 119, 125, 159, 170; and Catholicism 114; and Chuetas 105; comparing Nazism with casticist Spain 88–91; and imperialism 96; Stallaert on casticism and Nazism 51, 98, 101, 118; Todorof on Basque foralismo and casticism 56; *see also* Arendt, Hanna; Stallaert, Christiane
Castile 34, 37, 115; civil war 27, 40; first major anti *converso* action in 174*n*22; Jewish community of 27, 40; Jews and repopulation of 38; laws regarding inquisitions (*pesquisa)* 24; *see also* Catholic Kings; Pichón, Joseph; Pulgar, Fernando de
Castro, Américo 9, 23, 33, 38, 66–67, 100, 105; on Biblical Israel 32–34; idea on origin of the Inquisition 24, 30; ideas on the cleanliness of blood 31–32; Netanyahu on Castro's ideas 33–36, 38; Sánchez Albornoz on Castro's ideas 102–103
Catalán 37, 38, 108; surnames in Majorca 106; as synonym for Jew 115

Catholic Church 168; attitude following mass conversions 42; essential component of Francoist regime 123; Inquisition of the 25; Netanyahu on 80
Catholic kings 77, 97, 121, 124, 128, 134; *see also* Ferdinand of Aragon; Isabel of Castile
Chuetas 13, 58, 109, 111, 124; in the Falange 119; and the Inquisition 106–107; Nazi plan to exterminate 108; Stallaert on Nazism, casticism and 105
Civil War, Spanish 8, 13, 116, 148; and the Holocaust 125; Jewish participation/sympathy during 127, 129, 131, 132, 136, 138, 173*n*12; Jews in International Brigades 14, 127, 135–136; *see* also Levy, Algranati; propaganda, during the Spanish Civil War; Stern, Luís
Civiltà Cattolica 168; anti-Semitic propaganda and 169; attacks Hitlerian anti-Semitism 170
"cleanliness of blood" (purity, *limpieza*) *see* blood
colonial racism/massacres 96, 165
Communism 116, 128, 129, 132, 135, 136, 137, 149; Ashkenazi seen as spreaders of 8, 115; non-support by some Jewish groups for 131; North African Jews and 132, 133
Contreras y Contreras, Jaime 101; disagreement with Netanyahu 76
conversions: forced 39, 42, 106, 175*n*29; massive 7, 20, 23, 37, 39, 40, 55, 70, 106, 159; motivation for 59–60
converso: discrimination against 12, 17, 23, 33, 36, 37, 39, 42–43, 99
Corbin, Alain .20
Córdoba (Argentina) 137
Córdoba (Spain) *see* Alicante
Corriere della Sera (Milan) 136
Council of Beziers: Inquisitorial process established 25

Decree 52 ("cleanliness of blood" in the Jesuit Order): abrogation of 62, 68, 166, 177*n*17; racist without mitigation 67; *see also* Semiticizing Black legend
De Napoli, Olindo 118; citizenship, Spanish 136; offer of to Sephardim 14, 127, 150, 151, 152, 173*n*13; protection from Nazi persecution because of 141, 151, 152
Detienne, Marcel: Stallaert's use of methodology 83, 96, 179*n*1
Dimont, Max I.: on the crime of being Jewish 162
Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio 46, 52, 78, 166; on *conversos* 78, 89; and *Letter from the Jews of Constantinople* 112; objecting to Netanyahu's comparisons 74, 75, 77; and parallelism 19; on preserving prestige of the Jesuits 67–68; response by Netanyahu to objections 178*n*15
Dominicans: as originators of inquisitorial process 25, 30; proselytism by 38–39; *see also* Council of Béziers; Eymeric
Domwroski Polish Brigade (13th) 136
Doussinague, José María 152; *see also* propaganda, to different audiences
Dreyfus case 167

Ecclesia: rejecting racism 124; *see also* Rosenberg, Alfred
Edelman, Fanny 137
Einstein, Albert: invitation to 131; supporting the Republic 134
Encyclopedia Judaica 151
Enrique Don 27
Escudero, José Antonio: disputes Netanyahu 74, 75; refuted by Alcalá 81; *see also El País*; *Revista de la Inquisición*
European (central) anti-Semitism *see* anti-Semitism, modern
Eymeric, Nicolas 29–30
Ezra: justification for "cleanliness of blood 31, 34, 110

Falange 8, 118, 132; anti-Semitism in 118; not racist 118–119, 123, 124; prepares list of Majorcan Chuetas for expulsion 107; *see also* Primo de Rivera, Antonio; Redondo, Onésimo
Farinacci, Roberto: on the Jesuit Order as teacher on the Jewish question 167–168; *see also Civiltà Cattolica*
Fascism (regime): Italian (Mussolini) 2, 8, 117–119, 146, 156, 168, 169; Nazi (German) 8; and racism 167; Spanish (Falangism) 8, 123
Feinmann, José Pablo 21
Felice, Renzo De 117
Ferdinand, King of Aragon 24, 44; *see also* Catholic kings
Fernández Almuzara, Eugenio 58–59; *see also* Ford, Henry
Ferrer, Vicente: opposed to forced coversions 175*n*29
Finkielkraut, Alain 13, 111
Ford, Henry, 58–59
Forteza I Pynia, Miquel 106, 107
France (French) 25, 48, 52, 87, 117, 128, 145, 168, anti-Semitism in 20, 111, 159, 166; diplomatic protection for Jews in France 143, 149, 151; support for the Republican side 182; treatment of refugees crossing border from 144, 147, 148; Vichy 119, 156
Franco, Francisco 8, 9, 13, 14, 96, 104, 116, 121, 122, 123, 127, 128, 131, 133, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144; and anti-Semitism 129, 134,

140, 141; concerns about Hitlerian (Nazi) racism 123–124, 127–128, 130; and philo-Sephardism 113, 115, 119, 120, 141; and race 116, 140; "savior of the Jews," Legend creation, 143, 145–149, 151–155; on tolerance of the Jews 130; *see also* Holocaust, Franco and Franco Bahamonde, Nicolás (brother of Francisco) 147
Franco y Salgado, Nicolás (father of Francisco) 116
Francoist Regime/Francoism 8, 13, 107, 115, 117, 126, 128, 149, 150, 154, 170; and apocryphal letters 111–112; propaganda by 136; and racism 119, 123; and Sephardim 114, 142; and state anti-Semitism 156
Freheits-Kampfer (paper of the Jewish Botwin Company during the Spanish Civil War) 134
Fuero of Toledo (*Sentencia Estatuto* of Toledo) 40, 41, 70, 79; comparison with Nuremberg Laws appears reasonable 156; as setting a racial principle 44; *see also* Alfonso VII
Fuero Real 41; *see also* Alfonso X

García Carcél, Ricardo, 54, 176*n*15; mentioned by Netanyahu 100; on Netanyahu's views 77, 81; on Spanishness 135; on Stallaert's views 82, 85, 86
García de Zapata, Fray *see* Hieromonite (La Sisla)
García Figueras Tomas *see* Morocco
García Iglesias, Luis *see* Perez
German anti-Semitism (popular racism) 70, 81, 167, 168, 169; compared with Italian 118; compared with Nazi racism 43, 71, 102, 104, 109, 142, 156, 163–164, 169, 170, 183*n*28; compared with Spanish 8, 9, 10, 18, 34, 47, 51, 70–74, 75, 79, 80, 82–84, 90, 91, 95, 98, 111, 117, 123, 125, 169, 178–79*n*15, 181*n*44; *see also* Netanyahu
Germanic model *see* Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim
Germany 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 22, 31, 39, 86, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 97, 99, 105, 113, 118, 130, 134, 136, 137, 140, 146, 157, 159, 180*n*34; and Jews in the controlled territories 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 152, 153, 183*n*22
Gimenez Caballero, Ernesto: philo-Sephardim 114, 119; racism of 125; on Semitism 115, 116
Ginio, Alisa, 55
Gitlitz, David M.: opposition from Old Christians to large number of conversions 159; *see also* Baroja, Caro
Göring, Hermann, 90, 110
Goldhagen, Daniel Jonah: on Nazi use of race 158; on Nazi *völkisch* world view 169
González, Isidro 9, 126, 127, 129–135, 138; on anti-Semitism in the Republican zone 137, 182*n*19
González, Lucas 137, 173*n*12
González Calleja, Eduardo 85; *see also* Stallaert
Granada 134; on settling Christian repopulators 94
Great Britain *see* Allies
Green Book of Aragón 50, 175*n*4
Guipuzcoa 33, 34; *see also* Castro, and Netanyahu

Hering Torres, Max Sebastian 155; on racism 53–56, 165, 176*n*14, 176*n*18, 185*n*43; on Torrejoncillo 176*n*12
Hertzel, Theodore: warning to Hungarian Jews 160; *see also* Arama, Isaac
Hervás 108
Hieronymite (La Sisla) 44, 67, 177*n*7
Himmler, Heinrich 88, 89, 93–95
Hispanic *see* Spanishness
Hispanophobia 65, 67; Sacchini's presumed 63, 64, 66
Hitler, Adolf 75, 80, 84, 90, 91, 95, 102, 110, 121, 159, 180*n*34; on Jews 92, 93, 97, 162, 163; on race 85, 87–88, 93, 98, 179*n*13, 179*n*23; *see also* Arendt, Hannah; Aryanization; Franco, Francisco; *Mein Kampf*; Sanchez Albornoz, Claudio; Stallaert, Christiane
Holland 95–96, 135
Holocaust 13, 62, 68, 83, 96, 146, 177*n*17; and anti-Semitism 17, 157, 158, 161–162, 163, 171; comparison with Inquisition 17, 74, 91, 95, 155, 156, 158; Franco and 149, 150; and Nuremberg Laws 165, 170; objections to comparison with Inquisition/Spanish "cleanliness of blood" 75, 76–77, 80, 85; uniqueness of 2, 14, 15, 18, 156, 161, 184*n*2; *see also* Moradiellos, Enrique; Palencia, Julio; Perlasca, Giorgio; Reyes Mate, Manuel; Sanz Briz, Ángel; Souza Mendez, Aristides de
Hungary 142, 149, 153; on children to Morocco 146; *see also* Hertzel

Iberian model *see* Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim
Ignatius of Loyola 59, 63, 168, 176*n*5, 177*n*17; attitude towards the conversos 60–62
imaginary Jew: and the conspiratorial myth 111; and Spanish anti-Semitism 112
imperialism 120; casticism and 85, 86, 96; Traverso on 165
Inquisition 8, 9, 13, 20, 76, 77, 86, 103, 157, 167, 175*n*4; and Chuetas 105, 107; creation and procedures of 22, 24–26, 29, 30, 33, 43, 44, 51, 67, 74, 178*n*11; and Judaizing conversos 69, 70, 78, 79, 90, 174*n*22,

177*n*7; comparing Nazi Germany with Inquisitorial Spain 82, 83, 88, 91, 95, 96, 97, 165; and racism 74, 81, 118, 155, 156, 169, 180*n*37; *see also* Castro, Américo; *Chuetas*; Dominicans; Escudero, José Antonio; Holocaust, comparisons with; Holocaust, objections to comparison with; Maetzu, Ramiro de; Netanyahu, Benzion; *pesquisa*; Pichón, Joseph; post–Inquisitorial Spain; Strallaert, Christiane
Instituto Arias Montano de Estudios Hebraicos (Arias Montano Institute for Hebraic Studies) 140, 141
International Brigades 14; Jews in 127, 135, 136; *see also* Botwin
Isabel of Castille *see* Catholic kings; Ferdinand of Aragon
Islam 179–180*n*33; Nazi high regard for 95, 180*n*34
Israel, Biblical 160; Castro on 32–34; Metzu 109, 160; Netanyahu disputes Castro 33, 35; Sanchez Albornoz on 32
Israel State of 31, 138
Istituto di Cultura Fascista 167
Italy 119, 124; expulsion of Spanish Jews 141; Italian Fascism compared with Nazism Spanish casticism 117–118; Italian Jews 131, 146, 156; Italian view of Spain, Black Legend 61; and Jesuits 167–168, 169; and Majorca 107; propaganda 137; racism compared to Spanish 117; *see also Civiltà Cattolica*; Farinacci, Roberto; Fascist regime; Pius XI; Tacci Venturi, Pietro

Jabotinski, Wladimir (Zionist) 131
Jackisch, Carlota: on Hitler's *Mein Kampf* 162, 185*n*25
Jackson, Gabriel 75–76
Jesi, Furio 20
Jesuits (Company, Order): and anti-Semitism 59, 166–167; and Black Legend 66, 68; and "cleanliness of blood" 7, 8, 59, 61, 62, 70, 124, 166, 167, 168; and conversos 60, 62, 70; and Italian Fascism 167–169; and Nazi racism 169–70; and Silíceo 45, 52; and Spanish racism 167, 169; Spanish resent control from Rome 177*n*8; viewed as Jews (*marranos*) 58–59, 66, 67, 169; *see also* Acquaviva, Claudio; *Civiltà Cattolica*; Decree 52; Farinacci, Roberto; Ignatious of Loyola; Laínez, Diego; Pius XI; Portugal, attitude of Portuguese Jesuits; *Razón y Fe*; *Il Regime Fascista*; Rey, Eusebio; Ribadeneira, Pedro de; Sacchini, Francesco, on Laínez; Tacchi Venturi, Pietro
Jewish refugees, Spanish policies regarding 141, 142, 143, 146, 183*n*22; *see also* Sephardim
Jewish towns 108
Jews' relations with Spanish military 135
Judeo-conversos 17, 52, 53, 73, 77, 123, 156, 159, 161; and the Almohades 36; on assimilation of 11; discrimination against 23, 33, 39; in Majorca 106, 107; as source of contamination 84

Kamen, Henry 81; on cleanliness of blood 12; *see also* Villena
Kant, Immanuel 171
Kershaw, Ian 164; Nazi idea on destruction of the Jews 163; on Nuremberg Laws 163
Kisch, Guido: disputed by Netanyahu 20, 56, 81
Klee, Eugene: on racist exclusion by Jesuits 169
Klemperer, Viktor 15; Stallaert on 84

Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel: on difference between Jews and Christians 46
La Farge, John: and the "*Hidden Encyclical*" 169
Laínez, Diego: questions about *converso* origin of 59, 61–65
Lazare, Bernard: on Jewish assimilation 11
Lazo, Alfonso 9; on Catholic publications and racism 124, 182*n*51, 182*n*53; on the ideological components of Falangism 123; *see also* propaganda during Spanish Civil War
League of Nations 134; *see also* Republic
Le Goff, Jacques: position on anachronisms 19, 166
Lequerica, José Felix de 145
Letter from the Jews of Constantinople 19, 20, 112; *see also Protocols of the Elders of Zion*
Levinas, Emmanuel: on "chosen people" 32; *see also* Israel, Biblical
Levy, Algranati 138
Lex talionis 24
El Liberal 92
Lipschitz, Chaim U. 149; on Franco's legend 148

Maeztu, Ramiro de, 51, 97, 125; comparison with Yzurdiaga's thought 123; on Spanishness 110; Stallaert on de Maetzu's thinking 109, 110
Majorca/Mallorca: clerics from 107; list of *Chuetas* 181*n*3; massive conversions in 106; on the *sanbenitos* 107; Stallaert on racial and religious prejudices 105
Malsines: defined and treatment of 26–30
Marquéz Villanueva, Francisco 102; on "cleanliness of blood" 50; on *conversos* 78, 102
Marquina, Antonio 124, 135; on Franco as

"savior of the Jews" 147–149; on Franco's purported orders 142; questions Gonzaléz (Isidro) opinion
marranos: and the Black Legend 7, 8, 32, 58, 61, 63, 135; García Carcél on the Spanishness of; Netanyahu on the Toledean Statute and the 44; Rey on Sacchini's view of Spaniards as 64, 135
Martínez, Ferrán: instigates forced conversions 175*n*29
Martinez de Bedoya, Javier: and Jewish representatives 147
Masons: Franco's father view of Franco's thought on 116; Franco's views of 116, 149; Jews permanently linked with 128
Mauthausen, Concentration Camp 148
Mein Kampf: Jackisch on 162, 185*n*25; Stallaert on 85, 93, 97, 98
Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino: attributes to Jews having inspired Spanish racists 24; on "cleanliness of blood" 102; on the 1449 Toledo events 39; Netanyahu on 40; rejects racism towards *conversos* 125; on Spanish Catholic nationalism (casticism) 103; Stallaert on 99; supported Pulido's vindication of the Sephardim 114
Moradiellos, Enrique 11, 157; on anti-Semitic racism and the Holocaust 162; converted Jews as competitors10, 11; on genealogy of Nazism 161; no racism in "cleanliness of blood" 21
Morocco 114, 115, 119, 129, 133, 140, 141, 146; French 119; Jews of 92, 113, 120, 127, 132, 135, 138; *see also* González, Isidro
Moschkowsky, Benjamín (Commander Ortiz) 137
Mundo 114, 141
Muntaner Mariano, Lleonard 106–107
Mussolini, Benito: Franco on Mussolini's statism 167; and problems with Francoism 128; on race 117–118; *see also* Fascism

Nazism 34, 90, 160, 162, 179*n*6, 179*n*13, 181*n*44, 183*n*22, 183*n*28, 184*n*2, 184*n*29, 185*n*40; and Balkan Jews 126; casticism and Nazism variations of same theme 51; and *Chuetas* 105, 107–108; comparing Italian Fascist, Nazism and Spanish casticismo 118; Falangist admirers of Nazism 123; Franco's Spanish racism not comparable with 125; Inquisition's "cleanliness of blood" as precursor to 74; and Master Plan to differentiate Semite from Aryan 88–89; philo-Sephardism incompatible with 119; Vatican opposition to 128; *see also* blood, Jewish; Blue division; Burrin, Philippe; *Civiltà Cattolica*; Franco, Francisco; German anti-Semitism compared with Nazi; imperialism; Islam; Jesuits; Jewish refugees; Lazo, Alfonso; Moradiellos, Enrique; Nuremberg Laws; Payne, Stanley; propaganda during Spanish war, Nazi; Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio; Tacchi Venturi, Pietro; Traverso, Enzo, *völkisch*
Netanyahu, Benzion: on "cleanliness of blood" 24, 62; comparison of German racism and Toledo statute 70; disputing Castro on Biblical Israel, and "cleanliness of blood" 33–36; disputing Kisch 20, 56; disputing Sanchéz Albornoz 20, 26, 29, 32; on Espina, Alonso de 53, 176*n*13; on Judeo-*conversos* (New Christians) and mass conversions 37–44, 69, 175*n*29; on *malsines* 29, 30; on motivation for the creation and procedures of the Inquisition 22, 32, 178*n*11, 180*n*37; on patterns of history 10, 20; on Pichón, Joseph 27–29; on Phillip II's intentions in Holland 95–96; polemic with Spanish historians 73–81; and Roth 69, 70; on Sánchez Albornoz 100–101; on secularization in Germany 52, 71–72
New Christians *see* Judeo-*conversos*
Ninyoles, Rafael 115
Nirenberg, David 17, 46, 155; on assimilation of minorities 84; on genealogy and race 47, 48
Nuper renati (newly reborn) 40, 41
Nuremberg Laws 8, 13, 53; comparison with the Toledo statutes and the Inquisition 156, 162, 165; criticized as overly moderate 15, 163; occasionally introduce religious factor 86, 98; said to represent rational anti-Semitism 82; separated from the Holocaust 162, 170; *see also* Kershaw, Ian; Traverso, Enzo

Oliván, Federico 148
Oppenheimer, Robert 134
Orgaz, Luis 145; *see also* Morocco, Jews of
Orlow, Alexander 137
Ospina, Gloria Inés *see* Marquina, Antonio
Ostrovsky, David 137
The Other: encounters in the New World 96
Ottoman Empire: capitulations 151

Pacelli, Eugenio (Pius XII) 131
El País: Majorcan women ask for cleanliness of blood certificates 105; Netanyahu's book sparks a polemic 73–81, 178*n*1–178*n*6, 178*n*11, 178*n*15; the Strauss Kahn affair and French anti-Semitism 166; *see also Revista de la Inquisición*
Palencia, Julio 148; on anti-Semitic remarks but savior of Jews 114, 142; "Just among the Nations" recognition 184*n*29
Pan Hispanism 120
Las Partidas 6, 24, 35, 41, 79

Payne, Stanley 117, 122, 139–140, 141, 146; and Basque Nationalists 138; on Franco's racism 116, 140; on German reaction to lack of anti–Semitic legislation in Spain 117; on Nazi non-opposition to transit visas 144, 183*n*4, 183*n*28; on Spanish Paradox 114; *see also* Archivos Judaicos; Blue Division; Civil War Spanish, Jewish participation/sympathy; Islam; propaganda during the Spanish Civil War, to different audiences; Radigales, Roberto; Souza Mendes, Aristides de; Suárez Fernández, Luis
Pedro, Don 27
Peman, José María 125
Peñafort, Raimundo de 41
Pérez, Joseph 9, 13, 46, 50, 100, 175*n*4; *see also* Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel
Pérez Galdós, Benito 113
Perlasca, Giorgio 146
Perpignan: privilege granted 24
pesquisa 23, 24; in Toledo 43, 44
Phillip II 93; Nazi use of policy promulgated by in Holland 95–96
Phillip III: granted "cleanliness of blood" 91; *see* also Aryanization
philo–Sephardism 114, 119; ambivalence of Astrana Marín 117, 120; Franco and 115–116, 120, 141; as part of Payne's "Spanish Paradox" 139
Pichón, Joseph: conspiracy against 27–29
Pius XI 169
Polanco, Juan Alfonso: opposed by Portuguese Jesuits 59, 176–177*n*5
Política (Azañist newspaper): ridicules Unamuno 138
Portugal: attitude of Portuguese Jesuits 59–67, 176–177*n*5; Inquisitorial Spain 13, 104, 111, 119, 125, 139; policies toward refugees 141, 143; *see also* Suoza Mendez, Aristides de
post–anti–Semitism 108, 112, 117, 126, 161, 183*n*28; racism 122, 170
Pozuelo, Eduardo Martín de: on German view of Franco's Spain 122, 181*n*44; on Jews of Salonica 145, 183*n*22; on Julio Palencia 184*n*29
Prat de Souza, Pedro: Spanish Ambassador in Romania 131
Primo de Rivera, José Antonio (son of Miguel) 124
Primo de Rivera, Miguel: decree granting citizenship to Sephardic Jews 14, 150, 151; protection of Sephardic Jews 114
Pringle, Heather: on Nazi attempts to find scientific method for racial differentiation 88, 89
propaganda during the Spanish Civil War 14, 125, 131, 132, 154; to different audiences 130, 145, 152; Italian Fascist 137; Jewish 182*n*19; Jews used as subjects for 127, 128, 129, 136, 137; Nationalist 121, 127, 129, 137; Nazi 137, 140, 141, 164; *Protocols of the* Elders *of Zion* use of for propaganda 19, 59, 111, 122, 159; Republican 127; Stalin's/Soviet 127, 136; Vatican (Church) 117; see also *Civiltà Cattolica*; *Letter from the Jews of Constantinople*
Pulgar, Fernando de: on Basque racial contempt 34, 175*n*15; mentioned by Castro 33
Pyrenees: refugees crossing the 147

Queipo de Llano, Gonzalo 119; broadcasts by 129–130
Quevedo, Francisco de 20, 159; attitude regarding Jewish blood 20; pamphlets against Jews and Catalans 115

Raoul Wallenberg Foundation 184*n*29
Razón y Fe (Jesuit publication) affirming "cleanliness of blood" of Company 62, 70, 124, 58–59
refugees *see* Jewish Refugees
Il Regime Fascista (organ of the Italian Fascist Regime) 137, 168; on celebration in Tetuán 137; praising the Jesuits 168
Reites, James W.: on Decree 52; repeal by Jesuits 68, 177*n*17
repopulation: comparison with Nazi project 85; Sanchez Albornoz on Jewish of Peninsular states 37–38, 103; Stallaert on 85, 94, 95; *see also* Granada
Republican 113, 121, 122, 126, 127, 130, 136, 137, 141, 148; aid by Stalin 127; ambivalent behavior of 134, 137, 182*n*19; Argentinean presence in brigades 137; consequences of perception of Republican camp as pro–Jewish 129, 131; non-uniformity of Jewish support for 131, 132, 133, 135, 150
Revista de la Inquisición 75; articles on Netanyahu's *Origins of the Inquisition* (Spanish Edition) 176*n*15, 178*n*13; *see also* Alcalá; García Cárcel
Rey, Eusebio 62, 70, 177*n*6, 177*n*11; on conversos joining the Jesuit order 59, 60; on Sacchini and the Black Legend 62–67
Reyes Mate, Manuel 156, 158, 184*n*2; *see also* Holocaust
Ribadeneira, Pedro de 59, 63, 67; on Decree 52 and the Black Legend 61, 66, 177*n*6
Rojas y Moreno, José de 148
Rolland, Bernardo, 143, 145
Romania 131, 145, 150
Romero Radigales, Sebastián 150; on helping Jews 142, 145, 146, 150, 183*n*22
Rose, Eric Jacob *see* Blue Division

Rosemberg, Marcel (Russian ambassador to Madrid) 136
Rosenberg, Alfred: ideologue of German racism 22, 124
Roth, Cecil 69; on prejudice changing from religious to racial 70; *see also* Netanyahu
Rother, Bernd 140, 148, 151, 153; on diplomatic protection to Jews 142–143, 145; on Franco as "savior of the Jews" 147, 150; on Franco's and Falange's ambivalence toward Jews 116, 119; on *in situ* protection but rejection of immigration of Spanish Jews 142; on Spain saving the persecuted 154; *see also* Lequerica, José Felix de; Palencia, Julio; Rolland, Bernardo; Romero Radigales, Sebastián; Sanz Briz, Ángel; Spanish citizenship for Sephardim
Roudinesco, Elizabeth 12; cleaniness of bood related to lineage not race 11

Sábato, Hilda 19
Sacchini, Francesco 63–66, 168; on request by Jesuits to Vitelleschi to remove book 63
Saint Therese (Teresa) of Ávila (Jesús,) 36; *converso* lineage of 102, 106; Franco's devotion to 116; *see also* Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio
Salazar Acha, Jaime: on assimilation of *conversos* 70; on reasons for "cleanliness of blood" legislation 48, 49
Salonica 152, 183*n*22; Jews in 145, 150, 15; *see also* Romero Radigales, Sebastián
Salúcio, Fray Agustín: on Jesuit "cleanliness of blood" statute 93
San Francisco de Borja 61
Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio 103, 105, 125, 180*n*61; ambivalent opinions on Jews 38, 92, 180*n*62, 180–181*n*65; and the Black Legend 66–67, 135; on "cleanliness of blood" 36; on Hebrew religion 32; on legal procedures for dealing with *malsines* 29–30; on migration/repopulation of/by Jews to/of Christian kingdoms 37–38; Netanyahu's differences with 20, 26, 29, 32, 100–101; on origins of the Inquisition 24, 32; on Saint Therese of Avila 102; on the Sephardim 103, 134–135; on Spanishness 114, 135; Stallaert on 99–100
Sanz Briz, Ángel: on giving credit to Franco 142, 144, 149; on saving Budapest's Jews 146; *see also* Marquina, Antonio; Perlasca, Giorgio
Schmucler, Héctor 162
Semiticizing Black Legend: as reason for Decree 52 in Jesuit Order 66, 68; Ribadeneira and 177*n*6; Sacchini and 64
Sepharad (Spain) 120
Sepharad (the Journal) 141
Sephardism 1, 103, 105, 112, 113, 115, 122, 150, 183*n*4, 183*n*22; and casticism 114; in French Morocco 119; Sephardic Museum 121; Spanish citizenship 14, 127, 141, 150–152, 173*n*13; and the Spanish Civil War 14, 127; and Spanishness 8, 119, 135; and World War II 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 153; *see also* Franco, Francisco; Morocco; philo-Sephardism; propaganda during the Spanish Civil War, Nationalist; Pulido, Ángel;
Serebrinsky, Bernardo 137
Serrano Suñer, Ramón: on anti-racism 124; on anti-Semitism of 143, 149
Sicroff, Albert 59, 64–65, 91, 155, 177*n*7; *see also* blood change in quality; Sacchini, Francesco
Silícco, Juan Martínez 19, 50, 99, 159; on conversos 45, 52; and the Jesuit Order 45, 167; on origins of cleanliness of blood 34; *see also* Castro, Américo; *Letter from the Jews of Constantinople*; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*
Sinagoga del Tránsito: as Sephardic museum 121
Solomon 11
Souza Mendes, Aristides de 141
Soviet Union 128, 136
Spanish Paradox 114
Spanishness 8; de Maeztu develops doctrine of 109; Pulido Sephardic culture testimony of 114; Sanchez Albornoz on Spanishness of Jews of Spanish origin 111, 114, 135; Sephardim part of 119
Spinoza, Baruch 70, 79, 103, 180–181*n*65
Stalin, Joseph: attempting to hide Jewish participation in Spanish Civil War 136; supporting the Republic 127
Stallaert 18, 59, 82–103, 104, 115, 118, 120, 122; on biological-genealogical criterion as a marker for ethnic identity 55; on casticism and *völkisch* 109–110; comparing Spanish anti-Semitism/casticism with German Nazism 51; on Majorca and *Chuetas* 105; on massive conversions 55; on Pulido's support of Sephardim 105; on Republican and Francoist attitudes toward Jews 126; on Spanish aid to World War II refugees 113; on uniqueness of the Holocaust 184*n*2; *see also* García Carcél, Ricardo; Sanchéz Albornoz, Claudio; Traverso, Enzo; *völkisch*
Stern, Luís 138
Der Stürmer 52
Suárez Fernández, Luis: responding to Payne's counterfactual question 139–140, 153; *see also* Payne, Stanley
Switzerland 153
Sztompka, Ptior: on historical sociology 10

Tacchi Venturi, Pietro 168, 169
Tangiers: and anti-Semitic laws 144
Tetouan 93
Tilly, Charles 10
Todorov, Tzvetan 166, 184*n*2; distinguishes racism from racialism 55, 56, 88; *see also* Holocaust uniqueness of
Toledo 23, 34, 36, 44, 45, 63, 70, 116, 121; Cathedral of 50; Enrique and Don Pedro wars, effect on Jews 27; Inquisition of 90; *see also Fuero* of; Silíceo, Juan Martínez
Toledo revolt in 1449: and anti-*converso movement* 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 174*n*22; rebels as mentors of Inquisition 29
Torrejoncillo, Francisco de 99; cited by Hering Torres 176*n*12; and contamination by Jewish blood 164; religious motivation 53
Trachtenberg, Joshua 52
Traverso, Enzo: on anti-illuminism158; on Christian tradition incorporated into Nazi world view 164–166; on Holocaust for biological remodeling of humanity156; on Stallaert's book 96
Trieste Jews 131
Trotsky, Leon (Bronstein) 13

Unamuno, Miguel de: criticism of 138; influenced by philo-Sephardism 113; *see also Política*
United Nations: Israel's objection to Spain's, entry into 147
United States *see* Allies
USSR: relationship with Jews and International Brigades 136; used in Nationalist propaganda 129

Valera, Juan 113
Vallejo Nájera, Antonio 125
Vassallo, Sara: on the "Other" and racism 55
Vatican 64, 137, 138, 147, 152; blocks Franco's cultural treaty with Reich 117; directed anti-Jewish preachings 38; opposition to Nazism 128; *see also* Basques; propaganda during Spanish Civil War; Sacchini, Francesco
Vicéns Vives, Jaume (Jaime) 11, 59
Vichy *see* France
Vilar, Pierre: on modern anti-Semitism in France 51
Villena: royal privilege to prohibit *conversos* from residing in 12
Visigoths 37, 38, 39, 157; on relations with the Jews 36
Vitelleschi, Mutio *see* Sacchini, Francesco
Vives, Luis: on influence of 103; Sanchez Albornoz on Castro's appraisal of 102
völkisch 9, 92, 109, 111; on comparisons with *castizo* 83, 85, 98; link with Inquisitorial racism 169; *see also* González Calleja, Eduardo; Stallaert, Christiane
Völkischer Beobachter 82

Walsh, William Thomas 110
Walz, Rainer: multiphase growth model applied to racism 56
World Jewish Congress 147; Ministry of Foreign Relations presentation to 1944 152; *see also* Spanish citizenship
World Jewry's view of Republican cause *see* propaganda
Wright, Jonathan: on Peninsular Jesuit adoption of *limpieza* discrimination 62

Xueta see *Chueta*

Yad Vashem *see* Palencia, Julio; Raoul Wallenberg Foundation
Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim 157, 165; on comparison of casticist world view and modern anti-Semitism 9–10; on Spanish Lower Middle Ages view of purity of blood 47
Yzurdiaga, Fermín: on the Jewish problem and race 123

Zaragoza 19, 26; *see also malsines*

Analyzing the history of the Jews of Spain from the time of the Visigoths to the present, this study investigates periods of discrimination against converted Jews that went beyond the merely religious, finding similarities to the racial and secular anti–Semitism of modernity. Some scholars have drawn parallels between the Spanish *castizo* ethnicism embodied in the "cleanliness of blood" statutes and the German *völkisch* (anti–Semitic) beliefs that sustained Nazism. Others have found Inquisition-like parallels in post-inquisitorial Spain—including during the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist era—a result of the survival of ethno-religious prejudices in a country where there were no Jews. The singularities of Spanish anti–Semitism are revealed in the "Spanish Paradox" of anti–Semitism coexisting with philo–Sephardism and also in the Spanish sensitivity to being viewed as a nation of Jews (the Black Legend). The author examines a historiographical controversy that went beyond scholarship, spilling onto the columns of newspaper polemic.

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On the cover: Antique engraving of torture in a dungeon during the Spanish Inquisition, printed in 1849 (Steven Wright/Dreamstime.com)